A By Thomas Heyne

The lady shall keep at rest,

Not make a stir in her breast,

Hand in verses by

Francis Quarles

T. N. vxor

Vera Mod.
THE LIFE AND DEATH OF D MARTIN LUTHER

The Passages whereof have been taken out of his owne and other Godly and most learned men's writings, who lived in his time.

1. Thess: 5: 12: 13: Wee beseech you, brotheren, to know them, who labour among you: etc: and to esteeme them very highly for their worke sake, and be at peace among your selues: 

LONDON Printed
by I. L. for John Stafford, and are to be sold at his shop in Chancery lane, over against the Rolles: 1641.
What are you at in the parson for this?
To

THE RIGHT HONOVRABLE
Sr. THOMAS ROE
Knight; Chancellour of the most Noble
Order of the Garter, and one of his Majo-
flies most Honourable Privy
Councell.

O whom rather should I ad-
dresse this present discourse,
then to your Honourable selfe,
who by your a Embassie extra-
ordinary for his Majestie of England into
Germany well observed the countrey and
the present estate thereof, where many pas-
sages here mentioned were acted. And
much the rather doe I humbly present it
to your Honourable Patronage, because, up-
on that happie occasion, it pleased our
gracious God to put then into your mind
a
The Epistle

and to nourish therein ever since, a serious consideration of the deplorable distractions of the Christian Church; as he did into good b Nehemiah's mind, of the lamentable estate of Jerusalem in his time. Your compassionate and tender affection was, and is still much moved to c observe the living stones of the New Jerusalem lying in the dust, or drencht in their own blood, some of her Priests and their flocks clad in Sackcloth, others with their people by sword and fire cast out and banished; and which is worst of all, your Honour well discerned how difficult a task it was to cure this fearfull maladie: because dissatisfaction of parties & dissention of opinions, unless God prevented the mischief, would not admit the binding up of the wound. Nor did these miserable calamities of Gods people only vex and grieve your pious and religious soule, but also so roused and summoned up your Honours most serious thoughts, that with d an heartie and godlie providence, with a sincere and prudent circumspection you presentlie

b Nehem. 1. & 2.
c Segnius irriuant animos demissa per aures, quam que sunt oculis subjicta fidelibus, Hor.
d As the good Samaritan not only pitied, but took care of the wounded man.
lie consulted with other most learned, religious & Christian lovers of God's Church about the peace thereof, so far as possiblie may be attained, and so far, as it lies in the power of Christian Princes, of most judicious Divines, and of truly zealous people, guided by them both: that as much as may be, we may all be of one minde and accord, and think, and speak one and the same thing, as the sacred Scripture often and straightly giveth us in charge. For this end Mr. John Dury a Divine of singular pietie & learning, truly studios of the Churches peace, and incomparably sedulous to advance the same, and first interested in the work by your Honourable means and encouragement, hath so much prevailed with many illustrious Princes & States, and the most eminent learnedmen in Germany, and the parts adjoyning, that the work is very wel promoted, and an heartie inclination wrought towards a good correspondencie for Ecclesiastical peace. God grant your Honour life and health, that to your great comfort, and all true Christians
The Epistle

joy, you may shortly see the work come to more maturitie and perfection.

Amidst your Honours grave and weightie intendments for this and other occasions of much concernement, may you please to reflect on this discourse. I conceive that there be many passages therein very considerable for these and after times: and that they will make much for the exciting of our thankfulness to God: when we behold from what beginnings, in an 100 and few more years, God's truth hath risen, and Papisticall and Anabaptisticall errorrour fain. It is remarkable that the points by D. Luther mainly opposed were Indulgences, the Popes boundlesse power, merit of workes, Purgatory, Communion but in one kinde: all chief points and palpably and undeniably grosse. And on the other side, that he stood up against the Anabaptists rebaptizacion of themselves, their not baptizing infants (as not commanded by Christ;) their having all things in common (as had the Primitive Christians, Acts 2. 44.) and against the Antinomians heresies concern-
concerning the law, and other like erroneous fancies. It is also observable that Dr. Luther striking at the Popes unlawfull power, never sought to exalt himselfe to honour or riches. For though, as he saith, he himselfe with other learned men executed Episcopal Authority in visiting the Churches of Saxony, & reforming things amisse: yet he knowing his talent fittest for the Chaire of Wittenberg, never would rise higher; but wrote a book concerning Christian Episcopacy, and installed Nicolas Amsdorf Bishop of Neoburg, and George Anhaltinus Bishop of Mersburg.

And in regard that Luther studied and read, as Professor, Philosophie of divers kinds, was well versed in the Fathers, and in Aquinas, Scotus, Occam & other Schoolmen, and attained to the Greek and Hebrew tongues: he was thereby inabled rightly, and soundly, and gravely, and not ignorantly, rashly, or humorously to judge of these studies, and of their use in Theologie.

It was also very commendable in him, that he disliked railing discourse without
solid and concluding arguments, sighted foolish and groundleffe calumnies, reproved young students forward and rash attempts without authority for the promoting of his cause, blamed the headie and disorderly tumults raised by the Boores and vulgar sort, confessed ingenuously his doubting of some points, his ignorance in others, and craved pardon, if having beene lately a Popish Monk, he should in any point erre from the truth. Seeing this was D. Luthers prudent and religious course, I shall never marvell at his *Heroical Spirit, and impregnable confidence of Gods assistance, and of the succeffe of his attempts: and on very good ground famous and worthy Princes countenanced and assisted him, as a man, by his then opposites, convicted of no errour, doing much good service in the University, offering his cause to any just triall, appealing from the Pope to the Generall Counsell, and in his whole course manifesting a true correspondence of his life with his doctrine. Much more I might here addde, but will...
not longer detaine your Honour from the discourse it selfe. I humbly beseech our gracious God, who inabled D. Luther to be an excellent instrument for the reformation of the Christian Church, for beating downe of error, and setting up of Gods Truth, that he would implant in us all, quiet, temperate, and Christian affections, in and love of Christ's Name, & still more and more perfect the setling of Truth, and building up of his Church, untill we all become living stones in the spiritual Temple fitted for our God. The same God of peace crowne your Honourable selfe, and all sincere promoters of Christian peace, with peace externall and internall here, and with eternall blisse hereafter. So prayeth he, who is

Your Honours ever to be commanded

Thomas Haynes
Christian Reader:

Avid a man after God's owne heart, as in other respects so especially in not forgetting any of God's benefits, but frequently and sweetly descanting on them in his sacred songs of praise, among many other blessings, mentions God's gracious leading his people out of Egypt, & teaching them by the ministry of Moses and Aaron. The like thankfulness to God should we shew in our a hymns of glorie to God, as for infinite other favours in these later times, so especially for our comming out of the spiritual Egypt, by the Ministry of Dr. Mart. Luther. The goodnesse of God to the Israelites and Us is much alike in both these our deliverances. For when Egypt's tyrannie was growne to extremity, and Romes heresies at full maturitie, God seasonably put to b...
When the event is scene, then we can observe, how Godshand was in the worke.

b When the event is scene, then wee can observe, how Godshand was in the worke.

c As S. Paul did to vex and kill Christians, 

affe, & 22. 

19.

d Epif. B. 14. 

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launcing and fearing Chirurgion, to cure their long seatered maladies. For the worship of God and the truth of Religion was then (as amongst the Israelites in Elias time) much depraved and defaced, and required a magnanimous and undaunted spirit, like to that in Elias, to reforme matters extremly out of frame.

Erasmus saw full well, how difficult a taske D. Luther undertook, and for his owne part and undertaking was assured, that if the knowledge of good Arts, of polite Learning, of the Original tongues, of the Sacred Scripture flourisht, that the dark fogs of Popery could not long continue undispest. And therefore he complied with all Princes, and men studious of good letters whatsoever, to make a knowing world: and would in no wise, though earnestly set upon both by loving intreaties and kinde usage, as also by bitter calumnies, and harsh railings of the Pontificians, doe any thing of speciall moment against Luther. He was confident, that, if Luther, being violently opposed and maliced, should faile, yet the Truth of Christ, by the light of all good literature and Gods blessing, would...
would, maugre all the Papists malice, get the upper hand, and spread it selfe.

But God was abundantly gracious to D. Luther, and made him, as Jeremi, a de
defenced citie, an iron pillar, and a wall of brasse, against which his Antagonists could in no wise prevale. Had a spirit of pride or contention, or any by-respect set Luther on work against the Pope, or had he stood upon questions litigious, or of an indifferent na
ture, he could never have begun with that cou
rage, gone forward with that confidence, come off with that honoure, which he did. The bles
sing of God and a good conscience bore him out, to take such incredible paines in reading, preaching, translating, commenting, disputing, writing, advising the Politicall State, directing the Ecclesiastical, restrain
ning the Papists fury from open war, counsel
ling some Protestants from too hastie proceed
ings, preventing tumultuous designes, avoid
ing secret traps set for him, and in daily pray
ing to God for the prosperity of the Gospel.

All true Christians will heartily blesse God for him, and his resolute and happy be

ing
to the Reader.

beginning of Reformation: if Papists who notoriously defamed and slandered him in his lifetime, persist still to calumniate him after his death, * God in the last day will be judge betweenee them. Luther was (and who is not ?) subject to such weaknesses, as humanity makes incident to the best men. He knew his slips, he acknowledged them, he craved pardon for them. Yea, be considering that he was a man, and might err, intrusted his learned and faithfull friend i Melancthon to revise and moderate some of his Tenents after his decease.

In brieve Luthers faith was admirable strong in his God, his labours and studies of singular benefit to Gods Church, his books and writings very many and learned, his life most pious, and therefore his death full of comfort and blessed.

Accept (good Reader) this Treatise now presented unto you in an English dresse, out of the learned and laborious work of Melchior Adamus: and expect the Lives of other most godly and reverend Fathers in Gods Church, and worthy Champions, against the

* Men may judge something now by the good effect of his labours.

i These two by conjoyning their studies settled truth: whereas in the Council of Trent, though some Divines saw the Truth yet the major part confirmed error.
the enemies of God's truth, both English and foreign. Some whereof were never extant before, others, but sparingly in English set forth; all of them worthy of everlasting memory for their promoting of God's glory, and their love to Christian Truth. These will shortly appeare from the Pens of sundry reverend, religious, and faithful Divines amongst us. God make all these labours usefull to God's people, and us all thankful for his Divine and gracious goodness to these last and worst times.

Yours in all Christian offices

Tho. Hayne.
To the precious Memory of
Dr. Mart. Luther.

Welfare those gentle Quils (whose ere they be)
Whose meritorious labours shall set free
The Urne imprisioned Dust of that renowned
Thrice famous Luther: Let his head be crown'd
With sacred Immortality, and rais'd
Much rather to be wondered at then prais'd.
Let Babes unborne, like fruitful plants bring forth
To after days new Monuments of his worth,
And time-outlasting Name: that Babels Whore
And all her ba'd: pate panders may ev'n rore
For very anguish, and then gnaw and bite
Their tongues for malice, and their nailes for spite,
Whilst men made perfect in his well knowne story
May all turne Patrons, and protect his Glory.

Francis Quarles.
When blackest clouds of Romish errors base,
    Had quite o'ertayed Truths amiable face,
    And Antichrist's o're-topping tyrannic
    Had chain'd all Europe to Idolatry:
Then, suddenly and strangely God did raise
    (To Rome's deep admiration and amaze)
Renowned Martin Luther, dauntlessly
    To vindicate his Truth, and Rome defie.
He, maugre all their spight and fury fell,
    Did Papal fogs of Error cleane expell;
Clearing the Sun of Truth to such pure light
    As, ever since, hath shone abroad most bright.
Of Hercules his Club, what talk we, then?
Since Rome is ruin'd with great Luthers Pen.

I. Vicars.
THE LIFE AND DEATH of Dr. Martin Luther.

The family of the Luthers was ancient, and spread into divers parts of the Territories of the Earls of Mansfield. It consisted of the middle degree of Men. The parents of Martin Luther first lived in Ileben, a town in that Earldome: thence they went to dwell in Mansfield, the place of which the Earldome took its name. There John Luther, father of Martin, possessed Mettle Mines, bore office, and for his integritie was in good esteem among the best Citizens. Margaret Lindeman was the wife of John Luther, and Mother of Martin; she was a woman commendable for all virtues belonging to a worthy Matron, especially for her modesty, feare of God, and calling on his name.
The birth of Luther, An. 1483.

Aemilius put him to Schoole.

An. Dom. 1496.

John Reineck his School-fellow at Magdeburg.

An. 1498. he went to Isenak.

name: So that he was a pattern of vertue to many others.

Martin Luther was born of Isleben, An. Dom. 1483. Novem. 10. at 9. a clock at night on St. Martin's day: and was thence call'd Martin. His parents brought him up in the knowledge and feare of God, according to the capacitie of his tender yeeres, and taught him to read at home, and accustomed him to vertuous demeanour. The father of George Aemilius (as Luther often hath related) first put him to Schoole, where though the truth was much darkned by clouds of Popery, yet God preserved still the heads of Catechisme, the Elements of the Cisian Grammar, some Psalms and formes of prayer.

At fourteene yeeres of age, he with John Reineck, who proved a man of especiall vertue and authoritie in those parts, were sent to Magdeburg. Whence a league of intire friendship ever continued between these two; either because of a Sympathy and agreement of their natures, or their education together in their first studies. At Magdeburg he, as many others born of honest parents, lived a poore Scholler for the space of one yeere. Thus even the greatest matters have small beginnings, and scarce anything is highly exalted, but from a lowly degree.

Thence by his parents he was removed to Isenak, where was a Schoole of great fame; here was a Schoolemaster, who (as Luther by experience found, and would professe) taught Grammar more dextrously and truely. One reason also of his being sent
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Sent thither was, because his Mother was born there of a worthy and ancient family. There he perfected his Grammar learning, and being of a very quick wit, and by nature fitted for eloquence, he soone surpassed his School-fellows in copiousnesse of speech and matter, and excelled in expression of his minde both in prose and verse.

Upon this his tastring the sweetnesse of learning, he was inflamed with an earnest desire to goe to some Universitie, the well-spring of all good literature; and surely had he met with good and commendable Tutors, he by his piercing wit had attained all good Arts: and perhaps he might by the milder studies of true Philosophy, and diligence in well framing his style somewhat have tempered the vehemencie of his nature.

He went to Erford An. 1501. Where he fell upon the crabbed and thorny Logick of that age: which he soone attained, as one who by the sagacitie of his wit, was better able to dive into the causes and other places of Arguments then others.

Here, out of a desire of better learning, he read over Cicero, Livy, Virgil, and other monuments of ancient Latine Authors. These he perused, not as a child, to glean Phrases from them: but to discern what therein was usefull towards the right conforming of mans life. And to that end seriously observed the counsels and grave sentences in those writers: and having a faithfull and sure memory, what ever he read or heard, he had it still in readiness for present use. Hereby he so excelled in his youth,
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... youth, that the whole Universitie admired his wit.

When at Erphord he was graced with the degree of Master of Arts at twenty yeeres of his age, he read, as Professor, Aristotle's Physicks, Ethics and other parts of Philosophy. Afterward his kindred seeing it fit that so worthy endowments of wit and eloquence should be cherished for the publique good, by their advice he betooke himself to the study of the Law. But not long after when he was 21. yeeres old, of a sudden besides the purpose of his parents and kindred (upon an affright from his faithfull mates violent death) he betooke himself to the Augustine Monks Colledge in Erphord. But before he entred the Monastery, he entertained his fellow students with a cheerfull banquet: and thereupon sent them letters valedictory; and sending to his parents the Ring and gown of his degree of Master of Arts, unfolded to them the reason of the change of his course of life. It much grieved his parents that so excellent parts should be spent in a life little differing from death. But for a moneths space no man could be admitted to speake with him.

Nor was it povertie, but the love of a pious life, which bent his minde to the Monastical life. In which though he spent his time in the usual schoole learning, and read the Writers upon the Sentences, and in publique disputations clearly opened their inextricable labyrinths to the admiration of many: yet because in this kind of life he sought not to ennoble
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ennoble his fame, but to further his study of a pious life, he looked into those studies but upon the by; and with much ease attained their Scholastical methods.

When on a time in the Library of the Colledge, running over the books thereof in order, he met with a copie of the Latine Bible, which he never saw before; There with admiration he observed that there were more Evangelical and Apostolical texts then what were read to the people in Churches. In the old Testament with great attention he read the story of Samuel and Anna his mother; and began to wish, that he was the owner of the like book; which not long after he obtained. Here-upon he spent his time on the Propheticall and Apostolical writings, the fountaines of all heavenly doctrine, seeking thence to enforme his minde with Gods will, and to nourish in himself the feare of God, and true faith in Christ from true and undoubted grounds. Some sickness and seare whet him on to attempt these studies more earnestly.

It is said, that in this Colledge Luther in his youn-ger yeers fell into a most violent disease, in so much that there was no hope of life: and that an ancient Priest came to him, and with these words comforted him. Sir, Be of good courage, for your disease is not mortall: God will raise you up to be a man who shall afford comfort to many others. At the first, the Monks handled him somewhat harshly, whilst he performed the office of the Custos, and was compelled to cleanse the uncleane places: as also to walk up and
and down the City with a bagge or wallet. But upon the request of the Universitie, of which he had been a member, he was eased of that burden.

He was often cheered up by conference with the ancient Priest; to whom he revealed his feares and scruples of minde, and heard him discoursing of faith at large, and going on in the Creed to the Article. I beleev the Remission of sins. Which he thus explained. Namely, that a man must not onely in generall beleev that sinnes are remitted to some men, as to David, and to Ester, for this the devils beleev: but that God commands, that we shoule each man in particular beleev, that our sinnes be forgiven us in Christ Iesus. This exposition, said he, is confirmed by St. Bernard: and shewed him the place in his Sermon upon the Annuntiation: where these words are to be found. But adde this, and beleev this also, that thy sinnes are forgiven thee for Christ's sake. This is the Testimony in thy heart, which the spirit of God giveth, saying, Thy sinnes are forgiven thee. For the Apostle thus determines of the matter; That a man is freely justifievd by faith. Luther said, that he was not onely confirmed in the truth; but also put in minde of Saint Paul ever in these words, assereting this truth: We are justifievd by faith. Concerning this point, after that he had read the expositions of divers men, he further said, that from the speches of Paul, he observed to accrew unto himself much comfort, and great light to discerne the vanitie of other interpretations, which then were used.

Then
Then he began to read St. Augustine's works: where both in his Comment on the Psalms, and in the booke, of the Spirit and letter, he found many evident places, which confirmed this doctrine concerning faith, and the comfort, which was before kindled in his breast. Yet did he not utterly cast of the reading of Gabriel and Camaracensis, writers on the Sentences, but was able to recite them by heart in a manner. He spent much time in often reading Occam, and esteemed him for acutenesse of wit before Thomas Aquinas and Scotus: also he studiously perused Germon. But chiefly he read often Augustine's works, and kept them well in memory. This earnest prosecution of his studies he began at Erford: and spent there five yeers in the Colledge.

In the yeare 1507, he put on the priests hood. The first Masse which he celebrated, was May 2. Domini Cantate. Then was he 24. yeares old. In this course he continued 15. yeares; to the yeare of our Lord 1527. At that time Io. Stauficeus, who endeavored to promote the university of Wittenberg lately begun, desired that the study of Theologie should there flourish, and well knew the wit and learning of Luther: and removed him to Wittenberg; An. 1508. when he was 26. yeares old. Here in regard of his daily exercises in the schooles and his sermons, the eminency of his good parts did more and more shew themselves. And among other learned men, who attentively heard him Martinus Mellurbstad, commonly cal'd Lux mundi, the light of the world, often laid of Luther: that there

He was made Doctor of Divinity, A. 1512.

there was in him so noble a straine of wit, that he did verily presage, that he would change the vulgar course of studies, which at that time was usual in schooles, and prevailed:

At Wittenberg Luther first explained Aristotle's Logick and Physickes: yet intermitted not his study of Divinitie. Three years after, that is An. 1510. he was sent into Italy and to Rome in the behalfe of his Covent, for the deciding of some controversy among the Monkes. There he saw the Pope, and the Popes palace, and the manners of the Roman Clergie. Concerning which he sayth: I was not long at Rome: There I sawd, and heard others say Masse: but in that manner, that so often as I call them to minde, I detest them. For at the Table I heard among other matters some Curtisans laugh and boast, and some concerning the bread and wine on the Altar to say: Bread thou art, and bread thou shalt remaine; Wine thou art, and wine thou shalt remaine. He further addeth, that the priests celebrated the Masses so hastily and perfunctorily, that he left of saying Masse, before he betook himselfe to the Gospell. And cried out, Away with it, away with it. In talke with his familiar friends he would often rejoice at this his journey to Rome, and say; that he would not for 1000. florins have been without it. After his returne from Rome, Staupicius so advising, he was made Doctor in Divinity, after the manner of the schooles, and at the Charge of Duke Frederike Elector of Saxony. For the Prince heard him preach; and admired the soundnesse of his invention, the strength of his arguments,
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Arguments, and the excellence of the things, which he delivered. Now was Luther 30. years old, and had attained a maturity of Judgement. Luther himselfe used to professe, that he would have refused this honour, and that Staupicius would have him permit himselfe to be graced with this degree, saying pleasantly: That there were many businessses in Gods Church, wherein he would use Luthers helpe. This speech then spoken in a complementall way, at length proved true by the event. Thus many presages goe before great changes. Soone after he began (as the place required) to expayne the Epistle to the Romans and some Psalmes: which he so cleared, that after a long and dark night, there seemed a new day to arise in the judgment of all pious and prudent men. Here he shewed the difference of the Law and Gospell, and refuted an errour then most frequent both in the schooles and sermons: namely that men by their workes can deserve remission of their sinnes: and that men are just before God by observing the discipline commanded: as the Pharisees taught. Luther therefore recal'd men's mindes to the Sonne of God, &c. (as John Baptist) shewed them the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sinnes of the world. And taught them, that for Christs sake their sinnes are forgiven, and that this benefit is received by faith. He cleared also other poyntes of Ecclesiastical truth. This beginning made him of great authority, and that much the more, because his demeanor was suitable to his doctrine, so that his speech seemed to come from his heart, not from his lippes onely.
For the saying is as true, as old, A man's pious carriage makes his speech persuasive. Hence it was, that men easily assented to him, when afterward he changed some of their rites. As yet, he attempted not to doe it, but was a rigid observer of good order, and added something more strict then usiall. With the sweetnesse of this doctrine all godly minded men were inamoured, and much it affected the learned, that Christ, the Prophets and Apostles were brought out of darknes & prison, & that the difference of the Law and the Gospels, of Gods Word & Philosophy, (of which they read nothing in Thomas, Scotus and their fellows) now * was manifested. At this time also young students were invited to a more exact study of the Latine & Greek tongue, whereupon many worthy and ingenious men were much affected with the sweetnesse of polite learning, and abhorred the barbarous and sophistical style of the Monkes. And now also Luther betook himselfe to the study of the Greeke and Hebrew tongues, that upon his knowledge of the phrase and propriety of the originall, he might more exactly judge of doctrines grounded thereupon.

Luther being thus busied, into Misnia and Saxonic, John Tecelius a Dominican frier brought indulgences to be sold. This Tecelius was adjudged to death by Maximilian the Emperor, and commanded to be thrown into the river Oenoponte, but was pardoned at the request of Frederike Duke of Saxony, who as it befell was in those coastes at his condemnation. This Tecelius averred (as other matters, especially)
especially) that he had so large a commission from the Pope, that though a man should have deflowered the Blessed Virgin, for money he could pardon the sinne. And further he did not onely give pardons for sins past, but for sins to come. And not long after an Edict was set forth with Albertus the Archbishops arms, which enjoyned the officers in especiall manner to commend the validitie of the indulgences. The Pardoners also at certain rates gave license on dayes prohibited to eate milke, cheese, egges, flesh.

Luthers Godly zeale being inflamed with these proceedings, set forth certaine propositions concerning Indulgences. These he publiquely affixed at the Church next to the Castle of Wittenberg, on All Saints Eve, An. 1517.

Hereupon Tecelius persiffting in his old course, and hoping thereby the more to oblige the Pope to himself, calleth a Senate of Monks and Divines of his own ftamp: and sets them on work to write something against Luther. In the meane time he himself might not be silent: Nor would he onely preach against Luther, but with open mouth cryeth and thunders, that Luther was deservedly to be burnt as an Heretick: and withall publiquely cast Luthers propositions and his Sermon concerning Indulgences into the fire.

These violent courses of Tecelius and his complices, necessarily put Luther upon a more copious declaration and defence of the Truth. Thus began these Controversies, in which Luther aymed not
not at, nor so much as thought of the change, which followed: nor indeed did altogether disallow of the Indulgences, but desired a moderation in their use. Yea, it appeared that Luther would have been quiet, so that his adversaries had been enjoined silence. But when he saw, that whatsoever the Popes crafty mony-gatherers insinuated to Albertus Archbishop of Mentz, was defended and believed by the common sort, and yet knew not that Tecelius was hired by Albertus to make those Sermons for the purchasing of his Bishops roab: He the day before the Calends of Novemb. An. 1517. complained to the Archbishop by writing concerning their impious clamours, and intreated that he by the authority of his place would call in their libels, and prescribe to the Preachers some other forme of preaching their pardons: so Luther * himself saith. At the same time Luther sent him Propositions concerning Repentance and Indulgences: which he then first set forth. These are extant Tom. 1. of Luthers works. The Archbishop returned no answer to Luthers epistle. Tecelius opposed contrary Positions made by Conrad Wimpin and others, at Franckfort on Vindrus; and compared the Pope with Peter, and the cross erected by the Pope with Christs crosse: At Hal in Saxony the Students of Wittenberg publickly burnt in the market place Tecelius his Theses: of this Luther thus writeth to Ioh. Longus. That you may understand aforehand, what was done about the burning of Tecelius Propositions, left fame (as often it comes to passe) should misreport the matter.
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The Students being extremely weary of the old dunsitcal course of studies, and most desirous of the sacred Bible, and it may be out of their love to me, when they knew that one was sent by Tetzel Hal, and was come with his Positions, went presently unto him, and terrified him, asking him how he durst bring such buffe thither. Some bought of him, some took the rest from him, and (giving intimation that whosoever would see Tecelius Positions burnt, should come to the market place at two a clock) burnt 800 of them. All this was unknown to the Prince, the Senate and Rector, and all of us. This great injury done the man by our Students displeaseth myself and the rest. And though I am blamelesse, yet I fear that the whole proceeding will be laid to my charge. A great bruite was raised hereupon, but especially amongst them, with a just indignation. What will be the issue hereof, I cannot say: sure it is, that my danger will be much the more.

When Luther perceived that the Positions were very well liked of, and entertained as found and orthodox; which he at first propounded to be discusfed by disputation, till the Church defined, what was to be thought concerning Indulgences: he wrote to Ierom Bishop of Brandenburg, under whose Jurisdiction he was, and submitted what he had written to the Bishops judgement; and intreated him that he would dash out with his pen, or consume with the fire, what he thought unfound. The Bishop answered Luther, and declared that his desire was, that the setting forth of his arguments about those matters should a little while be deferred: and that he wished that

Luther's excuse.

Tom. 1. p. 63.
Lat.

Luther writ-
teth to the
Bishop of
of Brandenb.
Tom. 1. p. 63.
He wrote to Staupicius.

He wrote also to Ioh. Staupicius the Vicar of the Augustinian partie; and giveth him an account of his proceedings, and sendeth to him the Answers of the disputations concerning the validitie of Indulgences to be imparted to Pope Leo the tenth. In these he shewed the Pope how inconsiderately and fordidly the disposers of his Indulgences had abused his authoritie. He also annexed thereunto the Protestation, which is extant in the 1. Tom. of his works.

Now also John Eckius opposed Luther's conclusions, with Obilities or markes of disgrace. To them Luther opposed his Afterises or notes of approbation. After this Silvester Prierias a Dominican, and Mr of (as they call it) the sacred Palace, very confidently enters into the quarrell with a Dialogue and pre-face to Leo the Pope. In this writing Prierias set downe certaine Thesees for the ground of his judgement. Luther answered him and opposed the sacred scripture to the authority of Thomas Aquinas, whom Prierias cited. Upon this a reply was made against Luther: in it Prierias sayd that he liked it well, that Luther did submit himselfe to the pleasure of the Pope; was not ambitious, and did defend Thomas, as the Angelical Doctor. Luther answered this with an Epistle onely to the Reader: & together with other matters, sayth: If the Pope and Cardinals be of the same opinion, if at Rome the same doctrine be taught, there is
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No doubt, but that Rome is the very seat of Antichrist: and that Greece, and Bohemia, and all others are happy, that they made a departure from the Pope: and that new commendations of the Pope were daily invented to prevent the calling of a lawfull Council.

Afterward 1o. Hogostratus a Dominican writeth bitterly against Luther & exciteth the Pope to use the rounder course of fire and faggot. Luther answered him in briece, and told him of his cruell bent: and wittily taxed the ignorance of the man: and admonisheth him not to proceed to seake laureolam in mustaceo, the laurel garland in so mean a perfection.

In the yeere 1518. Luther, though most men dissuaded him, yet to shew his observance of authority, went (for the most part on foot) to the college of Hidelberg. At Herbipolis the Bishop entertained him courteously. So also did Wolfgang the Count Palatine at Hidelberg. In the Colledge of the Augustinians now cal'd the Colledge of Sapience, he disputed about Justification by faith. Bucer was there present, and by his quicknesse in writing tooke what Luther spake, and imparted all to Beat. Rhenanus, who gave Luther much deserved commendations. Of this disputacion Luther thus speaketh. The Doctours admitted my disputing with them willingly, and argued the matter with me with much modesty, that in that very regard, I hold them worth much commendations. For though they thought that Divinity strong, yet they all argued seriously and strongly against it, except one alone, who was the fifth of them a Junior Doctour: He made all the Auditory to laugh by saying, if the Rustick

Luther goeth to Hidelberg 1518.

Hogostratus controversy with Luther.

Luther's conclusion concerning Rome.

6 Cal. of May. See the Theses. Tom. I. pag. 141. Bucer present.

Luther's speech of that disputacion.
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Upon Luther's returne he wrote an Epistle to * Indocus a Divine and Philosopher of Isenac, once his Tutour. Where he hath this speech. All the Doctours of Wittenberge (in the doctrine concerning grace and good workes) are of my Judgement, yea the whole University except one licenciat Doctour Sebastian: even the Prince himselfe and our Ordinary Bishop, and many of the Chieftaines, and all the ingenious Citizens with joynct consent affirme, that before they neither knew, nor heard of the Gospel, nor of Christ.

After that he put forth in print the resolutions and declarations of his propositions about Indulgences, whch he dedicated to Pope Leo the 3. as was before said. The causes of his printing them were, as he said: to mitigate his adversaries, to satisfy some mens request, and not to suffer some to conceive, that the whole businesse was determined. For he confessed that of many things he yet doubted, of some things he was ignorant, and did per- tinaciously affirme nothing; but did humbly submit all to the Popes determination. Hereupon Maximilian the Emperor being solicitous of the event of disputations of this nature, moved the Pope to interpose his own authoritie. The Pope by Tho. Cajetan Cardinal cited Luther to Rome. This he also desired of Frederick Elector of Saxony. Luther having notice hereof, mainly indeavoured, that the cause might be handled in Germany under competent Judges: and at length he prevailed, by the mediation of Wittenberg * University to the Pope, and by Charles Multitius

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*Tom. 3. epist. pag. 63.

Lutheres judgement approved.

The declaration of Luther's Propos. Tom. 1. Lat. An. 1518.

Luther cited to Rome. Tom. 1. Lat. Wilt. pag. 203.

* Tom. 1. pag. 106.
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Multitius a German the Popes Chamberlain, and the mediation of the Elector of Saxony to Cajetan then the Popes Legate, that at Aupsburg before the Legate himself Luther might plead his own cause.

About the beginning of October, Luther came on foot to Aupsburg, in his hood borrowed of Wenceslaus Linkius, and much wearyed with the journey: and upon assurance of his safetie was admitted to the Cardinals presence. Who admonished him, first; To become a sound member of the Church, and to recant the errors, which he had divulged: secondly, to promise that he would not again teach his former doctrines: thirdly, that he would abstain from other doctrines, which would disturb the peace of the Church. Here also it was objected to him, that he denied the Merit of Christ to be a treasure of Indulgences: and that he taught that faith was necessary for all which should come to the Sacrament. Cajetan proved his own opinion by the decree of Clement the sixth, and at large extolled the authoritie of the See of Rome, as being fully preferred before all Scriptures and Councels. After much debating the matters, Luther intreated some time to deliberate thereon: and returned the next day, and in the presence of some witnesses and a Scribe, and foure of the Emperours Counsellors, professed, that he gave the Church of Rome all due observance, and if he had spoken any thing dissenting from the judgement of the Church, he would reverse it: but could revoke no error, being not yet convicted by Scripture of any, and did appeale to the judgement of the Church. Hereupon the Legate, sharply chiding D Luther,
Luther, dismissed him, and dealt with Stumpcicius to bring Luther to revoke, what he had taught. But Luther not convinced as yet by Scripture, persisted in the truth. Yet at length fearing least the Cardinal should make more use of his power and greatness, then Scholarlike disquisitions, he appealed to Rome, and departed from Augsburg, October 20. Because the Cardinal charged him not to come into his presence, unless he would recant. Yet Luther left behind him an epistle to the Cardinal, and affixed thereunto a formal appeal unto the Pope.

Cajetan took Luthers departure in ill part, and wrote to the Duke of Saxony, that he would either send Luther to Rome, or banish him out of his territories, and intreateth him not to give credit to Luthers defenders, and to take heed of staining the illustrious Family, whence he was descended. The Elector returned answer: That now it was not in his power to do this, because Luther was not convicted of any error, and did much good service in the University, and did offer his cause to trial and disputation. The resolution of the Duke was more confirmed by an Epistle of Erasmus, and the intercession and vote of the University of Wittenberg. Here I may not passe over a notable proofe of Luthers Heroike courage. When Luther came to Augsburg, he by the counsell of such as the Prince Elector sent with him, waited three days for to have the Emperours Letters for his safe-tie. In the mean time the Cardinal sent one for Luther: but he denied to come, untill the Emperour granted what he desired. At this the messenger was
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was offended and said: Do you think that Prince Frederick will take up arms in your behalfe? I desire it not, said Luther, in any wise. Then the Partie: Where then will you abide? Luther answered: Under the cope of Heaven. The Italian replyed: Had you the Pope and the Cardinals in your power, what would you do? I would, said Luther, give them all due honour and reverence. At this the Messenger after the Italian manner biting his thumbs, went away.

Upon these dealings Luther's spirit fainted not, yet least he should cause detriment or danger to any one, or derive suspicion on his Prince, and that he might more freely deal with the Papall crue, would have gone into France or some other country. But his friends on the contrary, counselled him to stick firmly to Saxony: and that the Popes Legate should be certified, that Luther was ready in any safe place appointed him to make his answer. But Luther having settled his resolution to depart, took his leave of the Prince Elector, and by a letter sent to him, Novemb. 29. thanked his Highness for all friendly offices of his love. The Prince sent that letter to the Legate: and appointed Luther to abide at Wittenberg. Of this Luther thus wrote: The Prince was fully minded, that I should stay: but what his mind now is, since the Royal proceedings are published, and I have appealed to the Council, I know not.

For he understanding by the Cardinals Letter, that Judgement should passe on him at Rome, he made a new Appeal, saying, that he was forced of necessitie to appeal from the Pope to the Council ensuing: which

Luther was intended to goe from Saxony.

Tom. 1. epif. pag. 120.

Luther appealeth from the Pope to the Council.

An. 1518.
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which was in many respects to be preferred before the Pope.

About the same time towards the end of the 18 yeere, the Pope sent Charles Multitius a Misnian Knight, and bestowed on Prince Frederick a golden Rose, according to custome consecrated by the Pope on the fourth Sunday in Lent: and exhorted him to continue in the faith of his ancestors. He was earnest with Luther to be reconciled to the Pope: and had seventie Briefes Apostolicall (as they call them) to shew: that if the Prince would deliver him out of his custody, for which cause the Pope sent him the Rose, in seventie Townes the seventie Briefes should be set up, and so he should be brought safe to Rome. But he opened the closet of his heart to Luther himself, when he thus spake. O Martin, I conceived you to be an old man, and sitting in some solitary place as an ancient Divine, in some private manner to have disputed your Tenents: But now I see you to be in your best age, and full of vigour. Had I 25000. armed men I could not be confident that I could bring you to Rome: for as I came hitherward, I tried how men stood affected; and found, that where one man stood for the Pope, three stood for you against him. What Multitius did in this kinde was ridiculous, for he asked of women and maids in the Innes as he came, what they thought of the Seat of Rome. They not knowing the force of this speech, answered, What know we, whether at Rome ye sit on wooden or stone seats? He further required of Luther, that he would have a regard to the Churches peace; and promised to endeavour,
endeavour, that the Pope should do the like: Luther freely promised most readily to doe what ever he could with a safe conscience in regard of Gods Truth: and affirmed that himself was desirous and studious of peace, and that it was not his fault that these stirres arose; for necessity had urged him to do, what he had done.

Multitus also called unto him Tecelius the cheife original of these debates: and with sharp wordes and threatens so daunted the man, till now a clamorous, unaffrighted, bold face, terrible to all: so that ever after he languished and with heartes griefe pined away. Luther wrote a consolatory letter to him in this case: but for feare of the Popes indignation he died. Frederik the Elector a prudent and Religious Prince neither yeelded to the Popes desire, nor vouchsafed his Rose any respect: though Multitus wonderfully boasted of it at Dresa, & sayd: Doctor Martin is in my power. About this time the Bohemians sending a booke written by John Hus to Luther, encouraged him to constancy and patience: and confessed that the Divinity taught by Luther was sound and right.

Matters being growne to this height of dispute, and Luther having many adversaries; at Leipsick a towne in Misna belonging to George Duke of Saxony Cosen german to Prince Frederik, in the 19. yeere a disputation was held. Thither came Andre. as Carolo Stadius accompanied with Luther, Melanchthon and Barninus Duke of Pomerania. He at that time was in office in the University of Wittenberg. Thither came also John Eckius a Divine of Ingolstadt.

The Bohemians encourage Luther.

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Hereupon the 17. day of June, John Eckius and Carolo Stadius began the disputation about free-will. Namely, whether there be in man any free will to doe good as of himselfe? that is, as they say: whether in congruitie we deservfe grace, when we doe what is in us to doe? Eckius granted that there is not in man a genuine and natural power and ability to doe a good worke, but an acquired. On this point eight dayes were spent by his playing the Sophister.

Luther could by no means obtaigne leave of Duke George freely with his safety to dispute, and thereupon came not as a disputer, but an as Auditor to Leipzig, under the protection granted to Carolo Stadius. Whereupon Eckius comming to Lutheres Lodging said, that he heard that Luther refused to dispute, Luther answered: How can I dispute, seeing I cannot obtaigne protection from George the Duke? To this Eckius replied: If I may not dispute with you, I will no longer dispute with Carolo Stadius. For I came hither to dispute with you. If I can obtaigne for you the Dukes leave, will you dispute? When Luther assented thereunto, Eckius presently procured for him a publicke grant of safety and liberty to dispute. This Eckius did out of an assured confidence of victorie and renowne to himselfe, by confirming that the Pope is the Head of the Church, Inre Divino, by Divine right: which Luther denied. Hence Eckius tooke occasion at large to flatter the Pope and demerit his favour, and to derive much hatred and envie on Luther. This the bold champion stoutly attempted in the whole disputation, but was not able
ble to make good his cause, or confute Luther.

Eckius's chief arguments were: that the Church could not be without an head, seeing it was a body consisting of several members. Then he produced the place in Matthew: Thou art Peter &c. and some speeches of St. Jerome and Cyprian, and the Council of Constance, where against the Articles of the Hussites, it was concluded: That it was necessary to salvation, that men should believe that the Pope was the Oecumenical Bishop, or Christ's vicar over the whole world. Afterward they entered into dispute about Purgatory, and Indulgences, (but in brief) about repentance, about remission both of sin and its punishment, and about the power of priests. The two last days Carolo Stadarius disputed again, and on the 14. day of July the disputation ended. This disputation was set forth afterward by Luther, who granted that the Pope by humane right was head of the Church. Whereupon Duke George inviting Luther and Eckius to dinner, and embracing both of them, sayd: Whether the Pope have his authority by divine or humane right, Pope he is. Luther afterward changed his opinion about this point. Before this disputation at Leipsick, Luther was desired by Charles Multitus to goe to Confluence, there to plead his cause before him being the Popes Commissary. But Luther excused himselfe, and shewed that for many reasons, he neither could, nor ought to goe thither.

In the yeere 1520. upon Multitus advise, Luther wrote to the Pope, and sent him his booke lately written concerning Christian liberty, and offered conditions...
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Editions of peace. About this time Frederik the Elector fell into a grievous sickness. Whereupon Luther moved by some friends, and out of Christian charity wrote the booke called Tesseradecas to comfort him. Then also he wrote the book Of Confession of sins: in which he took occasion to speak of vowes, and deplored their torturing of mens consciences. And whereas in another Treatise written by him, he had said: that he judged it behoovesfull, if the Counsell would so permit, that the Lords Supper should be administered to all in both kindes: This speech, because it directly crossed the last Lateran Counsell, was excepted against by many: amongst whom was John Bishop of Misnia; who prohibited the Churchmen under his jurisdiction to administer the Lords Supper in both kindes, and enjoyned them to suppress Luthers booke. Luther maintained his cause and answered his Edict. In the mean time the Divines of Loven (consulting with Adrian Cardinal of Derthuse then in Spain) and the Divines of Cullen by a decree censured some of Luthers bookes as wicked and worthy to be burnt: and held it fit that Luther should recant his opinions. When Luther heard of this, he answered every particular punctually. And because he found so many and so great adversaries, he wrote to Charles the fifth newly created Emperour: and intreating pardon for this his address, humbly besought him, that he would so long onely afford him protection, as that he might give account of his proceedings, and overcome, or be overcome: because it would well beseeme the Imperial
rial power not to permit the innocent to be violently handled, and trampled on by their wicked adversaries. To the same purpose he wrote to other the Dukes and Lords of the Empire, and shewed them how he began and was drawn into these attempts. Not long after he wrote to Albertus Archbishop of Mentz, Cardinal, and in submissive manner shewed how he was condemned by two sorts of men; one, who never read his books; the other, who read them, but with hearts full of hatred and prejudice. The Bishop answered, that he heartily desired, that all sacred matters should be handled both by Luther and all other Divines, (as it was meet) religiously, reverently, modestly, without tumults, envie, contumely. He said moreover, that it was a grief to him to heare, that some great men disputed concerning the Primacie of Rome, free-will, and other sleight matters (so he call'd them) not much pertaining to a Christian indeed: and that such like rash opinions could not be broached among the ignorant people, but with encouraging them to disobedience. He wrote also about the Lords Suppers celebrating in both kinds, and about the Authoritie of Councels. And shut up his letter with Gamaliels verdict. If thy work be of God, it will stand firme and unmoveable: if it was begun of envie or pride, it will easily be blown away. In like manner Luther wrote to Adolphus Bishop of Mersberg, who answered him to the same purpose, and admonished him, that he would over-rule his pen with the love of Christ the Author of our peace.

At the same time it befell, that Frederik Duke of Saxony had some occasion to send to Rome, and gave
gave the business in charge to Valentine a Dithleben a German. He brought word back, that the Elector was in disgrace at Rome for Luthers sake: because he permitted his new opinions to be dispersed. The Prince hereupon thus wrote in his own defence, and answered, That he never defended the doctrine and books of Luther, nor was of that bent: and though he did heare, that many learned men approved Luthers judgement; yet he opened not his minde therein. Further he said, that Luther was ready to give an account of his doctrine before the Popes Legate, so that he might be assured of safe conduct: and that if his error was detected, he would change his opinion: and that Luther of his own accord would have departed out of those coasts, had not Multitius persuaded to detain him there, rather then to permit him to settle elsewhere, that so he might more freely and safely attempt some higher designe. And therefore that there was no cause, why any one should have an ill opinion of him.

To this Letter the Pope returned answer, and sending a Copie of the Bull, which Eckius had obtained, desired, that the Elector would make Luther to recant, or if he refused so to do, be would imprison him, and keep him safe, till be further declared his pleasure. At this the Court of Saxony was somewhat troubled; and Luther began to think of some retired place, where he might conceal himself. Some Noble Germans approvers of Luthers judgement, hearing this, offered Luther entertainment and protection, as namely, Francis a Sickengen, Hulderike Hutten, Sylvester de Schavenburgen. Of whom the said Sylvestre wrote
wrote to Luther, and intreated him, not to depart into Bohemia, or into any other countrey, but to come to him, during the time of the Popes exasperation and menaces, and promised that an hundred French Horse should attend his safety. Hereupon Luther taking courage admonisheth Spalatinus, that this course should by the Letter of Duke Frederik, be made known to the Cardinal of St. George. These are Luther's words. I send you the Letter of Sylvester Schavenb. the French Knight, and were it not displeasing to you, I desire that by the letter of the Prince, notice may be given to the Cardinal of St. George, whereby they may know, that should they with their threats and curses expell me from Witten, they should effect nothing else, but to make a bad matter much worse. For now there are not only in Bohemia, but even in the midst of Germany such Princes, who both will and can defend me from the threats thundred out against me by mine adversaries. And then perhaps it may so fall out, that biding under their protection, I shall more strongly bend my forces against the Romanists, then if under the Princes government, I should publiquely performe my place as Reader of Divinitie. This, unless God prevent it, will doubtlesse be the issue of this matter. Hitherto I have given all due respect to the Prince, but then, if I be provoked by ill usage, I shall not need to submit unto him. And therefore in what matters soever I have not so roughly dealt with them, let them attribute my forbearance therein not to my modesty, nor to their tyranny, nor their deserts, but to my respect to the Prince, and to his authority, as also to the common good of the Students
of Wittenberg. Concerning myself, I venture upon the danger, and contemne Romes both fury and favour. Let them censur and burne all mine, I will not be reconciled to them, nor at any time hereafter joyne with them. On the contrary, I (unlesse I can get no fire) will burn all the Pontifician law, the sink of heresies; yea, I will put an end to my humble observance, which I have hitherto in vaine shewed, and wherewith the enemies of the Gospel are more and more incensed.

Luther also before he saw the Popes Bull, put forth his book, Of the Babylonian Captivitie. In which he wished, that what he had written concerning Indulgences was abolished, and this proposition divulged in stead thereof; Indulgences are the wicked tricks of Romes flatterers: And in stead of what he wrote against the Pope, this Proposition, The Pope-dome is a robustious Hunting practised by the Bishop of Rome. Then he handled the Sacraments, and acknowledged but three of the seven to be Sacraments of Christs Covenant. He wrote also against the execrable Bull of Antichrist, and call'd the Pope Antichrist: and confirmed the Articles censured by the Bull.

Charles the Emperour that yeere came to Aquis-gran, where with great solemnnitie he was crowned Emperour. About the Calends of September, he with Frederik Elector of Saxony went to Colonia Agrippina. At this time the controversies of Religion being hotly prosecuted, the Elector would not suddenly do anything of his own head, in a matter of so great import: but would try the votes of the
most prudent and learned Clarkes, and among others of Erasimus, whom he sent for from Lovan to Collen. When first he requested to heare Erasimus judgement concerning Luther, and wondered that so great and extreame hatred should be raised by some Monks and the Pope against Luther, whole life and carriage he conceived to be commendable, and his doctrine not impious; Erasimus answered in a pleasant manner; That his Highnesse needed not wonder at that: for Luther had in his disputations dealt against the Monks bellies, and the Popes crowne. Afterward seriously and gravely giving his opinion concerning the controversies of these times, he shewed, that Indulgences, and other abuses and superstitions were justly taxed, and that their reformation was necessary, and that the summe of Luthers doctrine was orthodox: and that onely he seemed too vehement and violent in contending with his adversaries: and that an Evangelical business was to be handled after an Evangelical manner. Frederick the Elector being confirmed in the truth by the sage judgement of Erasimus, did gravely admonish Luther to moderate his fierceness in disputes. Then also there came to Collen Martinus Coroccius and Ieronimus Alexander, who again set upon Duke Frederik in the Popes name. But when the Elector answered not as they expected, they said, that they must deal with him according to the forme of the decree, and burnt Luthers books.

It is reported that these advocates of the Pope did promise Erasimus a Bishoprick of rich reневew, Luthers books burnt.
if he would write against Luther. But he answered: That Luther was a man too great for him to write against: and that he learned more from one short page of Luther's writings, than from all Thomas Aquinas books. It is also said, that Margaret the Emperours Aunt, who ruled all Belgium, when the Magistris nostri of Lovan complained, that Luther with his writings did subvert all Christendome, did demand, what manner a man Luther was; when they answered, that he was an unlearned Monke; she replied: Why then, see that all you learned men, being a great multitude, write against that one unlearned fellow: and doubtlesse the world will give more credit to many of you being learned, then to him being but one and unlearned.

Luther knowing what was done with his writings, An. 1520. Decemb. 10. called the students of Wittenberg together, and in a frequent assembly of learned men, before the gate of Elister neer to the great Colledge, where a fire was made, cast the Popes lawes and the Bull of Leo with somewritings of Eckius, Emser, and others thereinto; and said: Because thou troublest Christ the holy one of God, eternall fire will trouble thee. The next day he expounded the Psalms and earnestly charged his auditors that as they loved the salvation of their soules, they should take heed of the Popes statutes. And in writing gave a reason presently of this his action. And out of the great multitude of errors in the Popes Lawes culled out these thirty.

1. The Pope and his clergy are not bound to be subject and obedient to the commandements of God.
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2. It is not a precept, but a counsel of S: Peter, where he saith: That all men ought to be subject to Kings.

3. That by the Sun the Papal power, by the Moon the Imperial or secular power in a common wealth was signified.

4. That the Pope and his Chaire were not bound to be subject to Councils and Decrees.

5. That the Pope had in the Closet of his breast all lawes, and plenary power over all lawes.

6. Whence it followeth: That the Pope hath power to disanull, to change and determine of all Councils, and all Constitutions and Ordinances: as he daily practiseth.

7. That the Pope of Rome hath a right to require an oath of all Bishops, and to oblige them to him in regard of their palls received of him.

8. If the Pope be so neglective of his owne and his brethrens salvation, and so unprofitable and remissee in his place, that he carry along with himself (as if he was the chief slave of Hell) innumerable people to be eternally tormented; no mortal man ought to reprove him for this sinne.

9. That the salvation of all faithfull men dependeth on the Pope, next after God.

10. No man on earth can judge the Pope, or censure his determinations: but the Pope is judge of all men.

11. The Sea of Rome giveth authority to all rights and Lawes, and is it selfe subject to none of them.

12. The Rocke on which Christ, Matt. 16. buildeth his Church is the Sea of Rome, with them adjoyning.

13. The Keyes were given to Saint Peter only.

14. Christs
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14. Christ's priesthood was translated from him to Saint Peter.

15. The Pope hath power to make ordinances and laws for the Catholike Church.

16. This sentence, whatsoever thou bindest on earth, shall also be bound in heaven, establisheth this conclusion: that the Pope hath power to charge the Catholike Church even with his rash lawes.

17. That his command of abstinence from flesh, egges, butter, and other meates made of milke, is to be observed, else mens soul and are liable to excommunication.

18. The Pope forbidding all priests to marry wives, inhibits all the Priesthood from Matrimony.

19. Pope Nicolaus either the 3. or 4. in his Anti-christian Decretal, among other matters badly decreed, well judged that Christ by giving the Keys, gave power over both the celestial and terrestrial kingdom.

20. The Pope judgeth that land and impious lye for a truth and requireth that it be receiv'd, namely, That Constantine the Great gave him the Romans provinces and Countries and power over the whole inferior world.

21. The Pope affirmeth, that he is the heire of the sacred Roman Empire.

22. The Pope teacheth that it is just and lawfull for a Christian by force to repulse force and violence.

23. That inferiors and subjects may be disobedient and resist their Princes, and that the Pope can depose Kings.

24. The
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24. The Pope laboureth to have power to dissolve and breake all oathes, leagues, obligements made between superiours and inferiours.

25. The Pope hath power to break and alter vowes made to God. De vot. et vot. red.

26. The Pope teache them that he that delayes to pay his vow commanded by God, is not to be censured, as a breaker of his vow. ibid.

27. The Pope teache them, that no married man or woman can serve God.

28. The Pope compareth his unprofitable lawes with the Gospels and sacred scriptures.

29. The Pope hath power to interpret and unfold or expound the sacred scripture at his pleasure and will: and to permit no man to interpret the same otherwise then the Pope himselfe pleaseth.

30. The Pope receiveth not his authority, power, strength, and dignitie from the scripture; but the scripture from the Pope.

This in briefe is the summe of the whole Canon Law: The Pope is God on earth, supreme in all heavenly, earthly, spiritual, and secular matters. And, All things are the Popes; to whom none dare say: what do you?

Here Frederik Prince Elector obtained of the Emperour to call Luther to the Court held at Wormes in March An. 1521. Luther receiving the Emperours graunt for his safety, went from Wittenberg, and was conducted thence by Casparus Sturnius Herauld, and accompanied with Iohannes Jonas, Icr. Schurfius, and Nic. Amsderfe. Of the students he
he tooke onely Peter Suavenus a Dane as his companion: who afterward being called by Christian King of Denmarke to his Court did much advance good letters, and did the Church good service. When he came to Hidelberg, he proffered to dispute publiquely with any that would.

Here many did dehort Luther from going to Worms: Others said, that by the burning of his books, he might know what was the Popes censure concerning himselfe: Others told him of the usage of Hus and Savonarola. But Luther with a resolute courage lightly regarded their advice, and said, that these discouragements were but cast into his way by Satan, who knew, that by the profession of the truth, especially in so illustrious a place, his kingdom would be shaken and indamaged. He further brake forth into these words: If I knew that there were so many Devils at Wormes, as tiles on the houses, yet would I goe there. Also Francis of Sickingen one in high esteeme with the Emperour, at Bucers request did invite Luther to come to his Castle at Ebernburgh: where the cause might more commodiously be agitated. But Luther answered, that he was sent for by the Emperour not to Ebernburgh, but to Wormes: and thither he would goe. So taking his journey he came to Wormes on April the sixth, which was the third Holyday after Misericordias Domini. They say the Duke of Bavaria his letter, whether suborned by others, or by some instinct, met Luther at his entrance into the towne with a Crosse, as is wont in funerals, and sung with a loud voyce: Welcome comest thou hither.
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hither, and much desired of us, who sat in darkness. Presently some counselled Caesar, that Luther was to be dealt with, as they did with Hus. But Caesar thought it just to make good his promise: and especially Lodowik the Elector Palatine withstood the desigment: and prudently sayd: That if they should take that course with Luther, it would set a brand of infamy and eternal disgrace on the name of Germany.

On the 17. day of April, at 4. a clock in the afternoon, he appeared before the Emperor, and many Princes, his Aefflours. Here John Eckius a Lawyer, Caesar Spokesman, and Officiall of Triers, upon command said, with an audible voyce. Martin Luther, there are two causes, why Caesar with the consent of the Princes and States have sent for you: which I now propound to you, and expect your answer. First, Whether these Books (here he held up a bundle of books written in the Latine & German tongues) were written by you, and do you acknowledge them to be yours? The second, Whether you will revoke and recant any thing in them, or stand in defence of them. Jerome Schurfius a Lawyer on Luther's part, desired that the titles of the books might be recited and spoken publiquely, which being done; Luther briefly repeated what was desired of him, and answered. "Concerning the books now named, I professe and acknowledge that they be mine; but concerning my defence of what I have written, (that I may answer rightly thereunto) seeing it is a matter of very great moment, I desire (that I may
“may not speake rashly and against my conscience) sometime to deliberate. After some debate of the matter, *Eckius* said again. "Though by *Cæsar* letters missive you might well understand the cause, why you were sent for; and therefore need not to delay, but make your answer presently: yet *Cæsar*, such is his clemency, granteth you one day for to deliberate on the matter: and commandeth that to morrow about this houre you here present your self, and make your distinct answer by word of mouth, and not by writing. Upon *Luther* desiring of respit, some thought that he would not be constant: but they failed in their opinion. Here I may not passe it over in silence, that when *Luther* drew neere to *Cæsar*’s throne, many of the Princes Counsell encouraged him, saying: that he should be of good courage and not faint, *Nor fear* them who could kill the body onely, but not hurt the soule. Others put him in minde, to meditate on this: *When ye shall appeare before Kings and Princes, be not solicitous, how and what to answer. For in that moment, it shall be given you, what you shall say.*

The day following, *Luther* appeared at the houre appointed. And after that *Eckius* had asked him: *What now was his resolution?* he first humbly desired of the *Emperour and Princes*, "That they would grant him their gentle attention: and then said: "Of the books which I have written, some of them tend to faith and Pietie; to these my adversaries give ample Testimony. Should I recant these, I might be justly censured as a wicked man. Other"
of my books are against the Pope of Rome and Papistickall doctrine, which both hath and still doth much trouble the Christian world, and doth much mischiefe. These should I revoke, I should confirme their tyranny. The third fort of my books are against some private men, who defend the Papists cause, and by many calumnies upon me. In these, I confesse, I have been too vehement: and besides I confesse, that I am not of an unerring perfection: but yet I can not safely revoke these books, unlefe I will let open a gap to the impudency of many. Being a man I may erre: and therefore desire any one better to instruct me by the testimony of Scripture. When he had thus said, Eckius with a sowe countenance replyed. You answer not to the matter, nor doth it pertaine to you to call the authoritie of the Counsell into question. A plaine and direct answer is required of you, whether you desire that your writings should stand good. Then said Luther. Seeing you, O Cæsar, and the Princes command me to answer punctually, I obey. This is my resolution: Unlesse I be convicted by testimony of Scripture or evident reason, I may not revoke any thing, which I have written or spoken. For I will not in any wise wound my conscience. I do not conforme my beleefe to the Popes or the Counsels determinations alone; for they have often erred and delivered contrarieties one to another. I neither can nor will doe any thing concerning Gods word to the offence of my conscience.
ence. Seeing it is neither safe nor honest to do any thing against conscience. This will I stand to: vary from this I may not. God helpe me, Amen. When he was againe urged, he persifted in this answer. So they departed.

The next day Cesar sent a letter to the assembly of the Princes; this was the summe thereof. "Our ancestors and other Christian Princes obeyed carefully the Church of Rome which now Dr. Martin Luther opposeth: now because he is resolute not to yeeld one inch of his errors, we cannot without a blemish to our name depart from the example of our ancestors, but must defend the ancient faith, and be assistant to the Sea of Rome: we will then excommunicate Martin Luther himselfe and all his adherents, and take any other course, which may conduce to extinquish these disputes. But we will not in any wise violate, and breake our promise made to him under our seale, but give him safe conduct to the place, whence he came.

This Letter of Cesar was diligently and a good while scanned in the Senate by the Princes. It is reported that some there were among them, who would have followed the decree and practice of the Council of Constance: and held themselves not bound to make good the promise of his safe return. But some of the Princes, especially Ladowik Prince Palatine (as it is reported) earnestly withstood them. Wherefore they judged that not onely fidelity was to be observed towards him, but also, that he
he was not rashly to be condemned: because the matter was of very great consequence, whatsoever the Emperour decreed: whom being newly come to the Imperiall seat they did well perceive to be pressed and provoked by the Popes instruments against Luther.

After a few dayes the Archbishop of Triers and other Princes, who by Casars permission were present, call Luther April 24. unto them. The Bishop then in a friendly manner dealt with him to desist from his resolution. But Luther giving him thanks for care of his safety, stood firmly in his former doctrine: and submitted what ever he had written to Casars and the Princes perusal, and judgement, so that they tried them by Gods word. When the Bishop asked him, what remedy he knew or could advise for these stirres? Luther answered: None other then that of Gamaliel in the Acts of the Apostles. If this counsel and proceeding be of Men, it will not continue: if of God, no power of man can dissolve it. And this he besought him to signifie to the Pope. The Bishop againe said; What if the Articles were collected and submitted to the Council? Luther answered, Yes they might, so that they were not the same which the Council at Constance condemned. The Bishop replying: that he feared they would be the very same. Luther courageously answered; Those will I defend, though I was presently to die. Hereupon the Bishop quietly dismissed Luther: who intreated him, that he might have leave to returne to his friends, and have safe conduet from Casar. The Bishop promised to obtaine it for him, and a little while
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while after sent Eckius the officer of Caesar to signifie to Luther, "that he had free liberty to depart under Caesar's protection within 21. dayes: with all he was bid not to preach in his journey home, nor to write any thing, which might raise further stirres. Luther answered "As it seemeth good to the Lord, so be it: blessed be the name of God. Afterward he gave humble thankes to Caesar and the Princes, and commended himselfe to them.

On the 26. of April Luther taking his leave departed from Wormes. Cap. Sturmius a Messenger some houre after followed him, and found him at Openheim. Luther being in his journey sent Letters backe both to Caesar and the Princes Electors, and States of the Empire, "commending himselfe and his cause to them; and sayd he was ready to doe any thing, which was meet, except to revoke anything, that he knew to be warranted by Gods word. The Empeor hereupon, May the 28. proscribed Luther: whom Pope Leo on the 28. of March on the day of the administration of the Lords Supper, had excommunicated. At this all men stood earnestly expecting, what those thunder-bolts would effect.

Frederik the Elector a prudent Prince, seeing Luther to have incurred the hatred of all; that no danger might seize on him, committed the business of conveying Luther into some safe place, where he might be free from access; to some faithful friends of the Nobility, that there he should be kept private, till Caesar was departed out of Germany.
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They presently, faithfully, and secretly conveyed him to the Castle of Warttenburg neere Scnack: This place Luther afterward used to call his Patmos. There were but eight privy to this, who did it with that secrecy that not any but themselves could know what was become of him. It is reported that the Papists set their wisards on worke to descry him: but they could not certainly designe the place where he was. Luther abode in that woody wildernesse about tenne monethes: and in this retirednesse wrote diverse usefull Treatises for the Church, as the Explications of the Gospels and Epistles dedicated to Albertus of Mansfield: the book against Latomus about sinne remaining in the regenerate. Besides he cut in two the two finnewes of the Popes kingdome, namely, Private Masses and Monastick Vowes, which books he dedicated to the Augustine Friers (who in his absence abrogated private Masses and began to dispute about Monastick Vowes) and to his Father. They of Wittenberg also gave a reason to the Elector why they did so: and shewed to what end Temples and Colledges were instituted at the first; that is, not for private Masses, but that young people might be there brought up piously: and that the means they were indowes with, were for the use of both Readers and Scholars that were in want. And that this buying and selling of Masses was crept in within foure hundred yeeres of that time.

Luther found courteous entertainment and kind respect in that his wildernesse: for in his Epistles he often mentions the friendly offices of his Hoste; to whom
whom he preached on the Lord's day and at Festa-
vall times in his private Chappell. Some times Lu-
ther for his health's sake went forth into the straw-
berry groves, and somewhat farther into the Mo-
naстерies, which were neere, taking upon him the
name Junker George a noble man, and accompanied
only with one attendant, who was faithfull and se-
cret, and would often warne Luther in the places
where they were entertained, not presently to lay aside
his sword, and to take in hand the books before him; for
so he might be descried. Sometimes he went forth a
hunting with his friends. Of this sport thus he wri-
teth. "I was a hunting two dayes, to see that lordly
but bitter-sweet sport. Here we took two Hares,
and some filly young Partridges. The sport is
meet for such as have nothing else to do. There
did I contemplate as a Divine amidst their nets
and dogs. Nor did the outward appearance of
the game more delight me, then what I concei-
vied by it, move me to pitie and griefe. For what
could this sport signifie and resemble, but by the
dogs, wicked Popish divines, and by the nets, the
cunning tricks and wiles by which they seeke to
catch harmless Christians, as hunters those silly
creatures? This was a most evident mysterie of
the pursuing of plain hearted and faithfull souls.
Yet was there a more cruell mysterie presented
to me: When by my meanes, we kept a young
Hare alive; and put her in my Coats sleeve, and
soleft her: in the meanetime the dogs finding
it, broke one of her legs, and taking her by the
"throat,
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"as she was in the sleeve, stopt her wind. Thus it is
"with Satan and the Pope, who cruelly destroy
"poore souls without regard of my paines to save
"them. I was by this time weary of this sport, and
"thought that more pleasing, where Beares,
"Wolves, Bores, Foxes, and such like savage crea-
tures are strock dead with darts and arrows. It
"comforted me again, (for I took it as a mystery &
"resemblance of salvation) that Hares and harm-
"less creatures are taken by men, & not by Beares,
"Wolves and ravenous Hawkes who resemble Po-
pish Bishops and Divines: because by these may
"be signified a devouring by Hell, by those an ea-
ting of them as food for heaven.

He passed also to Wittenberg from his Patmos ma-
kimg few acquainted therewith, and lodged with
Amsdorfo: here he spent some few dayes and was
merry with his friends, without the Electors know-
ledge. In his retirednesse he was much troubled
with costivenesse, having the benefit of naturel
ease that way but once in four or five dayes: Then
also was he tried by some devillish tentations, which
much disquieted him. This disease he overcame by
exercise, and medicines sent him from Spalatinus.
Then read he also the Hebrew and Greek Bibles:
and besides the books above mentioned, he wrote
many letters to his friends, which be now printed.

At length not enduring further delay and inno-
vations, he returned from his Patmos to Wittenberg,
without the knowledge of the Electour. March
the sixth, Ann. 1522. he rendred these reasons of
his

He came privately to Wittenberg.
Tom. 1. epift. pag. 367.
Luthers infirmity.
Tom. 1. epift. pag. 361.

He returned to Wittenberg.
his return to the Electour. First, said he, I am call'd back by the Letters of the Church and People of Wittenberg, and that with much solicitation and entreaty. Secondly, at Wittenberg Satan hath made an inroad into my flock, and raised such stirres, that I cannot well reprehe and quiet them with my writing alone, but of necessity I must live there, be present among them, and both heare them and speake to them, go in and out before them, and do what I can for their good. Besides I feare, that some great and violent sedition will arise in Germany, and make Germany undergo grievous punishment for its contempt and ingratitude. I thought it therefore needfull to doe, what I ought and could for them in this regard by my counsell and endeavour, to teach, admonish and exhorte them, thereby to avert Gods anger and judgement, or at least to stay them a while. Furthermore, I know well, and am verily perswaded that my preaching, and my proceeding to divulge the Gospel of Christ is not of my own motion; but the worke of God. Nor shall any kinde of death or persecution shake this my confidence, and make me thinke otherwise; and I conceive that I rightly divine that no terrors or crueltie can put out the light already shining. And in an other Epistle. I return to Wittenberg under a more sublime and strong protection, then the Elector of Saxonie can give me. Nor did I ever minde to sue for defence from your Highnesse. Moreover did I know that your Highnesse would and could defend me, verily I would not returne. No sword can advance and maintaine this cause. God alone can order and promote it, without any mans excessive care and helpfull hand. Therefore in this
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this cause he that most strongly trusts to God's assistance, he most surely defendeth himself and others. Seeing therefore I perceive your Highnesse to be weake in faith, I can by no meanes attribute so much to your Highnesse, as to be persuaded that I can be defended and freed from danger by you. I will keep your Highnesse person, your minde and body, and estate safe from all danger and damage in this my cause, whether you believe me or not. Let your Highnesse then be assured and not doubt at all, that this matter is farre otherwise concluded of in heaven, then at Norimberg. For we shall finde, that they which think they have devoured all the Gospel and quell it in the rising, are not yet come to the Benedicite. I have to deal with another manner and more powerfull Prince, then our Duke. He knoweth me, and I him conveniently well. Did your Highnesse believe, you should behold the wonderfull works and glory of God: Whereas you not yet believing, see none of these things. To God be glory and praise for ever. This and much more to this purpose he wrote, shewing his full assurance and plerophory of faith most admirable. He also wrote thus to Melanclhon concerning the cause of his return. Provide a lodging for me, for the Translation of the Bible compels me to return to you: pray to God that it may stand with his good pleasure, I desire to conceal my self, as much as I can, yet will I proceed in my worke resolued upon. He wrote the like to Amstorf: That for the translation of the Bible he must return to Wittenberg, that therein he might use other mens counsell and help.

Luther being returned, from the Lords Day first
in Lent that whole weeke every day preached one 
Sermon; these are extant: and in them he shewed 
what he liked or disliked in the alterations made in 
his absence. He found fault with them, who had ab-
ridged private Maffe and Idols, and administered the 
Lords Supper in both kinds, and taken away auricular 
confession, differences of meats, invocation of Saints, 
and other the like matters; not because they had done im-
piously, but because they proceeded not herein orderly. 
He affirmed that he condemned the Papistcall 
Maffe, the worshipping of Images, the rules of 
auricular confession, prayer to Saints, the Popish 
fasting: but he did condemn them onely by the 
Word of God preached, and not by a violent ab-
rogation of them. How much he prevailed by 
those Sermons, he telleth in these words. I, faith 
he, gave offence to Caroldade, because I blamed 
his proceedings, though I condemned not his 
doctrine. Onely this disliked me, that dealing a-
bout ceremonies and outward matters, he laboured 
ed lesse in that which is Christan doctrine indeed, 
namely, faith and charitie: for by his unadvised 
course of teaching, he brought the people to this 
passe, that he thought himselfe a Christian by 
these petty matters, by communicating in both 
kinds, by not using confession, and by breaking 
down images, &c. And this was the beginning 
of diffention between Luther and Caroldade.

In this 22. yeer the New Testament came forth, 
as it was translated into the German tongue in 
his Patmos, and afterward revised somewhat by
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* Melancthon. Some Popish Princes and Bishops prohibited their people to read it. He wrote also a Letter to the Bohemians concerning matters of great moment: and exhorted them to constancie in the truth, which they had received, and that they would not fall back to Antichrist for a vain hope of peace: He also dissuaded them from making themselves guiltable of the innocent blood of John Hus and Jerome of Prague. And where as some objected their many different Sects; he shewed that there were many more among the Papists: and prescribed the Bohemians a course, how they might cure this disease. Here he inveighed earnestly against such Bishops, as did condemn and persecute the doctrin of the Gospel: and being often provoked did neither defend their own doctrin, nor refute Luther's. He shewed them that by their tyranny they should not prevaile: because he was neither moved by the Popes Anathema or curse, nor Cæ-"fars proscription, and that he would endeavour "so much the more to propagate the Gospel, and "set to it with the more courage, by how much "the more violently they withstood it: and that "the Gospel would not be extinguished, though "they should kill him: and that God would plague "them most conspicuously and grievously, if they "proceeded in their furious course. In this booke he so angred the then Bishops, Abbats, Monks, and the whole dregs of them, that they resolved that seeing they could not burne Luther himself, they would burne all his books.

About this time also, Luther confuted Nicolas Stork,
Luther dealing with the ring-leaders of the Anabaptists.

Stork, Thomas Muncer and other fanaticall ring-leaders, and Prophets broaching new doctrines, who pretended revelations Angelical, and conferences with God, and denied the Baptisme of infants: and thereby sowed the seed of Anabaptisme. These false prophets came from the Cygnean Citie to Wittenberg, in Luthers absence, and molested Caroloftade, and Melanthon. Now also Luther answered Henry the eight King of England, who, as other adversaries also, set out a book against Luther, and had given him by Pope Leo the title of Defender of the Faith of the Church. Onely Luther answered him somewhat sharply: which course some of Luthers friends disliked. Of the same thus Erasmus wrote. If Luther first commending the godly care of the King, had afterward with solid arguments refuted his opinions, and laid no disgrace on the Kings person, I suppose he had done that which would much have advanced his cause. Againe: What set Luther on, to say in his book against the King? Let your Highnesse come to me, and I will teach you. Truely the Kings book was written in a good Latine style, and not unlearnedly. Luther thus excuseth this his fact. If any man be offended at my sharpnesse towards the King, I thus answer him. In that book I have to do with senselesse monsters, who contemne my best and most modest writings, and my humble submission, and are more hardened by my calmnesse. Besides I abstained from bitter speeches and lies, with which the Kings book is full fraught: nor is it any great matter, if I give no more respect to an earthly King, and speake sharply, seeing he was not afraid to blaspheme.
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blaspheme the King of Heaven with his speech, and to speake profanely in his virulent yses. God the righteous judge divide the matter between us. This book he dedicated to Sebastian Earle of Schlick, whose singular pietie and zeale he commendeth: and faith, he will make this writing the beginning of his flying to the Bohemians. For both the King and others had falsely accused him of flying thither and did triumph and brag, saying: We have wonne the day, the Heretick is fled to the Hereticks.

In the yeere 1523. at the Assembly at Norinberg, the Emperour being absent, the decree made at Wormes was disannulled. And when the Popes Legate complained thereof, and said, that Luther was not punished according to Cæsars decree; The Princes answered that most men in Germany were so instructed by Luthers Sermons and books; that if that decree had been executed, it would have given occasion of great sedition: and that this construction would have been made thereof: namely, that the truth of the Gospel was thereby oppressed and extinguished, and manifest errors and evils stood for, which might not be tolerated or winked at any longer. And that, now this assembly was gathered; that a free Councell might shortly be kept in Germany at Mentz, or Argentorata, or Mets, or Cullen. And that in the meantime Luther and others should set forth no books; the Preachers should Preach nothing but the Gospel, plainly and modestly, according to the interpretations commonly received by the Church: that such Preachers as transgressed should be mildly punished, by fit men appointed by the Bishops: lest any
The hundred grievances of Germany. Scit. lib. 4. pag. 29.

Luther interprets the Decree. Scit. pag. 83.

Caesar was offended at the Decree.

one should suspect, that this was done to hinder the free preaching of the Gospel: that the Printers should imprint, or divulge nothing, but what was allowed and approved by learned and judicious men; that the Priests who had married wives, should be amerced according to the award of the Popes lawes. There were here also exhibited to the Legate an hundred grievances of the German nation: of which we will speak elsewhere.

This Decree was diversely interpreted by severall parties. Luther by his letters to the Princes declared how he conceived the meaning of it. And 1, that they commanding that the Gospel should be taught according to the received judgement of the Church, intended not according to the course of Thomas or Scotus, but of Hilarie, Ambrose, Augustine and the like. Againe, that the Bishops should chuse fit men, who should be present at Sermons, and mildly admonish such as offended, if need were. This Luther shewed to be well decreed, but could never be effected: because they wanted learned men. Concerning that which they decreed about books, he rejected it not: so that the decree did not extend to the sacred books of the Scripture; the publishing whereof was in no wise to be prohibited. Lastly, concerning the amercing of Priests who either married, or left their order, the decree was too harsh, and if the Gospel was purely to be preached, ought to be mitigated. The Emperour was somewhat offended with this decree, and attempted
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"tempted by his Legate to take it away: but all in vain. For this businesse was farre otherwise concluded of in heaven then at Norinberg, as Luther wrote. For the Princes and Cities of the Empire strove, who first should admit the reformed doctrin. This was done in Denmark, Prussia, Livonia, Silesia, and elsewhere.

In this yeere Luther set forth the book concerning the dignitie and office of the Civil Magistrate: Frederik the Elector was much delighted with this book. He wrote also to the Waldenses, commonly called the Picards, concerning the adoring the Sacrament. In which book he first mentions the opinion of Berengarius concerning the Lords Supper, before he began the contention with the Helvetians.

He now also set forth the five books of Moses in the German tongue, three thousand yeers since the death of Moses. He published also a book to the Senate of Prague, about ordaining of Ministers, and another, about avoiding the doctrine of men. He wrote this yeere also to the Livonians, and shewed his great joy at their entertaining the Evangelical doctrin: which many tyrants in Germany fought obstinately to oppresse: and forewarned them, that they must expect cruel persecutions of the same kind: to the undergoing whereof, he gravely and piously exhorted them, encouraging them to be resolute and to persevere valiantly in the truth of the Gospel, which they had received. He further did instruct them briefly and plainly,
plainely concerning Justifying faith and the true nature of good worke.

He this yeere also set forth a forme of the Maffe, and Communion; herein he retained all the usuall rites, which were not plainly repugnant to the word of God: as the preface out of the Psalmes, the Kyrie, the Collect, the Epistle, the sequence, the Gospel, the Creed, the sermon, the prayers, the preface, the Sanctus, the Lords prayer, the wordes of the Lordes supper, the Elevation, the agnus Dei, the thanksgiving. But the Canon of the Maffe, which transformed the Lords supper into a sacrifice for the quicke and the dead, he wholly omitted. This was the first change of the rites, though Caroloftadius attempted the like before. Auricular confession was also brought into use againe, and private absolution also, which Caroloftadius had abandoned. And when 2. Monkes of the Augustinian profession were the first day of July burnt by the Inquisitor, & first shed their bloud for the reformed doctrine of the faith, Luther reknowned their constancy with an hymne or Psalm, and praised them as the first Martyrs of his time. Of this story also Erasimus * writeth. Then also Luther sent a Letter consolatory to the Augustans which is extant amidst his workes. He wrote also to the Mitttebergians, who were then in danger for the Gospels sake. Their first instructor was John Drago Caroloftadius. Luther also comforted three noble Misnian virgins, which were turned out of the Fri-burg Court of Henry Duke of Saxowic. Other Nuns left their Cloyfters else where; whereupon

Luther
Luther wrote thus to Spalatinus. There came to me those nine converted Nunnes, who left Nimpfschen Monastery: miserable is their case, but they were conducted by honest citizens of Torgaw, "namely by Leonard Coppe, and his uncles John, and Wolfus Tomit-
"zech, that there is no cause of suspicion. I much pity them, but especially many other their like, "who every where in great number perish by their cursed and incestuous chastity. That sex is most weake of it selfe, and by Gods and natures appoint, is to be a mate for man, and being by papistical crueltie shut up from men is brought into perdition. Among them was Katherine de Borawho afterward was Luther's wife. He writes to to the same Spalatinus elsewere of other Nunnes, thus. "There departed 16. Nunnes out of the Mo-
"nastery of Widderstetten under the Earle of Mans-
"field: of which 11. came to the Questor of Alsfet. 
"Of them Albertus received five. It is now deba-
ted among them, whether they ought to be en-
tertained or rejected. Nor yet is here an end of our newes. This yeere is most fruitfull of Novel-
ty, and as I perceive still will be. Luther also often was earnest with the Elector of Saxony suing to him by Spalatinus that he would demolish the Wit-
tenbergian Bethaven, that is the Colledge of All Soules. And gave this reason. Because almost all the Priests there not onely live wickedly, but also are contemners of God and men with obsti-
inate hearts, and every night play the whorema-
sters, and in the mornings say Masse with an im-
pudent
"Pudent and brazen forehead. For this he called Amstorf to witnesse: and sayd that all of them, except three, were wanton persons, and not to be maintained: yea, that it was the duty of the Magistrats to prohibite their whoredom, & compel them to marry. For though no man can be compelled and forced to the truth: yet publiclique wickednesse is to be taken away. At the least the Masses might be forborne, which were maintained at the Princes charge, and were wickedly performed, and to no good end.

John the Prince of Anhalt by Doctor Ieronymus and a Franciscan warned Luther to acquite himselfe of holding a new Article, with which Ferdinand of Norinberg did charge him, namely, that he held that Christ was the seed of Abraham. At the first Luther conceived that they jefted with him: but when he found that they spoke it sadly, he was forced to give credit to their speech, that he was in very deed so accused.

Pope Adrian then opposed the Gospel, and by his Bull, as they call it, very much blamed Frederik Electour of Saxony for the neglect of his duty in not punishing or banishing Luther. And then warned and intreated the Prince, that now at length he would doe it: and if he would not, he should try how keen the Popes and Emperours swords were. The same request Henry the eight King of England and Lodowik King of Hungary and Bohemia made. To all these the Elector returned no other answer, then that Luther was first to be heard in the Counsell, before he was
was to be condemned. The Popes Legate also accused Luther at the Norician assembly; as being most like to Mahomet. For as the Turkes by Polygamy, so Luther taking away the vows of Chastity doth loose the reines to all licentiousnesse, and overthrow the state of the Church, and therefore he might be condemned before he was heard: besides, as now he did shew his cruelty against the Ecclesiastical state, he would afterward doe the like against the Political.

In this yeere Christiern King of Denmark and his wife sifter of Charles the fifth were expulsed their Kingdome for his too violent government. And being in banishment at the Court of his Unkle Frederik Elector of Saxonie, heard Luther preach.

In the 24. yeere Clemens the 7. made Pope in Adrians stead sent Laur. Campegius the Cardinal his Legate to Norinberg. He wrote at large to Frederik the Elector: and highly prayed the Popes good will, and did undertake that a Council should be called. Then also Cæsar and most of the Princes of the Empire press'd for the decree of Wormes. Which thing when Luther had notice of, he bewayled the state of Germany, and complained of the blindnesse of men. That yeare Erasmus Roterod. perswaded by the King of England and Thomas Wolsey Cardinal, wrote against Luther. He put forth (against his will, as he wrote to Melanthon) the Treatise concerning free-will. What was Luthers judgement about the same, that which he wrote to Spalatinus sheweth; namely, It is incredible how I disdaine the booke of Eras. concerning free-will: and yet I have scarce read eight leaves

The Pope's Legate unjustly accused Luther at the Norician assembly, accusing him of being similar to Mahomet. Luther's actions, by removing vows of chastity and overthrowing the Church's structure, led to his condemnation. In this year, Christiern, King of Denmark, along with his wife's sister Charles the Fifth, were expelled from their kingdom due to his violent rule. Luther preached at the court of his uncle, Elector Frederik of Saxony. Clemens the 7th made Pope, sent Campegius the Cardinal as Legate to Norinberg. He sought the Pope's goodwill, and undertook that a Council should be called. Cæsar and most of the Empire's princes pressed for the decree of Wormes. Luther, however, condemned the state of Germany, complaining of the blindness of men. Erasmus Roterod. persuaded the King of England and Thomas Wolsey, Cardinal, to write against Luther. He published (against his will, as he wrote to Melanthon) the Treatise concerning free-will. What was Luther's judgement about the same, that which he wrote to Spalatinus sheweth; namely, It is incredible how I disdaine the booke of Eras. concerning free-will: and yet I have scarce read eight leaves.
leaves thereof. It grieved me to answer so unlearned a book of a man so learned. That book was answered by Luther, An. 1526. with which delay the mindes of learned men were held in suspense, what would be the issue of the controversy.

This yeere was remarkable for the unhappy Sacramentary controversy; The beginning and proceeding whereof is related in the life of Caroloftade, Zwingl, and Oecolamp. and I lift not here to renew our griefe by opening the fore again.

About this time came forth the fanatick writing of Tho. Muncer of Stolberg, and the Preacher of Alftet: in which he disgorged his venemous fury against the Lutherans. The book which he wrote against Luther, was dedicated to Christ Prince of Princes. He rayled on Luther, because he wanted an Enthusiastical spirit, and had nothing in his writting but a carnall spirit. The fame Muncer wrote to Melancthon a letter plainly shewing his fanaticall spirit.

Luther now put forth Davids Psalter in the German tongue, & a book against the seditious, and an Epistle to Frederik and Iohn Princes of Saxony against the enemies of images, and Enthuflafts, who boasted of illumination and conference with God. He also set forth a booke about the Exaltation of Benno a Bishop once of Misnia: whose bones were on the sixteen day of May digged up at Misnia, exalted, and placed in a marble Tombe: which all some took to be religious, other jefted and laughed thereat.

This yeere in October, Luther laid aside his Monkish-
kildhood: and declared his judgement concerning the Synode to be called, for determination of the ceremonies, saying thus. I think it not very safe to call together a Council of our men for the settling an uniformity of Ceremonies: for it will set a bad example, though it be attempted with a good zeal, as appears by all Councils from the beginning. So that in the Apostolical Synode they did more treat concerning matter of action and Traditions, then of faith. In the Synodes after this they never disputed about faith; but always about opinions and questions, that the name of Councils is more suspected and hated by me then the name of free will. If one Church will not of its own accord imitate another in external matters, what need is there to compell them by the decrees of Councils, which presently are changed into lames and snares to intangle mens soules. Rather let one Church freely follow the good example of another: or let each Church enjoy her own wayes, so that the unitie of the Spirit be kept entire in faith by the word of God, though there be diversitie and outward ceremonies, and elements of the world. About this time the Priests of Wittenberg keeping their Popish rites, were at length evicted, and in the end of this yeere abrogating private Masse, began a Reformation in the Cathedrall Church. Luther had long pressed them to this, and had written thus to Spalatinus in this yeere. By Gods help I will abrogate private Masse, or venture upon another designe.

The yeere 1525. is famous by the rising of the Boores; when this broyle was a hatching, and the Rustick fury did not yet breake forth into taking up I armes,
armes, Luther did dissuade all men from sedition, as being a crime of very high nature. He also handled the Articles of the Bores, and shewed how most of them were contrary to the word of God. He wrote also to the Princes and Nobilitie, and put them in minde of their dutie: and by another Treatise exhorted all men, to joynye for the subversion of the theevish insendiaries, as for the quenching of a common fire. This book was cenfured by some as too sharp, but was at large defended by Luther.

In the beginning of this yeere, Luther answered Caroloftadius his books, intitling his book (Against the Celestiall Prophets.) At Wittenberg then the chieftains of the Anabaptists were called Prophets: because they boasted of secret revelations, and propheticall spirits, the principall men were Muncer, Ciconius, Cellarius, and his friend Caroloftade. Luther in the first part of his book speaketh of images, private Masse and Caroloftade: and affirmeth that images were forbidden in the old Testament not in the new: and that Caroloftade was not expelled by his meanes: and that the name of [Masse] was given by the Apostles to the Sacrament of the altar. The subject of the second book was the Eucharist, where he first dealt against Caroloftades exposition of the word (τὸ ὑπάρχον) This: and then answered the Arguments of Caroloftade: and said that the words (which is given for you) have this sense. The body which you eate in the bread, ere long, when it is not eaten shall be given for you. And as it is not written, Take the body and eate it; so neither is it written, Take the bread
bread and eate it. And that Christ's speech, The flesh profitteth nothing, is to be taken as spoken not of the flesh of Christ, but of the sense of the flesh, which is death, Rom. 8. That the breaking the bread, is the distribution of the body: and that the blood of Christ which is powred out for us, now sitteth at the right hand of God; but that the efficacy of that effusion of his bloud is for ever. And finally that it is unknown how the bread becometh and is the body of Christ: and that we must stick to the very words of Christ. Against this Zwinglius and Oecolampadius wrote, as is said in its due place.

Now also Luther renewed the ordination of Ministers of the Gospel in the Church: Of whom George Rorarius was the first: and now first the Maffe was celebrated at Wittenberg in their mother tongue. And now was set forth a booke of German songs composed by Luther and others the last yeere: and a book of the abomination of the Maffe, in which he called the Popish fore backtjades, and made many of them kick against him. He wrote also a letter to them of Strasburg, where he heard that Carolistade abode, and dissuaded them from devouring his poylon. On the contrary Strasburg sent George Caselius the Hebrew Professior, and entreated Luther that he would not break the unitie of the Church for the controversy of the Eucharist: that he would acknowledge Zwinglius and Oecolampadius, learned men and of good fame, for Brethren: that he would write of the Lords Supper, and shew, what he taught was consonant to the truth.
Luther returned this answer by Caselius. "Namely, That nothing was more to be desired then peace: but to be tied to a continuall silence was not safe: that answere could not be made without condemning them: and that the word [condemn] was censured as opprobrious. That he was censured of those most modest men as a Cannibal, and a worshipper of God turned bread and eatable: that he liked not the advise of the Divines Strasburgh, concerning silence about the question of the bodily presence, and preaching faith and other parts of the word: That either he himself or they were ministers of Satan: and that therefore in this case there was counsell to be taken, and no mean between both to be followed: That the reasons brought to make the speech tropicall were of no force. And that it must be proved, that the verb [est] not in other places of Scripture, but here is in effect [significat.] that where Paul faith, The rock was Christ, he speaketh not of the corporall, but the spirituall drink: for he addeth the drank of the spirituall rock. And that there was a manifest mistake in that [This Lambe is the Lords Paffeover,] for this phrase is no where extant in the Scripture: and therefore he besought the brethren for Christ's sake, that they would avoyd this error.

Luther being fortie two yeers old, of a sudden and unexspectedly married Katherine a Bora a noble virgin late a Nun, and this was the occasion. Luther had a purpose that this Katherine should have been
been married to M. Glanus the Pastor of Orland. Of this he having intimation, acquainted Amsdorf, Luther's inward friend, therewith, and by him intreated Luther to alter his determination, and to signify to him, that he would enter into the honourable estate of Matrimony with any other, rather then with Glanus. When Luther heard this, and what Ierom Schurpius had said; namely, that if that Monk should marry her, the whole world and the devill himself would laugh thereat, and so the Monk should undoe all that formerly he had done. Here Luther to grieve the world of Papists, and the devill, and gratifie her father persuading him thereunto, resolved to marry her. And on the 13. day of June, inviting to supper Pomeranuus, and Apelles the Lawyer, and Luke the Limmer was betrothed to her, and not long after married her. This Luther's enemies much disliked, so did his friends also: not because they thought the marriage unlawfull: but because they wished it had been done at some other time. For thus writeth Camerarius. It fell out, that when these turbulent and dangerous broyles were not yet pacified, Martin Luther married, not long after the death of Frederik the chief of the seven Electors of the Empire. Philip Melanthon much grieved at Luther's marriage, not that he condemned it as unlawfull, but because hereby an occasion was given to Luther's enemies and ill willers, who were many, rich, and of great power, to speak against him bitterly, and with open mouth to reproach him: when especially the very time did help forward and set them on, who were minded so to do. And
of what power the convenience of time is in every action all know full well. But when he perceived that Luther himself was somewhat troubled with the same thoughts, he not only moderated his passion, but did cheere up Luther, and endeavoured to ease his griefe and sorrow with pleasant conference, and thereby brought him to his wonted cheerefullnesse again.

Luthers adversaries not onely observed the time of the marriage, but proclaimed the marriage to be incestuous, in which a Monk married a Nun. Hereupon the King of England in his Answer to Luther, stiles this marriage incestuous, and there faith among other opprobries put upon Luther, that he could not have committed a sinne of higher nature. Conradus Collinus Prior of Cullen and Jerome Emsemus* the best Divine among the Papists wrote virulently and disgracefully of this marriage. Yea some there were, (whom Erasmus gave credit unto) who laid a sinne to Luthers charge, from which the time of his childs birth did acquit him. Against these disgraces Luther thus animated himself: saying. If my marriage be a work of God, what wonder is there, if the flesh be offended at it? It is offended even at the flesh which God our Creator took, and gave to be a ransom, and food for the salvation of the world: if the world was not offended with me, I should be offended with the world, and should feare that it was not of God, which I have done. Now seeing the world is vexed and troubled at, I am confirmed in my course and comforted in God. So do you. The cause of his marriage he there also relateth, saying. We resigned the revenue of the Monastery.

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What Luthers adversaries did about this marriage.

* Chaplain to George Duke of Saxony.

The cause of Luthers marriage.
Monastery to the Prince. I who abode in the Monastery so long as it pleased God, now like a private housekeeper. I have not married to prolong my life, but (seeing my dissolution nearer approaching, and people with their Princes to rage against me) that I might leave mine own doctrine for the weak's sake confirmed by mine own example; for my doctrine may perchance be kicked against and trodden on after my death.

This yeere the Anabaptists spread themselves over Helvetia and other parts of Germany: and began to broach their fancies at Anwerp. Hereupon Luther by an Epistle warned them of Anwerp to take heed of the erroneous spirit, which had hindered him very much: and recited the impostures of false spirits in Popery, and the by-pat'hes of the seducing spirits of the present times. There he set downe the erroneous Articles of a tumultuous spirit at Anwerp and opened the inconstancy, lying, boldnesse, and ambitious desire of honour lurking in that Spirit: and entreateth them to forbear the question concerning God's hidden will, and to attend to, and learne the necessary precepts set before us by our God.

The Articles were these.

1. That every man hath the Spirit.
2. That the Spirit was nothing else but our reason and understanding.
3. That every man believeth.
4. That there were no (inferi) or place of torment for men's soules, but that the body onely was condemned.
5. That every soule should be saved.
6. That by the law of nature we are taught to do good
to our neighbour; as we would he should doe to us: and that this will in us was faith.

7. That we sinne not against the law by desiring any thing ifour will consent not to our desire and lust.

8. That he which hath not the Spirit, hath not sin, because he wanteth reason, which they called the Holy Ghost.

Now also Luther wrote to the King of England by the persuallion of Christiern the banished King of Denmark. This Epistle was submissive, and is extant in his Epistles. He wrote also humbly to George Duke of Saxony: that he would be pleased to afford him his favourable respect. But the King returned him an harsh answer, and objected to him his lenity and inconstancy, and defended Cardinal Wolsey against Luthers writing to him: that hence it appeared, how he hated Luther. When Luther saw the Kings answer printed, he was very much grieved at what he had done, and that he had so much yielded to his friends, as to write in so humble a strain. The like befell him upon his writing to Cajetan, George Duke of Saxony and Erasmus Rotterod: who by Luthers lenity were incensed rather than pacified. He resolved never afterward to run into the like error. Coeleus and Eckius wonderfully also insulted over Luthers submissiveness. Wherefore Luther now printed a booke against (as he called it) the ill languaged and contumelious booke of the King of England.

In the yeare 1526. Luther refused Erasmus book, intituled de servio Arbitrio. The delaying of his answer
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If ever proceeded from the cause certified to *Amsterdam: in these words. I will not answer Erasmus till I have done with Caroloftade, who makes great troubles and stirres in upper Germany. Erasmus provoketh thereby, put forth his Hyperaspides, of which book Luther thus writeth. Erasmus that viper being roused up will write against me again: what eloquence will that most vain hunter after glory exercise to cast down Luther? About the same time Duke George and the Bishops attempted many ways to wrong Luther, as appeareth by his letter to Myconius: saying. The wicked Papists conspire, and, as Melantheus writeth to me from Ienā threatn warre against me. Wherefore see you, that the people admonished hercuf, manfully contend by faithfull and continual prayer to the Lord, that they may be overcome and withheld by the Spirit, and constrained to keepe outward peace. Verily I understand by the writings and speeches of many, that there is very great need of earnest prayer: for Satans plots are a working. Wherefore I intreat you, that you would persuade the people to this most necessary and prevalent work, because they are endangered and exposed to Satans sword and fury encompassing them. He further saith, That the Sectaries were divided into sixe Sects. Sixe heads in one yeere are sprung up among the Sacramentarians: tis a strange spirit, which so much differs from it selfe. One sect followed Caroloftade, that is fallen: a second is that of Zwinglius, which is falling: the third is with Oecolampadius which will fall: the fourth also which is Caroloftade is fallen: he thus disposeth of the words. That which is given for you, is...
my body. The fifth is now arising in Silesia, set forth by Valentine Crantwald and Caspar Schwenkfeld, who thus invert the words. My body which is given for you, is this, that is, spirituall meat. These grievously vex and molest us with their writings, for they are most obstrepe-
rous and full of words, I wish they had my disease of the Stone, they seeme so strong to undergo it. The sixth is that of Peter Florus at Cullen, which Melancthon will deale with: I never saw ought but one letter about it. O how hereprobates Luther. I know saith he, that Luther is forsaken of the Lord. All those Spirits differing each from other contend with subtle arguments, all of them boast of revelations obtained by prayer and teares, and agree only in this, that all of them fight each with other for us. This Christ effecteth for us.

Luther wrote a consolatory letter to John Hufse of Breslow a Teacher of the Gospel, notwithstanding the scandall raised by the Heretiks, and their fighting against the Articles of our Faith: and in special manner he animated him against Schwenkfeld and Crantwald: saying, "You speak the Truth, friend Hesse. Hitherto the combate was about points not grounded in the Scriptures, as about the Pope and Purgatory, and the like: Now ye come to more serious matters, and to the battell already won concerning points in the Scripture. Here we shall see the Dragon fighting, or rather we shall combat with him, Michael being our Captain in these Heavenly fights. When the Dragon shall pull down the third part of the stars with his tayle to the earth: then the cause will call for
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"our strength in Christ. Here you shall see, what
manner a warriour, and how strong a champion
Satan is, whom yet you have not sufficiently tri-
ed, or had experience of. Schwenkfeld and Grant-
wald, which I much lament, are reserved for these
mischiefs. But the foundation of God standeth
firme, having this seale. The Lord knoweth who
are his, let this be our comfort, and in this let us
be confident to prevaille over the gates of Hell.

Besides other studies of Luther, he now expoun-
ded Ecclesiastes: which was not easie and plain (as he
said) for an Interpreters labour. There are, faith he,
therein many Hebraismes and obstacles in that tongue,
not yet well made known. Yet by the grace of God I break
thorow them. This yeere he wrote a forme of the
Maffe in the German tongue: in which he permitted
some ceremonies, to be used or not used at
mens pleasures. Among other speeches thus he
faith. Yet we retain those garments, altars, wax-
candles used at the Maffe, till they grow old, or that it
seeme good to change them. If it please any man to do
otherwise, I permit him to do as he liketh best. But in
the true Maffe among Christians unmixt with Papists,
it is fit that the altar should not remain, but that the Mi-
nister should turn himself to the people: as Christ doubt-
lesse did, at the first celebration of the Lords Supper. But
let this also await its due time. He wrote also four
consolatory Psalmes to Mary Queen of Hungary,
upon the miserable death of her husband King Lo-
dowick, who was drowned. He then also divulged
other Treatises, which are mentioned in his works.
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In the 27. yeere the Anabaptists broached their new doctrine, about the not baptizing of Infants; and were themselves rebaptized: they also taught communitie of goods. Both Luther and Zwinglius wrote against them, and the Magistrates punished them in divers places. Luther wrote also upon the question, whether soldierys lived in a kind of life, tending to happiness? In which discourse he learnedly and godly handled many things concerning warre, and its discipline. He dealt also against the Sacramentarians, as he calleth them, and in his book averreth that Christ's word, This is my body, yet stand firme. Of the book thus Luther writeth to Spalatinus. I doubt not, but that I have thoroughly moved the Sacramentarians: for though my book be full of words, and not so learned, yet I am perswaded that I have touched them to the quick. Bucer hath written most virulent letters against me unto our Jonas; already they make a Satan of Luther: what suppose you that they will do when they be galled with that book. But Christ liveth and reigneth. Amen. He also comforted them of Hall, for the death of George Winckler their Pastor, who was slain by conspiracy. He also answered John Hessus to the question: Whether a Christian man may flie in time of Pestilence? and to an other question, namely. Whether after the truth of the Gospel is made known, a man may for feare of the tyrants forbeare to administer the Lords Supper in both kinds: which Luther denied against the Prischnists.

About the beginning of the yeere 27. Luther fell sudden-
suddenly sick of a congealing of blood about his heart, which almost kil’d him: but the drinking of the water of Carduus Benedictus, whose vertue then was not so commonly knowne, he was presently helped. But he wrastled with a farre worse agony afterward on the Sabbath after the visitation of the blessed Virgin. This is recorded by John Bugenhagius, and Iustus Jonas, who saw his affliction. Here he indured not onely a corporall malady, but also a spirituall tentation, which Luther called a buffeting of Satan. It seemed to him, that swelling surges of the sea in a tempest did sound aloud at his left eare, and against the left side of his head: yet not within, but without his head, and that so violently, that die he must except they presently grew calme. Afterward when it seemed to come within his head, he fell downe as one dead: and was so cold in each part of his body, that he had remaining neither heat, nor bloud, nor sence, nor voyce. But when his face was besprinkleed with cold water by Jonas (for so Luth. had bidden) he came againe to himself: and began to pray most earnestly, and to make a confession of his faith, & to say, that he was unworthy of Martyrdom, which by his proceedings he might seemed to run upon. His will and Testament concerning his wife with child and his young sonne this he made. Lord God I thank thee that thou wouldst have me live a poore and indigent person upon Earth, I have neither house, nor lands, nor possessions, nor mony to leave. Thou hast given me wife and children, them I give back unto thee: Nourish, teach, keep them (O thou the father of orphans and Judge of the widow) as thou hast done to me: so do unto
But by using daily prayers and continual fomentations, after that he had sweat thoroughly, the grief by degrees decreased, so that in the evening of that day, he rose up and supped with his friends: and confessed that his spiritual temptation was farre forer then his corporall sickness.

Hereupon the day following he sayd to Iustus Ionas. I will take speciall notice of the day last past: in which as in a schoole, I was put to the tryall of my progresse. And sate in a most hot sweating house. The Lord bringeth to the graves mouth and fetcheth back againe. He often makes mention of this tentation in his letters to his friends; and confirmed the faith by receiving absolution from a Minister, and the use of the Sacrament.

This yeere also he put forth the Story of Leonard Keisar his friend, who was burnt for the Gospels sake, at the Command of William Duke of Bavaria. Of this mans Martyrdome thus Luther writes. I have received the relation concerning Leonard Keisars death: as also all his manuscripts from his Vnkles son: which shall shortly be published, God willing. Pray for me, who have been much buffettet by the Angel of Satan; that Christ should not forsake me. O wretch that I am! and so much inferior to Leonard: I am a preacher one-ly in wordes, in regard of him, so powerfull a preacher by his suffering. Who can make me fit, that not by his Spirit double on me; but by one halfe of it, I may overcome Satan, & put a period to this life. Blessed be God, who among so many monsters hath shewed us unworthy sinners this one glorious spectacle of his grace, that he may not seeme wholly to have forsaken us.

Then
Then also by the advise of Luther and the Command of John the Elector was ordained a visitation of the Churches in Saxony. The chief care of this business was committed to John a Plaunitz a noble Knight, to Ierom Schurfius a Lawyer, Asmus Hanbicius and Melanethon. Many matters were hereby discrised, which needed speedy redresse: many faults were found, which must necessarily be amended: nor can I easily say: how great was the benefit of this visitation. For faults of many yeeres continuance, were reformed, the Churches false backe were in many places confirmed, and their safety for time to come was well provided for. This visitation ended An. 1528, in which yeere Luther put forth the Institution of Visitors, and the large Confession concerning the Lords Supper, which were added for their direction. There it is that Luther thus writeth to Amsdorf. We* are visitors, that is Bishops, and we find poverty and scarcity every where. The Lord send forth workmen into his harvest. Amen. And in another place to Spalatinus. Our visitation goeth on, of what miseries are we eye witnesses? and how often doe we remember you, when we find the like or greater miseries in that harsh natured people of Voýtland. Let us beseech God to be present with us, and that he would promote the work of his poore Bishops: who is our best and most faithful Bishop against all the Arts and forces of Satan. Amen. And again. In our visitation in the territories of Wittenberg, we find as yet all pastors greeing with their people, but the people not so forward for the Word and Sacraments.
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The 1. part of the book, called The Great Confession of the faith concerning the Lords Supper, dealeth with Zwinglius; the 2. part with Oecolampadius; and blameth both of them. To this Oecolampadius and Zwinglius replied at large: and dedicated their books to the Prince of Saxony and Landgrave of Hessen. Bucer also in the German tongue answered Luther in a Dialogue where he makest Sebaldus and Arbogastus speakers. These are the last books, which these men wrote against Luther.

This yeer also Carolo Stadius wrote a letter to George Pontamus, Chancellour of the Duke of Saxony, in which he layeth down the ground-work of his Tenents concerning the Lords supper. This was answered by Luthers Epistle to the same Pontamus: Luther therein admonisheth that care must be taken, that no blemish be laid upon the Electour, by whose convenience Carolo Stade doth there divulge his own dreams and heresies. Luther also * wrote to Carolo Stadius, and confuted his Arguments: and in the end of his letter graunteth, that Christ alone doth give his body: but denieth that thence it followeth that the Minister doth not give it by the Lords command.

In the beginning of the yeere 1529. Luther put forth his greater and lesser Catechisms for the good of the under sort of people; and admonished the Pastors and Ministers that they would seriously attend their offices, and teach carefully in the Villages. That they would preach still the same things about the same points and often press them upon the people. Here also Luther put forth a book against the Turk.
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Turk in the German tongue: this he did partly because it was then reported that the Turk was coming upon Hungary and Germany, which appeared true by his besieging of Vienna: partly because some Pastors endeavoured to persuade the people, that warre was not to be waged against the Turk. Yea some proceeded to that height of folly, that they desired that the Turk would come, and lay his yoake upon them. And when at that time there was held an Assembly at Spire, where first arose the Name of Protestants, and Luthers assistants, whose helpe he used in translating the Prophets, were seperated he himselfe being sickly, that he might be in some employment in Melanthon's absence, translated the booke of Wisdome which was afterward revised by Melanthon and printed.

In October this yeere Philip Landgrave of Hessen, with a pious intent called together the Prime Doctors of the Saxon and Helvetick Churches. Among whom Luther being sent for returned this answer: That little good was to be hoped for by that conference: except the adverse part came thither to yeeld: and that himselfe could not yeeld: because he was assured that he was in the truth. In this meeting the chiefe heads of Divinity were handled, and concluded of. No one point was with choler contended about: nor did they depart alienated or divided in their affections by any controversie: as elsewhere * is shewed.

In the last yeere a fame was spread of a league made by some Popish Princes against the Duke of Saxonie and Landgrave of Hessen: Of this thus Luther
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Beth writeth to Wenceslaus Linicn. "That ungodly league of wicked Princes, though they deny it, what stirres hath it caused: but I do interpret the sleight and poore excuse of Duke George, as a confession of the fact. But let them deny, excuse, dissemble it: I know, that that league was not a Chimera or a thing of no being: a Monster cannot be but monstrous and conspicuous enough. And the world knoweth well, that they with most pertinacious mindes, deeds, edicts, desigues, have hitherto publiquely attempted, and still do attempt the like. For they desire that the Gospel was abolished: this none can deny. But why write I thus to you? who know this to be undoubtedly true. I doe it onely, that you may know, that we will not trust that wicked crew, though we offer them peace. The Lord found the Counsels of that Morotatos Moore's bundle of folly, who like Moab dares attempt more then he can effect: and as ever, so still is proud above his power. Let us pray against such men-slayers. Hitherto they have been forborn, if again they plot anything, first we will pray to God, then we will admonish Princes of them; that they may be destroyed without pitty: seeing they be unsatiable bloud-suckers and cannot beat rest, unless they see Germany weltring in her bloud. This letter intercepted and brought to Duke George gave occasion of a great disaffection between the Duke and Luther: as the letters written from each of them to the other fully manifest.
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feft. For Luther printed a treatise of letters privately sent and intercepted: and on the other side George the Duke printed a preface to the Translation of the New Testament set forth by Emser: This preface was full fraught with gall. Luther thus faith of it. "I have received your letter, friend Venceslaus, by which you certifie me, what Duke George hath adventured to doe. He required the same of me not long agone, and afterward of our Duke: when he could not prevayle: he hath printed the coppie of it with an inveotive against me: such is his notorious folly, rayling fury. They say that there are 8000. books printed: which he transports into all coasts under his owne seale. Thus shall poore Luther at length be kept down, and Duke George shall triumph most gloriously. To the Mart he will send them. After I by some private meanes had got a coppie thereof, I wrote an answere thereunto, which shall be divulged at once with his writing contrary to his expectation. Perhaps he will burst with rage, and die like a miserable idiot. I could wish that the evill Mericion had taken it in mine owne hand: I am so farre from fearing that Satan: though I wonder at Scheurferus, that not delivered my letter up to them, but that he is so familiar with my bitterest enemies. I intreat you that with your congregation you would pray against that furious home. Cide and bloudy ruffian, as a man possest by more then one Devil, and breathing out nothing but menaces and slaughter: that it would please Chrift
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"Christ to save him, as he did Saint Paul; or con-
"found him. For why should this unquiet and mis-
"cheivous vassall of Satan be offensive to heaven
"and earth?

The remembrance of the thirtieth yeere will
never be razed out, while men live on earth: for
in this yeere was held that solemne and numerous
assembly before the Emperour and the States of
the Empire, which was printed and made known to
all the nations of Europe. Read the Story elsewhere. We return to Luther. He composed the
seventeen Articles, before the Divines of Saxony
took their journey to Augusta: In these Articles he
omitted scholasticke disputes and points unnecessary
for the peoples instructiion, and comprized the
summe of holesome and necessary doctrin for the
salvation of mens soules and true pietie. Other
Princes and Cities, who embraced the doctrin of
Luther, commanded their Divines to set down in
writing a briefe declaration of the doctrin com-
monly taught in the Churches of their territories.
That these seventeen Articles written by Luther,
were especially made use of by Melanthon in wri-
ting the Confession, the very words and phrases in most
of the Articles retained, and the order and methode
of the Articles much alike, and the Epistle of John
Elector of Saxony dated from Augusta to Luther be-
fore Cesaris coming, do witnesse. For John Elector of
Saxony came to Ausburg contrary to the opinion
and expecation of all men; yea he came thither
first of all the Princes, accompanied with John Fre-
derik
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...his sonne, Francis Duke of Lunenburg his sisters sonne, Wolfgang Prince of Anhalt his wives brother, and these divines, Jonas, Philip, Spalatinus, and Iselius. For when he went from Coburg he left Luther in the Castle, because he was banished by the Pope and Emperor, and was extreamly hated by the Pontificians: yet would that he should remain in that place neere at hand, that more easilly and speedily he might be consulted with, for any matter pertaining to Religion.

Luther that he might further the common good, though he was absent, wrote a book to the Bishops and other Divines of note in that assembly: in which he deciphered, fully, what was the state of the Romane Church under the Popedome, and opened their cruelty, and exhorted them, that they would not now omit the occasion of curing this sore. He further shewed that the doctrine taught by himself was agreeable to that of the Prophets & Apostles, & that all designes undertaken against God would be frustrate. Melanct. knowing the rage of the Papists & Caesars threats was very solicitous & troubled thereat, not so much for his own, as for the issue of these matters and posterities sake: and gave himself almost wholly up to griefe, sighes and teares. Luther having notice hereof did often cheere him up and comfort him by his letters. These words are part of one of his epistles. "In private conflicts I am somewhat weake, and you strong: and on the contrary you in publique conflicts are somewhat weake, I stronger. If I may L 3 " call

Melanct. care in this assemblly.

In his book written, Au. 1529.
call that a private conflict, which is between me 
and Satan, for you are ready to die, if you were 
called to it; but fear the disaster of the publique 
cause. But I am resolute and secure for the pub-
lique cause, because I am assured that it is just and 
true, that it is Gods and Christs; and is not appa-
led with the guilt of sinne, as I a private servant 
of God am compelled to trembling and pale-
nesse. For this cause like a secure spectator, and 
do not regard the menaces and crueltie of the 
Papists. If we fall, Christ the Lord and ruler of 
the world falleth with us. And suppose he fall, I 
had rather fall with Christ, then stand with Cesar. 
Nor do you alone strive to hold up Gods cause, I 
constantly stand to you with my sighes & prayers, 
I wish I might also with my bodily presence. For 
the cause is mine; rather I say mine then all yours: 
and attempted by me not out of any rash humour, 
or desire either of glory or gain: which thing the 
Spirit witnesseth to my conscience: and the mat-
ter self hath already plainly shewed, and will 
more and more shew it even to the end. Where-
fore I entreat you for Christs sake not to forget 
Gods promises and the divine comforts, where 
tis said. Cast thy care upon the Lord: have thine 
eyes fixt on the Lord, play the man, let thine heart be 
comforted. 

The booke of the Psalmes and the 
Gospels are full of the like speeches. Be of good 
comfort I have overcome the world. If Christ be the 
Conquerour of the world, why should we feare 
it, as if it would overcome us. A man could finde 

Pfal. 55. 
Pfal. 27. 
Joh. 16. 

in
in his heart to fetch such a sentence upon his knees from Rome, or Jerusalem. And in the same Epistle, you would determine of these businesses according to your Philosophy by reason, that is, cum ratione insaniae, run wild with humane over-care: and kill your self: nor do ye see that this matter is beyond your reach and providence: and I pray Christ to keep it, that it come not into your hand and counsell, which is a thing vehemently desired by you. For then publikely and apparently, and suddenly we shall perish. And in another Epistle. Grace and peace in Christ. In Christ I say, not in the world, Amen. Concerning your apologie for your silence, I will speake elsewhere. I extreamely dislike your excessive cares with which you say you are consumed. That these raigne so much in your heart, is not from the greatness of the cause, but the greatness of your incredulitie. For there was greater cause of this in John Hus his time then in ours. Then again suppose there be great cause, the Agent and chief mover in it is of great power; for it is not our cause. Why then do you continually and without ceasing macerate your self? If the cause be faultie, let us revoke it; and flie back; if it be good: why do we make God a lyer? who hath made us so great promises, and bids us to be of a quiet and contented mindes: saying, Cast thy care upon the Lord. The Lord is necre unto all them, who being of a troubled heart call upon him. Speaketh God these things into the wind, or casts he these pearles to bruits?
"bruits? I am often troubled, but not perpetually.
"Your Philosophy and not your Divinity doth
"thus vexe you; the same befalleth your Joachim.
"As if it were possible that you should effect any
"thing with this unprofitable care. I pray you, tell
"me, what can the Divell doe more then kill us?
"I beseech you, that seeing in all other matters
"you are a good soldier, you would wraffe with
"your selfe as being your owne greatest enemie,
"by providing such store of Armour for Satan a-
"gainst your selfe. Christ once died for sin: but
"for Justice and truth he shall not die, but live and
"raigne. If this be true, what feare is there for
"the truth, if he raigne? But it will be cast
"downe by the wrath of God, let us be cast
"downe with it; but let it not bee done by
"our selves. He who is become our father, will
"be the father of our children. I pray for you ear-

"nestly, and I grieve that you make my prayers,
"the most violent fucking-leeche of cares, to be
"fruitleffe. I truly as concerning the cause ( whe-
"ther it proceed from stupidity in me or from the
"Spirit, Christ knoweth ) am not troubled much;
"yea I have a better hope, then ever I expected:
"God is able to raise the dead: He is powerfull al-
"so to maintaine his owne cause now ready to fall,
"yea to raise it againe, were it fallen, and to ad-
"vance it, if it subsist: If we be not worthy, let it
"be done by others. For if we be not sustained by
"his promises, who, I pray you are there in the
"world, to whom they doe belong? But more an-
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Lothertime: so that it be not to carry water into
the Sea. Christ with his spirit comfort, teach and
strengthen us all. Amen. If I perceive that the
cause goeth not well with you, or be indangered,
I shall not containe my selfe, but shall come with
speed unto you, that I may see the gaiely Jawes
of Satans teeth, as the Scripture calleth them.
From our wilderness. Ian. 25 An. 1530.

After this the Confession written by Melanthon
according to Luther's direction and advise, was ex-
hibited in the Latine and German tongues in Casars
palace, Ian. 25 at 2. a clock in the afternoone: and
was read by the Chancellor of Saxony before Charls
the fifth, Ferdinando and all the Electors & Princes
being assesseors, & that with so shrill & loud a voice,
that not onely in that large hall, but also in the
Court beneath and in the places adjoyning it was
well heard. They who subscribed to this Confession
were John Duke of Saxony, George Marqueffe of
Brandenburgh, Ernest and Francis brothers, Dukes
of Brunswick and Luneburgh: Philip Landgrave of
Hassia, Wolfgang Prince of Anhalt; and two Cities
of the Empire, Norinberg and Reutling. After it was
read, the Princes judgement was threefold. First,
Some thought fit that the Decree of Wormes should
be pressed, and the refractary compelled to it. Se-
condly, Others would have had the Confession ex-
amined by learned and pious men, and then to be
delivered to Casar. Thirdly, Some desired that the
Papists should exhibite a confluration of it to the
Protestants: and that the whole cause should be
left
It was commanded the Papist to confute it if they could.

Meknu bon & Litibers letter each to other.

Luther's Exhortation.

Luther wroth to Alber tus Cardinal.

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left to Cæsar's judgement: To this last most of the Princes agreed. Thereupon the Pontifician Divines (of whom John Faber and Eckius were chief) were injoyed to prepare their confutation. They wrote many things bitterly against the Protestants, and rather multiplied revilings then arguments. When therefore they were bid to new mould their writings, the publication of the Pontifician refutation was deferred seven weekes from the exhibiting of the Confession.

In the mean space Luther and Melancthon conferred by their letters concerning manypoints controverted, and discussed, what might with a good conscience be yeelded to their adversaries, especially concerning humane traditions, and matters devised by men in God's worship. Luther also by many Epiftles gravely written, and by exhortations full of spirit and life (which are indeed the treasures of all wholesome and powerfull comfort) confirmed the hearts of the Prince Elector, and of Pontanus his Chancellour, and their Collegues in the prosecution of their attempts for the common safety and peace of the Church and State, and posterity, and for curing the apparent wounds thereof, & preventing the distractions of the Church, & the confusion of Opinions. He sent also to Albertus of Mentz the Cardinal in the time of the Assemblies sitting, a printed Epistle. He was a man of chiefe authority amongst the rest; wherefore Luther en- deavoured to perswade him, that seeing there was small hope to setle a concord in religion, he would obtaine
obtain of the Emperor at least a grant of Political peace. At the same time Erasmus wrote a letter of the same argument to Campegius.

At length the Refutation of the Protestants Confession was new dressed and refined, and on the third day of August, was in Caesar's Palace publicly read before the States of the Empire. The Emperor professed that he would persist in his opinion, and requested the Duke of Saxony, and such as joined with him, to give an assent. But, when as they could hardly obtain a copy of the refutation, and that with these conditions, that it should not be published, nor transcribed, nor any reply made thereunto, and could not prevail to have these conditions omitted; the Archbishop of Mentz, and his brother the Marquess of Brandenburg, and Henry of Brunswick, requested of the Emperor that he would give them leave to take a friendly course for the composing the controversy. When Caesar had yielded thereunto, there were of each partie, even at first, and then secondly, three chosen out of each seven, who were to take a course for settling of concord. Here when the Saxon partie seemed to yield too farre to the Pontifician, Luther wrote thus to Melanethon. Concerning obedience to be performed to the Bishops, as in jurisdiction and the common ceremonies, I pray you have a care, look to your self, and give no more then you have, lest ye should be compelled again to a sharper and more dangerous warre for the defence of the Gospel. I know that you always except the Gospel in those Articles: but I fear lest afterward they should ac-
cuse us of breach of our covenant, and unconstancy, if we observe not what they please. For they will take our grants in the large, larger, largest sense: and hold their own strictly, more strictly, and as strictly as they can. In briefe, I wholly dislike this agitation for concord in doctrin, as being a thing utterly impossible, unless the Pope will abolish his Popedome. Concerning the Confutation, this should have been added, that it was a very cold one. Of it thus Luther wrote to Melanchthon.

Grace and peace in Christ the Lord over his enemies. I thanke God, who permitted our Adversaries to devise so fond a confutation. Christ is come and reigneth. Let the devils, if they will, turn Monks and Nunnnes: Nor doth any shape better become them, then that in which they have hitherto set forth themselves to be adored by the world. --- Then a little after this: Did not I foretell you, that you troubled your self in vain about traditions, because that point exceedeth very much the capacitie of Sophisters? There hath ever been disputation about laws amongst the wisest men: and truly it requireth an Apostolical abilitie to judge purely and surely thereof, for there is no Author extant, except Paul alone, who hath written fully and perfectly of this matter. Because it is the death of all humane reason to judge the law: the spirit in this case being the onely Judge. What then can Sophisters here performe, whose reason is blinded? Well, we have done our part, and well satisfied them. Now is the time of working together with the Lord, whom I beseech to direct and preserve us. Amen.

In that loving course for composing the differences by the Arbitratours, when the point of invocation
vocation of Saints was handled, and Eckius produced Jacob's speech. Let my name be called upon those children: Melancthon first answered, and then Brentius said, that there was nothing extant in all the Scripture of the invocation of Saints. Hereupon Cocolus, that he might step in as patron to the Cause, did thus excuse the matter. That in the old Testament the Saints of God were not prayed unto: because they were then in Limbo, and not in Heaven. Here John Duke of Saxony concluded and said to Eckius. Behold O Eckius, the speech by you brought out of the old Testament notoriously defended. The Confession of our partie, which Cæsar, Ferdinandus his brother, the Princes of Bavaria, and some Bishops attentively listened unto, and the other partie could not endure, was translated into Italian (for the Pope, who was not very well skilled in Latine) and into the English, Spanish, French, Bohemian, Hungarian tongues.

The issue of all came to this, that though the Protestants did desire peace of Cæsar, and space farther to deliberate of the matter, they could not obtain their desire. The Confession it self was rejected, and all who assented to it, unless they suffered all matters to run in their old Tenour, were brought into hazard of their lives and States: there were some also appointed to execute Cæsar's decree. Whereas therefore it was daily expected, that the Protestants should be warred against by the Pontificians: Luther soon after the Assembly with a noble and Heroik spirit set forth a book to the Germans, whose title was *Warnungan seine liebe deutschen. Wherein he exhorted

*Luther's admonition ad Germanos.
horr'd them to embrace peace, and shewed that they ought not to obey a wicked Edict, and further by armes the persecution of the true doctrin of the Gospel, and harmelesse Princes and Churches: and fight for Idols and other abominations of the Papiists. Yet he did not counsell the Protestant side to take up armes, before the Pontifician faction should in the Emperours name invade them with warre: But if they should resist, and defend themselves with force of Armes when they were set upon, he excused them from being traduced and condemned as seditious persons: and shewed that they must be conceived to stand only upon their own and their peoples defence.

Before we leave the wildernesse of Coburg, and come thence with Luther: observe first, what books he there wrote; Besides some mentioned before, of the rest he thus writeth to Melancthon. Though I have been troubled with weariness of the taske, and headache, and have laid aside Ezekiel, yet do I in the meane time translate the small Prophets: and in one week more, I hope, shall finish them, by Gods help. For now onely Haggai and Malachi remain undone. I busie myself herein rather for the comfort I reap by them, then that I am able to undergo the pains. Secondly know the servency of his prayers in this wildernesse: of which Vitus Theodoreus, who accompanied him at Coburg, thus wrote to Melancthon. No day passeth, in which Luther spendeth not three houres at the least, and they are the houres most fit for studie, in Prayer. Once it so fell out, that I heard him praying. Good God! what a spirit, what a confidence was in his very
very expressions? with such reverence he sueth for any thing, as one begging of God; and yet with such hope and assurance, as if he spake with a loving father or friend. I know, faith he, that thou art a father and our God: I know therefore assuredly, that thou wilt destroy the persecutors of thy children. If so be thou please not so to doe, thy danger will be joyed with ours: this businesse is wholly thine: we adventured not on it, but were com-
pelled thereunto. Wherefore thou wilt defend us. When I heard him praying in this manner with a cleare voyce as I stood afarre off, my mind also was inflamed with a singular kind of ardency: because I observed how passionately, how gravely, how reverently, he in his prayer spake of God, and urged Gods promises out of the Psalmes, as one assured, that what he asked, should come to passe. I doubt not therefore, but that his prayers will much advance and further the desperate cause treated of at the Assembly. When in that assembly the chiefe and almost the sole dissention between Luther and the Protestants was about the Lords supper: this liked the Papists, but grieved the Poteftants. Bucer there-
fore by the consent of the Duke of Saxony and his Magistrates consent, went from Ausburg to Coburg to see what agreement could be made betweene him and Luther: Nor did he receive a crosse answer, but diversly the businesse was hindred. Thither also came Urbanus Regius * for to consult with Lu-
ther.

An. 1531. Luther mildly wrote an Interpretation of Caesars Edict, not against the Emperour, but against the Princes and Bishops who were the chiefe instruments.
An excellent

Protestation

of M. Luther.

instruments of the Civill broyles. In this he defended diverse chiefe heads of Christian Religion: As the Eucharist in both kindes, that the Church might err; the Mass and free will he disallowed, and shew-ed that we are justified by faith, not by workes. Of this point observe his remarkable profession. I Martin Luther, an unworthy preacher of the Gospel of our Lord Iesus Christ thus professe and believe: That faith alone without respect to our good workes doth justify us before God: and that this Article cannot be overthrown by the Roman Emperour, or the Turk, or the Tartarian, or the Persian; nor by the Pope, or all his Cardinals, Bishops, Sacrificers, Monks, Nunnes, Kings, Princes, Potentates of the world, and all the Devils. This Article, will they nill they, will stand: Hell gates cannot prevail against it. The spirit of God doth dictate this unto me, this is the true Gospel. For thus the Article in the mouth of all Christian children hath it, I believe in Iesus Christ crucified and dead. Now no man died for our sinnes but Iesus Christ the sonne of God, the one and onely sonne of God: I say it again & again, Iesus the one and onely son of God redeemed us from our sinnes. This is most surely grounded & undoubted Doctrin: this the whole scripture crieth out aloud; though the devils & all the world storme and burst with anger at it. And if he alone take away the sinnes of the world, we verily cannot doe it with our workes: and it is impossible that I can lay hold on Christ otherwise then by faith: he is never apprehended by my good workes. And seeing faith alone layeth hold on our Redeemer, and not our workes the concomitants of our faith, it abideth undoubted truth; that faith alone before
before our works, or without our works considered, doth this, which is nothing else, but to be justified, but to be redeemed from our sinnes. Then good works follow our faith, as the effects and fruits thereof. This doctrine I teach: and this the Spirit of God, and the whole Christian Church delivereth for truth: In this I will persist, Amen.

With these two writings, The Admonition to the Germans, and The interpretation of Cæsar's Edict, Luther madded the nest of the Popish Hornets: who thereupon put forth a book against him; but without any man's name to it. Luther sharply answered this book, and gravely acquitted himself of the crimes objected against him, that is, That he denied the yielding obedience to Cæsar: that he himself was a Trumpet for rebellion and sedition: that all things written by him concerning the designs of the Pope were figments, and lies. But he proved them to be true by many remarkable sayings and deeds of the Pontificians: which are contained in his German writings, and other books by him set out this yeere.

In the yeere 32. by God's goodness and the intercession of the Archbishof Mentz, and the Elector Palatine, the Empreour granted Peace to the Protestant Churches, upon some certain conditions propounded to the Duke of Saxony especially. Which that he should most willingly embrace, Luther by his letter seriously persuaded the then present Elector, and his sonne Frederik, who soone after succeeded his father. For this very yeere the 16 day of August, that godly Duke, a most constant
confessour of the Evangelicall truth departed this life. For the perpetuating of whose memory, Luther made two funerall Sermons, and Melancthon a funerall oration at his buriall, which expressed the Idea or Character of a good Prince.  

In the yeere 1533. Luther comforted the Citizens of Ofschatz by his letter, who had been turned out for the confession of the Gospell; In his letter he faith: The Devil is the Host, and the World is his Inne: so that where ever you come, you shall be sure to find this ugly Hoste. He answered also the Elector of Saxony to this question: How farre it is lawfull to take up armes in our owne defence? Especially, now there was a great controversie betwene Luther and George Duke of Saxony, who of old hated most vehemently Luther and his doctrin. Therefore that the Protestant partie might not be enlarged by his peoples embracing it, he bound them all by oath not to receive Luthers doctrin. He also provided that the Citizens of Leipsick, who coming to Confession after the Papist manner, and then received the Sacrament, should have a ticket given them, which afterward they should redeliver to the Senate. About seventie were found without tickets. For these consulted with Luther what they should do? Luther answered; That they should do nothing contrary to their consciences, as men which firmly believed that they should receive the Sacrament in both kinds; and that they should undergo any extreamitie. In the Epistle are these words. Seeing now Duke George dareth undertake to dive into the secrets of mens consciences he is worthy
The Life of Dr. Martin Luther.

worthy to be deceived, because he will be the Devils Apostle. Hereupon Duke George wrote to the Elector of Saxony his cousin German; and accused Luther both of giving him base language, and also of stirring up the people under his command to rebellion. The Elector wrote this to Luther, and told him that unless he can clear himself, he must receive condigne punishment. Upon this occasion Luther refuted this accusation: and denied, "That he ever counselled them to resist their Prince: but that patiently they would endure their banishment: And that he was so farre from infringing the authoritie of the Magistrate, that no man did more stoutly confirm it, or more fully declare it: And that George the Duke was called the Devils Angel for the Subjects sake; because they should not thinke, that the Edicts were a lawful full Magistrates, but the devils. He joyned thereunto an epistle to them of Leipsick, to comfort them in their banishment, and to counsel them cheerfully to undergo their present calamity, and to give God thanks for giving them courage & constancy. He told them, that this rejoicing of their adversaries was neither found nor lasting: and that it would perish sooner then any man thought: and that all attempts of the enemies of the Gospel were hitherto frustrate, & by Gods singular favour fallen to the ground. He wrote also a briefe Apologie: in which he cleareth himself of these crimes objected against him: Namely, that he was a lyer, a breaker of his promise, an Apostate. Here de-
Of the dispute with the Devil.

A letter to Frankford.

An. 1534.
Petrus Paulus Vergerius.

An. 1535.
P. Vergerius returneth into Germany.

The Life of D. Martin Luther.

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Of the dispute with the Devil.

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the holding a Council at Mantua. He also met with Luther, and dealt with him about matters of Religion; Then Luther wrote many Sermons and Epistles, and a book in a popular way about prayer, and a Preface to Urbanus Rhegius book against the Monasterians, New Valentinians, and Donatists. And when the Pope had appointed the Council at Mantua, Luther wrote certain asseverations and Theses against the Constantin (as he call'd it the Obstanian) Councell. He sent also a conolatory writing to the Christians of Mitteid expelled for the Gospels sake: and a letter to the Archbishop of Mentz, the last he calleth it, yet he wrote many after it. This yeere Luther began publiquely to preach on Genesis, which taske he ended (as himself was wont to ominate) with his life, six yeers after.

In the yeer 36. the forme of the Concord between Luther and Bucer, and other Doctors in the Churches of upper Germany was written by Melanthon at Wittenberg; And published in the end of May. This elsewhere we spake of, and told who subscrib'd therunto. This yeer Philip Duke of Pomerania at Torgau married Mary daughter of John Ele& of Saxony, and of Marg. of Anhalt. Luther was at the marriage, and prayed for Gods Blessing upon the new married couple. When all the rites were performed, Duke Philip reached out his hand to Luther: at this Luther stood a while silent, and still held his hand: and with a loud voice said. The Lord God be with you: and keep your posteritie from failinge. Now when as Barminus the Vukle of Philip had no male chil-
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dren, Philips wife for foure yeere was barren: so that all the Male stocke of the Duke of Pomerania was likely to be ere long extinct: at length, by Gods blessing, according to the prayer of Luther, he had seven fonnes by this wife: and wonderfully enlarged that noble Family.

In February the yeere following the Duke Elector of Saxony with the Confederate Princes and Cities, and their Divines held an Assembly at Smalcald for matters of Religion: that the Princes might deliberate about calling the Council to Mantua: and the Divines conferre about matters of doctrine. Hither therefore Luther and Melanthon were called, Luther wrote Articles concerning the chiefe controverted heads of Christian doctrine. These the other Divines did approve, and these were to be exhibited in the Council of Mantua (if ever it were held) and put up in the name of the Saxon and neere thereunto adjoyning Churches. Commonly they are called the Smalcalick Articles. These were joyned to the Augustane Confession, and the Apologie, and Luthers Catechismes.

At this meeting Luther fell sicke of a grievous diseaue, so that there was no hope of his life. He was pained of the stone, and obstruction in the bladder eleven dayes. Here he, though most of his friends disliked and reasoned against it, would be carried thence; the event proved his resolution good. George Sturk the Phyistian being sent for from Ephord went along with him. Luther as he was carried along, made his will: in which he bequeathed his des-
the flat ion of Popery to his friends and the Pastors: as before in the house of Spalatinus in the yeere 1530, where he made this Verse.

Pestis eram vivus, moriens ero mortua Papa.
I living, I stoppt Romes breath,
And Dead, will be Romes Death.

But the night after his departure thence he began to be somewhat better. At Tambach the passages of his urine opened, so that he voyded it in great abundance: and called that Village the place of his happinesse. This recovery of Luther was cause of great joy to many godly men, even to all who loved Luther, especially to Melancthon: who signified the same to Luther in these words by his letter. I heartily thanke the God of all mercy and our Lord Iesus Christ our high Priest interceding for us, and compassionating our infirmities, for your recovery from your dangerous disease. I rejoice at my heart both for your and the Churches sake, that you enjoy your health againe, and the rather because herein we behold the apparent love & mercy of God to his Church. Your letter expressing your recovery put cheerfulnesse into the countenances of the Princes and all good men: they all acknowledge that the light of the Gospel hath been in these dayes made known to the world by your Ministry, and know that they are beholding to you for it: and foresee what a losse it would be to the Church if they should lose you. Therefore with joynt votes they pray that long you may live among us, and thanke God, who hath restored you from death to life. I hope God accepted of this their joy and thanks. And I pray God for Chrits sake to make you perfectly sound and healthfull.
healthfull. Here we have not yet ended our deliberation about giving Cæsars messenger an answer to his harsh dispute against our former answer. So that neither yet is any answer given to the Pope. The Duke of Wittenberg commendeth your noble courage, who durst in such a disease travel, and fly from this cave. He mindeth to follow your example: for having been eight dayes sick he resolveth to be gone to morrow. Christ grant, that I may shortly see you in good health. I was much grieved for you, & that the more, because being absent, I could not performe any friendly office to you. I was perplexed at some physical errors, by which your disease was augmented: so that no man can express how extremity of griefe wrought upon me. Nor am I yet freed from all griefe. If your malady was onely a difficulty of urine from some stopping, I hope all danger is past. But if it be from the bignesse of any stone, I trust that the danger will be much the lesse, and that you have a prudent and faithfull Physician, whom I pray God to direct and assist. From Smalcald. 1537.

Here the Pope rejoyned the meeting of the Synod from the first of November to the first of May the yeere following: and designed the place for it to be Vincentia a large and renowned City of the Venetians, and sent thither some of the Cardinals to begin the Council. He pretended a serious consultation for the purging the Augean Stable: and now commended the same busines to some choise men, but omitted the propounding of the oath to them, and would that no man should know the intent of this reformation. Yet was it not long hid: and
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and as soone as it was taken notice of in Germany, Luther in the vulgar tongue, and John Sturmius in Latine wrote to the Reformers an answer. Luthers booke by a picture in the frontispiece shewed its argument. For the Pope was pictured sitting on a high throne with some Cardinals standing round; who with Fox tails on the end of long poles, as with brushes cleansed all parts above and beneath. At length all that reformation came to nothing, by whose policy and tricks it is well enough knowne. Luther now divulged one of the chiefe Articles of the Papists belief (namely, concerning Constantines donation) with annotations confuting it, for the Pontificians sake. He published also some Epistles of John Hus, which were sent to the Bohemians in the prison at Constance, An. 1516. and wrote a preface to the Spirituality, who would be present at the Council. He sent also to the Pope, Cardinals and Prelates, the Legend concerning John Chrysostome with a preface and annotations. He sent also an Epistle written in a way of friendly compliance to them of the Evangelical league, concerning the Concord of the Helvetians, and therein shewed his consent, and what was his judgement concerning the Supper of the Lord.

Here, as if the Church had not contention enow already, the new Sect of the Antimonians start up. Their chief ring-leader was John Agricola of Isheen, who formerly had been familiarly acquainted with Luther. They held that repentance was not to be taught from the decalogue, and they reasoned against them, who taught
taught that the Gospel was not to be taught to any, but to such as were humbled by the Law. And they themselves taught, that whatsoever a man's life was, though impure, yet he was justified, so that he believed the Gospel. Thus Luther was put to a new paines, and at large confuted them. And shewed that the Law was not given, that we might be justified by it, but to shew us our sinnes, and to terrifie our consciences. Therefore the Law was first to be taught, and the Gospel afterward, which sheweth the Mediator. John Agricola being better instructed by Luther acknowledged his erroour, and revoked it under his owne hand in publique.

About this time An. 1538. neere Whitson tide Melanthon being Rector of the University the summer halfe yee e, one Sim. Lemminus put forth a booke of Epigrams: by which some thought the fame of diverse men and women was blemished. Luther hereupon shewed himselfe to be, as ever, a detester of such notorious libels, and wrote an Epistle to the Church of Wittenberg in which he inveighed against the Author of the libell, and shewed how he disliked the course of this base Poet. But the Author escaped, and afterward by most impudent lying set forth so filthy and impure writings, that all good people judged, that he was not to be pardoned for his former folly: and that what evill foever befell him, it was farre lesse then his wickednesse and madnesse deserved.

This yere also were put forth the three Oecumenicall Creeds with Luthers annotations and exposition.
In the yeere 1539, were agitated deliberations with much care and difficulties concerning the obtaining peace of the Emperour: because many feared an attempt unjustly to oppress the State. Luther therefore together with his Collegues of Wittenberg, composed and put forth a Treatise concerning a Defence lawfull, approved, and not contrary to Gods will. And because now the name of the Counsell and Church were in every mans mouth, Luther put forth a book in their mother tongue concerning both of them. In the Preface whereof he saith, that the Pope by calling a Counsell doth play with the Church of Christ, as they do with a Dog, who offer him a crust of bread on the point of a knife, and when the Dog taketh it, knock him on the nose with the handle thereof, to make such as see it laugh. Luther in that booke declared the authority of the Scriptures. And then treats of the counsell Apostolical, of the Nicene, Constantinopolitan, Ephesine, Carthaginian Counsels. And sheweth what a Counsell is, and which to be called true, what are the signes and works thereof: and that Christian Schooles are perpetuall Counsels; and therefore that they are with great care to be maintained, as much advancing the good of the Ecclesiastical, Political, Economicall Hierarchy on earth.

About the Conclusion of the Smalcalde Assembly, April 24. George Duke of Saxony died childlesse: and declared Henry his brother with his sons Maurice and Augustus his heires upon condition, that they should not alter the Religion: which if they should attempt, George Duke of Saxony dyeth. Henry succeeds.
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...he bequeathes his whole territories to King Ferdinando, to have and hold the same, till the condition was observed. But whilst the Embassadors treat with Henry about the same, making glorious propositions to him, and promising him mountaines of gold: He resolutely denied to do it: George died before the Embassadors could returne; so that George otherwise then he intended, held Henry for his heire. Hereupon in Misnia was presently made such an alteration, that whereat in Easter Holidays the Papistical Priests preached, at Whitsonside Luther * and his Schollers had free possession of the Pulpits. So Luther here began Reformation, others after him added perfection thereunto.

In the yeere 1540, it was decreed that the Divines should meet at Hagenaw on the Rhine, and peaceably conferre about the Doctrin of controverted points. Melanthon journeying thither, fell into a grievous disease at Vinaria: so that there he stayd, and made his Will, and prepared himself for death. Hither Luther and Caniger, at the Electors instance, took their journey both by night and day. Here Luther finding Melanthon pittyfully consumed with the diseale, weeping and sighing cried. How excellent and usefull an instrument of the Church do we find miserably sick and almost dead. And when he had saluted him, He fell down on his knees, and heartily prayed for him: and then performed what friendly offices he could by comforting, admonishing, and sometimes chiding the sick man. Of this Melanthon thus wrote to Camerarius. I cannot by words expresse, what...
what paines I have undergone, into which sometimes I have a relapse. I perceived also that Doctor Luther was much afflic{t}ed in minde for me: but he concealed his sorrow, because he would not encrease mine. And endeavoured to cheere me up with his noble courage; sometimes comforting, sometimes reproving me somewhat sharply. Had he not come to me, I had died.

This yeere Robert Barnes a learned Divine was burnt at London the la{t}t of June, for witnessing to Gods truth. He was familiarly known to Luther, upon his coming to Wittenberg in the Embassie about the divorce made by King Henry. Luther cau{f}ed the Confession of this his friend, and the faithfull Martyr of Christ to be printed with his Preface; and besides admonished the Pastours by another peculiar Treatise, to inveigh against Usurers and Usury.

In the beginning of the yeere 1541. Luther wrote a consolatory letter to Frederik. Myconius lamentably spent with a Consumption: and affirmed that himself could have no joy to live, if he died: and thereupon wished that he himself might first lay down the tabernacle of his weake body: and said that he was verily persuaded that his prayers should be granted for Myconius life. As indeed it came to passe: for Myconius out-lived Luther six yeers, and would say: that Luther obtained this for him by his prayers. After Easter, Bernard the infant sonne of John of Anhals was baptized at Dessau. Here Luther preached two Sermons to the Courtiers, the Brother of the Prince of Anhals, and the Bishop of Brandenburgh: which were printed. He wrote also an Answer to a
rayling book of one, whom he calleth Hans Wurst. Wherein he defended himself and his doctrin, agaist the Papists and their Popish errours. He put forth also an Exhortation to prayer against the Turk: and answered the Princes queftions concerning Transubstantiation, Free-will Justification by faith, and other points.

About this time the Bishoprick of Neoburg, by Sala, was voyd; There Nicolas Amsdorf a Divine born of a noble Family, was enftalled by Luther, at the command of the Elector of Saxony the Patron of that Diocfe, and Julius Pfingius, whom the Ca- nons of the Collège chofe, was refused. Luther placed him in the Bishoprick, Jan. 20. An. 1542. This thing, as many conceived, gave occasion to other ftures: and very much offended the Empe- rour, who much affected Pfingius for divers respects. Of this fee more in Amsdorf's life. After this Lu- ther wrote a book in the German tone, and call'd it, The Pattern of the inauguration of a true Christian Bishop.

He published at that time the Alcoran, which by Richard a Dominican was translated into the vulgar tongue: He added to it a faithfull admonition concerning the abandoning the Turks doctrin, and affirmed that not the Turk, but the Pope was Antichrift. And upon a difference rising between the Elector of Saxony and Maurice concerning the territories and town of Wurcen, so that warre was likely to ensue, Luther with weightie reasons in his letters diffwa- ded both the Princes from their desigues. He fur-
other also opened his judgment about a Position some yeeres agone by him propounded: Namely, that to warre against the Turk was nothing else but to fight against God, who useth him as his whip to scourge us. Now also he wrote a consolatory letter concerning abortive births and bringing forth dead children.

The yeers 1543 and 44, produced many great troubles and stirres. For now the Sacramentary contention began afresh, to Melancthon great grief: whom some attempted to set at jarres with Luther. Some there were also, who sought to coole Luthers heat, and spake little more favourably of the Rhenan Churches, then of the Turks. Wherefore when Christopher Froschoverus the Printer of Tigur sent Luther a copie of his Tigin Bible then Printed; Luther admonished him by his letter, that he should not publish anything, which came to him from the Ministers of Tigur: and that he had nothing to do with them, nor would receive or read their books: that the Churches of God could not joyne in Communion with them, who already were running into the way of Perdition, and would bring others into hell and damnation: and that he would oppugne them with his prayers and books whilst he lived. And now Luther first wrote against the Jews, and refuted their lies, and their blasphemous conceit about Shemhamphoras, the name of God expounded. He also wrote his judgement, and a short answer to Casp. Schwenckfelds book and letter: whom he bid not to mention him in his writings, and sent him away with this answer. The Lord

An. 1543.

Camerarius in the life of Melancthon.

Luther to the Printer to Tigur.

Luther wrote against the Jews.

His answer to C. Schwenckfeld.
Lord reprove Satan who is in thee, confusion befall the Spirit, which called thee, and the course which thou runnest, and all the Sacramentarians and Eutychians, who partake with thee; and all thy blasphemies. Thou doest as they, of whom it was written: they ran and I sent them not; they spake and I commanded them not.

He wrote also his minde to others concerning the Ceremonies and excommunication: he desired that there should be few Ceremonies, and they tending to edification, and that excommunication should be brought into the Church as a profitable discipline: but could scarce hope to see it. He admonished the young students at Wittenberg to avoid fornication, with which some then were taxed: yea he threatened that he would hold no society with men of that ill condition: and tarried some time at Merseburg with the Prince of Anhalt: But afterward he was call'd to his ordinary task by the University, sending for him an honourable Embassie. About this time he wrote an excellent Commentary upon the last words of David; wherein he soundly and plainly declared the Article of the Trinitie, the distinction of the persons, Christ's Deitie and humanitie.

In the yeere 1544, he finished the first part of his Commentaries on Genesis: in which he often blameth the Sacramentarians: and foretelleth, that after his death many would oppugne Luthers doctrin. Then in September he published the briefe and last Confession concerning the Eucharist: wherein he expressly explaineth what in the Lords Supper is received by the worthy receivers, what by the unworthy; what by
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by faith, what without faith: and censures Zwinglius, Oecolampadius and others at Tigur: who set forth an Apologie of their doctrin the yeere following. Of this* elsewhere is spoken.

This very yeere the 17. of November he finished his explication of Genesis: which was his last publique reading in the Universitie: which he concluded with these words. Thus end I my explication on Genesis; God grant that others may more rightly and truly expound it, then I have done. I cannot proceed farther therein: my strength faileth me: pray for me, that it would please God to grant me a quiet and comfortable departure out of this life.

This yeere in Italy was spread a most impudent lie about Luthers death: The summe of it translated out of the Italian is this.

"A stupendious & rare miracle which God ever to be praised, shewed about the filthy death of Martin Luther, a man damned both in body and soule, so that it conduced to the glory of Jesus Christ, and the amendment and comfort of godly men. When Martin Luther was sick, he desired the Lords body to be communicated to him, which he receiving, died presently. When he saw that he must die, he requested that his body might be set upon the Altar, and be adored with divine worship. But God to put an end to his horrible errours, by a great miracle warned the people to abstain from the impietie, which Luther invented: For when his body was laid in his grave: suddenly so great a stirre and terour arose,
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"arose, as if the foundations of the earth were shaken together. Whereupon all at the funerall trembling, were astonished, and after a while lifting up their eyes, beheld the sacred host appearing in the ayre. Wherefore with great devotion of heart, they placed the most sacred Host on the holy Altar. Whereupon the fearefull noyse ceased. But in the night following a loud noyse and ratling much thriller then the former was heard about the sepulcher of Luther, which awaked all the Citie, terrified them, and almost kill'd them with astonishment. In the morning when they opened the sepulcher, they found neither his body, nor his bones, nor any of the cloathes: but there came a sulphurous stinke out thereof, which almost overcame the standers by. By this miracle many were so amazed, that they amended their lives for the honour of the Christian faith, and the glory of Jesus Christ. When this lye came printed into Germany, Luther did subscribe with his own hand, words to this purpose.

I Martin Luther doe professe and witnesse under mine owne hand, that I on the 21. day of March received this figment full of anger and fury concerning my death, and that I read it with a joyful mind, and cheerful countenance: And but that I detest the blasphemy, which ascribeth an impudent lie to the divine Majestie, for the other passages, I cannot but with great joy of heart laugh at Satans, the Popes, and their complices hatred against me. God turne their hearts from their diabolical maliciousnesse. But if God decree not to heare
my prayers for their sinne unto death: then God graunt that they may fill up the measure of their sinnes, and so lace themselves to the full with their libels, full fraught with such like lies.

This yeere Luther set forth a book intitled, Against the Popedome ordained by the Devill. In this he treats of the Council appointed by the Pope, and often adjourned, or translated from place to place, and of other plots of the Popes. There he speaketh of the Campanian, who comming out of Germany into Italy, turned his bare breech towards Germany, using words to the disgrace of the nation.

Luther published divers other Treatises as the explication of Christs speech. Search the scriptures: And shewed The blindness & ingratitude of the world, in handling Christs complaint of Jerusalem. By Luthers advice especially, Georgius Anhaltinus undertooke the government of the Church of Mersberg. Of this is spoken in the life of Duke George.

In the yeere 1546. Luther accompanied with Melanthon visited his owne countrey: and returned again in safety. Not long after, the Council of Trent being begun, and having sate once or twice, Luther was called again by the Earles of Mansfield to his owne countrey, for to compose a dissention among them concerning their bounds and heritages. Luther was not wont to deale in matters of this nature, having been versed in sacred studies all his life time: but because he was borne at Ileben, a towne in the territories of Mansfield, he was willing to do his countrey service in this kind.
before making his last sermon at Wittenburg the 17. day of January, he tooke his journey on the 23. day: And at Hall in Saxony lodged at Influs Jonas his house, where he stayed three dayes because of the roughnesse of the waters, and preached the 26. of January upon Pauls Conversion. On the 28. day being Thursday at Hall he passed over the river with Influs Jonas and his own three sonses, and being in danger of drowning said to D Jonas; Think you not, that it would rejoice the Devil very much, if I and you and my three sonses should be drowned? When he came to the Earles of Mansfield; he was entertained by a hundred horsemen or more of the Court, and was brought into Ifsen very honourably, but very sick, and almost past recovery: which thing he said did often befall him, when he had any great businesse to undertake. But using some means for cure of his infirmity, he sat at supper with the company: and so continued to do from the 29. of January to the 17. of February, and treated of the differences, for whose determination he came thither. In this time he preached sometimmes, and twice received the Lords supper, and publikey received two students into the sacred order of the Ministry. And at his lodging used much godly conference at Table with his friends, and every day devoutly prayed. The day before his death though he was somewhat weake, yet he dined and supped with the company: and at supper spake of divers, matters and among other passages asked, whether in Heaven we should know one another? when the rest desired to heare
his judgement thereof. He said, What befell Adam? He never saw Eve, but was at rest in a deep sleep, when God formed her; yet when he awaked and saw her, he asked not what she was, or whence she was? but faith, that she was flesh of his flesh and bone of his bone. Now how knew he that? He being full of the Holy Ghost, and endued with the knowledge of God, thus spake. After the same manner we also shall be in the other life renewed by Christ; and shall know our parents, our wives, and children, and all about us, much more perfectly, then Adam knew Eve at her bringing to him.

After supper, when he went aside to pray, as was his custom, the paine in his breast began to increase: whereupon by the advice of some there present, he tooke a little unicornes horne in wine: and after that slept quietly an houre or two on a pallet neer the fire. When he awaked, he tooke himselfe to his chamber, went to bed, and bidding his friends, good night, admonished them, who were present to pray God for the propagation of the Gospel: because the Council of Trent and the Pope would attempt wonderful devises against it. Having thus said, after a little silence he fell asleep: But was awaked by the violence of his distempe after midnight. Then complained he again of the narrownesse of his breast, and perceiving that his life was at an end, he thus implored Gods mercy, and said.

O heavenly father, my gracious God, and Father of our Lord Iesus Christ, thou God of all consolation, I give thee heartie thanks, that thou hast revealed to me, thy Son Iesus Christ; whom I beleue, whom I professe, whom
whom I love, whom I glorifie, whom the Pope of Rome
and the roust of the wicked persecute and dishonour. I be-
seech thee, Lord Jesus Christ to receive my soule. O my
gracious heavenly Father, though I be taken out of this
life, though I must now lay down this fraile body: yet I
certainly know, that I shall live with thee eternally, and
that I cannot be taken out of thy hands. He added
moreover. God so loved the world, that he gave his
only begotten Son, that every one, who beleeveth in him
should not perish, but have life everlasting. And that
in the 68. Psalme. Our God is the God of salvation:
and our Lord is the Lord, who can deliver from death.
And heretaking a medicine, and drinking it, he
further said. Lord I render up my spirit into thy hands
and come to thee. And again, Lord into thy hands I com-
mand my spirit, thou, O God of truth, hast redeemed me.
Here as one falling asleep and without any bodily
pain, that could be discerned, he departed this life.
And when Doctor Jonas and Calvin said. O reverend
father, do you die in the constant confession of that do-
ctrin of Christ, which you have hitherto preached? He
answered so as he might be heard: yea, which was
the last word he spake. Thus he in his native coun-
trey, not having seen it many yeers before, dyed
much lamented by many. This fell on the eighteen
of February on the day in the Calender ascribed to
Concord, about three a clock in the morning, in the
great climatericall yeere of his age. Soone after
his body put into a coffin of Lead, was carried in
funerall manner to the Temple of Isleben: where
Lutbus Jonas preached.
Then the Earles of Mansfield desired that his body should be interred within their territories. But the Elector of Saxony, required that it should be brought back to Wittenberg. In the return thereof, which way so ever it went, it was honourably attended, and with much griefe accompanied out of each Princes Dominion: and at length upon the 22. of February in the afternoon, was brought to Wittenberg, and was carried into the Temple neere adjoyning to the Castle, with such a troop of Princes, Earles, Nobles, their living as students, and other people, that the like was seldom or never seen in that town. When the funerall rites were performed, Pomeronanus preached to an assembly of many thousands. And after that Melanthon with many tears and sighes made a funerall Oration. When this was done, the coffin with his body was put by the hands of divers learned men, into the tomb neere to the pulpit, in which he had made many learned Sermons before divers Princes, Electors, and the Congregation of many faithful Christians. In a brazen plate his picture, lively deciphered, was there set up, with verses by it to this effect.
This Sepulchre great Luthers Corps containes
This might suffice: yet, read these following Strains.

Here, in this Pyne doth Martin Luther rest,
And sweetly sleep in hope to rise most blest.
By whose rare pains, fime faith, and Christs free Grace,
Which formerly, thick Fogs of Error base,
And duskie Clouds of Works desert bid quite,
Wore well reduced to their ancient Light.
For, when blind Superstition ruled All,
And did faire Truth, long time, suppress, and thrall,
He, by Gods Word and Spirits inspiration,
The Gospels Light re-pred, for everie Nation.
And, well-instructed by Pauls sacred voyce, (choice.
(Scorning Romes Cheats,) to teach pure Truth, made
And, as John Baptift, in the Wildernesse,
Did Gods Lamb, who heales Sin Preach and expresse:
So (O Sweet Christ,) did Luther cleare thy book,
When all the World was caught with Errors book.
And, what the difference was betwixt the Law
(Whose tables Moses brake, though God he saw;
Upon Mount-Sinai) and the Gospel sweet, (meet.
Which heales Sin-conscious hearts, which Gods wrath
This difference, lost, to th' world He did restore,
That, so, Christs gifts of Grace might shine the more;
He stoutly did oppose Romes Cheats and Charmes,
And Papal rule, which wrought Gods Saints great harms.
Exhorting all, Romes idols for to flie,
He many soules wan to true pietie.
And, maugre all Romes threats and snares most flie.
Finisht.
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Finisht, in Faith, his Course, most valiantly.
Dying in peace, his Soul with Christ doth rest,
Crown'd with immortal Glory, truly blest.
For which rare Doctor let both high and low
Bless God, that they so cleare Christ's truth do know.
And pray the Lord that these his Gospels rays
May to the World shine-forth for datelesse dayes.

Philipp Melancthon.

Dead is grave Luther, worthy all due praise,
Who set forth Christ, in Faith illustrious rays.
His Death the Church laments, with Sighs sincere,
Who was her Pastour, nay, her Patron deare.
Our Israels Chariots and Horsemen rare,
Is Dead, with me, let All sad Sables weare;
Let them their griefe in groaning verses sing,
For, such sad Knells, such Orphans, best, may ring.

Theodore Beza.

Rome tam'd the World, the Pope tam'd Rome, so great;
Rome rul'd by Power, the Pope by deep Deceit.
But, how more large, than Theirs, was Luthers Fame,
Who, with One Pen, both Pope and Rome did tame?
Go, fictious Greece, go tell Alcides, then,
His Club is nothing to great Luthers Pen.

John Major.

By Luthers labours, Leo the tenth is slain;
Not Hercules Club, but Luthers Pen's his bane.
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Joachim a Beust.

When Luther dy'd, then, with him dy'd, most sure,  
A Crown, and credit of Religion pure.  
His Soul soar'd-up to heaven, on Concord's day,  
Which tended Luther, thither, on his way:  
Deare Christ, since Discord followed with Coates rent,  
Give to thy Spouse Eliahs ornament.

Upon his Tomb-stone the University of Wittenberg, as to her beloved father, engraved.

The body of Martin Luther Doctor of Divinity lieth here interred, who in An. 1546. the 12. of the Kalenda of March died in Hefeben the place of his birth; when he had lived 63. yeeres 3. moneths and seven dayes.

Melanthon forrow for Luther's death.

Their intire love & faithfull society.

Thus Luther ran his course, & this was the period of his travels. When first Melanthon heard newes of his death, he utterted these sacred words of the scripture: The Charriot and horsemen of Israel is gone: and tooke his death most heavely. For they had lived together 28. yeeres in most religious manner, so that Melanthon truely loved him for his admirable vertues; and was a faithfull mate and helper to him in clearing the doctrine of the Gospel. For though those times were prone to distractions, and:
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and mens wavering mindes desirous of disfension, yet when as each knew others infirmities, there never fell any jarre betwene them, which caused any alienation of their affection, or parting their company and fellowship.

But what and how great stormes rose in Germany after the death of Luther (out alas!) each Christian knoweth. So that Luther said truly, and often foretold: That whilst he lived, by Gods help, there would no warre be rysed in Germany; but when he was dead, the age to come would see the event. Concerning the doctrine of the Gospel, he uttered this heavenly truth. These things will be a great bane to Christian Religion. First, forgetfulness of Gods blessing on us in restoring to us the Gospel. Secondly, security, which already commonly and everywhere reigneth. Thirdly, worldly wisdom, which would bring all things into good order, and cure the publique strifes with wicked Counsels.

There was in this worthy man of God a quicke and prudent understanding, a magnanimous and noble Spirit. He was ever constant in known truth: from the confession whereof he could never be removed with threats or promises. So that when upon a time, one Papist demanded of another, Why do you not stop the mans mouth with gold and silver? The other answered: See, this German beast careth not for money.

There appeared in him a singular profe of his valour and noble courage in the Augsburg Assembly, when thus he wrote out of his Wildernesse to Spalatinus.
That Kings and Princes and people, rage against the Christ or anointed of God, I esteem it a good sign, and think it much better then if they flattered. For thereupon followeth, that he that dwells in heaven laughs at them. And when our Lord and King laughs, I see no cause, why we should weep before their faces. He laughs not for his own sake, but for ours, that we rather trusting to him then to anything else, might laugh at their vain designs: so much need is thereof of faith, that the cause of faith may not be looked upon without faith. But he that begun this worke, he began it without our counsel and contrivance; And he himself will forward with it, and finish it without, and beyond all our counsels and devises: of this I make no question; I know and am assured hereof. He in whom I beleive, is able to do above all, which we can ask or conceive. Though Philip Melanthon contrive and desire that God should work according to, and within the compass of his counsels, that he might have wherein to glory: and say. Surely thus the business should be carried: Thus would I have done. But this is not well spoken: I Philip would have it so: This (I) is too flat and dull, too low a style. It must be thus. The God, who faith, I am that I am; this is his name, I am; He will have it so. It is not yet seen who he is, but he will appear, as he is, and we shall see him. But I have done. Be you valiant in the Lord, and put Melanthon in minde from me, that he set not himself in Gods place:
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"but fight against that ambition of Deitie, which was inbred and took root in us in Paradise by the devils suggestion: for that is an affection not furthering the business now in hand. The desire of being like God, thrust Adam and Eve out of Paradise, and it alone doth trouble us, and turn us out of the course of Peace. We must be mortal men, and not Gods: Thus in briefe: If we think otherwise, everlasting unquietness and anguish of heart will be our reward.

Luther was ready for Martyrdom once or twice, and thought his adversaries would have him to it: whereupon at his going to Augsburg. An. 1518. thus he wrote to his deare freind * Melanct. Shew your selfe a man of resolution, as you already doe. Teach the students Gods truth. I am going (if God so please) to be sacrificed for them and you. For I had rather die, and never more enjoy (which thing alone would be most grievous to me) your most sweet societie, then to recant and revoke any truth which I have preached, and give occasion to overthrow the right course of studies. And elsewhere he thus wrote * to Spalatinus. I had rather, as I have often sayd, die by the hands of the Romanists alone. And would by no means that Charles and his Counsellours should interpose themselves in putting mee to death. I know what misery befell Sigismund the Emperor after the martyrning of Hus: how nothing prospered with him afterward, how he died without issue male, how his daughters somme Ladislaus also died, and so had be his name extinguished in one age of men: besides Barbara his Queen became a dishonour to the royall place.

* Tom. 1. epist. p. 85.


The Emperour Sigismund unhappy after Hus his death.
place she held; and other matters which you well know. But yet if it so please God, that I shall be delivered into the hands not only of the Papists & spiritual Governours, but of Temporal Magistrates also, the Lords will be done. Amen. And againe thus to Lambert Thorn imprisoned. I rejoice with you most heartily, and give thanks to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that he hath not one-ly graciously given me the knowledge of his word, but made me see a plentiful and glorious encrease of his grace in you. Wretched man that I am! It is reported that I first taught those things, for which you suffer, and yet shall be the last, or perhaps shall not be vouchsafed at all, to be made partaker of your imprisonments & Martyrdoms. Yet herein will I challenge something, and comfort my selfe in this, that your miseries, your bonds and imprisonments, the fires prepared for you are mine also: and so indeed they are, seeing I professe and preach the same things with you, and suffer and rejoice together with you.

God by Luther and his fellow workmen opened and cleared the necessarie dostrin of Gods Church concerning the Mediatour and justification of man before God, of the differences of the Law and the Gospel, of worship pleasing God, of Invocation: and other points. He was wont often to deplore the ungodly praying to the Saints departed, and said: That there were many reasons why that invocation was execrable, and that this was one chief: namely, that by that profane custome the Testimony of Christ's Divinity was obscured, to whom both the writings of the Prophets and Apostles attribute the honour of invocation. These are the Idols which
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which sharpen the barbarous sword of the Turk to cut of our neckes. Nor will he ever be kept from shedding our bloud, excepting godly manner those things be reformed. For how wicked and impious those hymnes be, which are sung in the Popes Quires, who knoweth not? O Mary, thou Mother of grace defend us from our enemie, and in the hour of death receive us. And againe. Saint Dorothy create a new heart within us: Saint Catharin translate us from the troublesome sea of the world to the pleasures of Paradise: open Paradise for us.

And that Gods truth might be propagated to posterity, with continuall and great labour and study hee plainly and perspicuously out of the originall texts translated the Bible into the German tongue, that his translation may well serve in stead of a Commentary. He often speaketh of the labour and difficulty of this taske. As in his letter to Wenceslaus Lincus. We are now busied in translating the Prophets, a worke (God knoweth) of great paines and industry, to bring Hebrew writers to speake the German tongue; to leave their Hebrew idiom, and express themselves in our barbarous language: This is as if the Nightingale should be compelled to imitate the Cuckow, to leave her warbling melody, and fall into an unisone. And again to Spalatinus. In translating Iob, we are put to very great paines in regard of the loftiness of the style: that this book may seeme more impatient of our translation, then Iob himselfe of his friends comforting him: He may seeme yet still to sit upon the dunghill. Unlesse perhaps the Author of the booke desired.
Luther's course in translating the Bible.

Tom I. epist. 171.


Luther revising the first Edition of the Bible.

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red, that it never should be translated. This is the reason why the Presse maketh no better haste in this part of the Bible. In this worke he used the paines and counsel of his colleagues, whom elsewhere we have named, that they might be witnesses of his faithfull care in darke places. He entreated Spalatinus to send precious stones from the Court, for his better knowledge of them; and took care that he might know the names and differences of certain beasts and fowles, and creeping things, and insects. He had Rams, Sheep, Calves kild and cut up at his house, and learned the names of their joynts and the proprietie of speech about them, from the butchers. Oftentimes, as himself relateth, he spent fourteen dayes together in the interpretation of one word or line with Melanthon and Aurogallus help. In their consultation, this was their course. Luther was President in the work performed in the Monastery, and ever had by him the old Latine Translation, and his new one, and the Originall Text: To Melanthon's care was commended the Greek Bible; to Crucigers the Hebrew and Chaldee: other professors were employed in the perusing the Rabbins: and every one of them still came to the worke well premeditated. Every one gave his judgement concerning the place to be translated, they compared all together, and at length concluded of the expression thereof. But Luther before his death revised the first edition: for one day teacheth another. For this paines we owe him perpetuall thanks: for it much benefits the Church, and informeth such as know not the originall: yea it much pleases the learned
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learned in the tongues for conference of translations. Yet this pains was blamed by Vicielius and Staphylus and other vassals of the Pope.

Luther also published many learned Expositions and Comments on the Scripture: Of which Erasmus in one leaf of Luthers Commentaries is more solid Divinitie, then in many prolix Treatises of the School-men, and other the like. He also refined and much enriched the German tongue: He translated out of Latine, some things which other thought not possible to be rendred in the vulgar tongue, and yet used most significant and proper words, so that some one word might seeme to set the whole matter forth most expressly.

Of the Pope Luther wrote, how he made use of the Masse even for the souls departed: and faith, that he with his Masse had gone not onely into all corners of the world, but even into purgatory itself: here he useth a word in the German tongue signifying the noyse* of his tumbling down into hell. Also he calleth Indulgence-Mongers, purse-threshers, because the Pope winnowed good money out of that chaffe. There are full many such passages in his German writings. Well therefore said renowned Sturmius concerning him. "Luther may be reputed very well the Master of our tongue, whether you speake of the puritie or copioufness of it. The counsellors of Princes, the Judges of Cities, all Secretaries, all Embassadours and Lawyers attribute this praise to him being a Divine. The cause defended by him was just and

* If hinnunter gerum, Pet in die helle.
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"cessary, and of itself deserved the victory: but assuredly he shot forth the darts of his arguments, with the strong arms of true Oratory. If he had not revived Religion, if he had preached no Sermons; had he written nothing else, but what he divulged of the Scriptures translated, yet for this his pains, he deserved very excellent and perpetual glory. For if the Greek and Latine, and other translations be compared with the German, they come short for clearness, pureness, propriety, and agreeing with the original. I am persuaded that as no Painter could passe Apelles; so not any writer can go beyond Luther for his translation in our tongue.

He began a matter, as was conceived, beyond the reach of man; and liable to extreame danger. But there is no counsell, no power prevalent against the Lord: who most admirably defended Luther living and dead against all his adversaries. Whilest he lived, he had most potent, most subtle enemies, and in a word, all Antichrist's kingdom: nor onely did the Pope and his Bishops, his Universities and other Sophisters openly set upon him with Buls and Treatises published: but designed to take him away closely with poyson, daggers, guns, and other means. Concerning secret plots against him, they be well known. He thus speaks of them. "There is here a Polonian Jew hired with two thousand crownes to poyson me: my friends have disclosed the plot to me by their letters. He is a Doctor of Physick, and dare attempt anything, and will..."
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"will go about it with incredible craft and celerity."

"This very houre I caused him to be apprehended; what the event will be, I cannot say. This is the news. To Spalatinus also he wrote, that there were many Actors of the plot, whom he would not have wrackt, if they would not voluntarily confesse by whom they were suborned, but endeavoured to have them set at libertie. Yet he addeth. Though I am fully perswaded that he was the man desired unto me, all marks of him did so rightly answer the description sent to me. Again, what the Papists did attempt, the words of Alexander the Popes Legate do well declare. Of which Luther thus speaks. Spalatinus wroteth that Alexander was bold to say; Though you Germans, who pay the least summes of money to the Pope, have shaken of the yoke of servitude, yet we will take a course that ye shall be consumed with civill broyles, and perish in your own blood.

Concerning the fables and lies cast abroad in his life time, what should I say? Of his countrey and parentage, it was bruited, that he was a Bohemian, and borne of (as they call them) heretical Parents. Then they layd aspersions upon his promotion at Wittenberg, and defamed it with sundry lies. Heare what he wrote to Spalatinus: That Embassador, or I know not what of Ferdinauds, was with me, to see what manner of man I was, and how I carried my selfe. He sayd that it was told his Master, that I went up and down armed and guarded, and did spend my time among Queanes, dicers, tavern hunters, and was notorious among all men, with I know not what other the like honours. But I am now well inured to such lies. How often
often was he reported to fly to the Bohemians? how often were scandals raised from his writings? how often was he cal'd a flatterer of Princes, a trumpet of sedition? His bold speech and vehemency was a string much harped upon. Whence he faith of himself. Almost all men * condemn me of two much eagerness. But I am of your mind, that it is Gods will to have the inventions of men in this manner thus revealed. For I see matters in this our age quietly handled to be quickly forgotten, and no man to regard them. And again. * Yet do not I deny, but that I am more vehement then is fit: which thing seeing they know so well, they should refraine from provoking me: How hard a thing it is to bridle the pen, you may well enough learne by your selfe. And this is the reason, why I have ever been averse from shewing my selfe in publique matters: but the more averse that I was, so much the more was I carried against my owne desire, yet never, unlesse most grievous wrongs were done, the Word of God or my selfe for its sake. Whereupon it fell out that had I not been apt by nature to vehemency and imbittering my style, the very indignity of the matter would have urged a dead and stony heart to write sharply: how much more my selfe, who am of an ardent spirit, & write not a dul stile. Monsters of men carried me beyond the due temper of modesty. For the warrant of this sharpnes he used to alledge the example of Christ, who called the Jewes, an adulterous & perverse generation, a generation of Vipers, hypocrites, children of the Devil.
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Vill: and Pauls example, who calleth them dogs, vaine bablers, seducers, illiterate: yea Act. 13. most sharply inveighes against the false Prophet. Moreover Erasimus often used to say. In regard of the height of the diseases of this last age of the world, God hath sent them a sharpe Physitian. Also Charles the Emperour sayd. If the Popes Priests were such as they should be, they would not need a Luther. Further he had divers spirituall tentations and terrible buffets of Satan: as namely in his sickness at Coburg, and at other times, when his body was weake. These much afflicted him, and sometimes made him lie as one dead; but by physicke applied for his cure, and reading the Scripture, and singing of Psalmes, which he used to call them about him unto, he was recovered, and eased of those affrights, and esteemed them but as the Devils traps, from which God would deliver him.

In the dismall warre of Germany, scarce could the souldiers be restrained from exercising their cruelty upon his dead corps. For when Wittenberg yeelded to the Emperour Charles: and he came to see the towne, the Spaniards would have digged up Luthers tombe, and burnt his body, Charles the fifth (as faithfull witnesses have related) said. Suffer him to rest till the day of resurrection, and the Judgement of all men.

But in the beginning of Luthers preaching, he minded not to have proceeded so farre, as the issue drew him to. For An. 1520. he thus wrote. I will offer them silence with all humility: so that others be also silent.
silent. For I will omit nothing on my part, which may
conduce to peace: and have ever been careful to do.
I will therefore make ready an humble letter to the Pope:
If matters prove calm as I hope, it is well. If not, it is
well also: for it is God's pleasure so to have it. He often
purposed also to have departed from the Papists
malice. For thus he writeth to Spalatinus. Had not
your letter come to my handes, I had prepared to
have gone out of the way. And yet I am ready to be gone,
or to stay. And againe, I have not free liberty to speake
or write; If I goe hence, I will poure out my whole mind,
and offer my life to Christ.

He daily more and more discerned God's truth,
and could not wind himselfe out of some errors in
the beginning presently: for about the invocation of
Saints thus he wrote An. 1518. "My good Spalati-
inus, I never judged, that the worship of Saints was
superstitious, nor the praying to them for matters
especially pertaining to the body. For thus our
neighbours the Pighards hereticks in Bohemia con-
ceit. For we in better manner obtaine of God
by his Saints any good thing (for assuredly all
good is God's gift) then others get by Magicians
and Wizards of the Devil, as the manner is. But
this my meaning was, that it is superstitious, yea
ungodly & wicked to beg of God and the Saints
things corporall onely, and to neglect the things
which concern the soule and salvation, and are
sued for according to God's will: As if we forgot
or beleived not his word, saying; Seeke first or
cheifely the kingdom of God, and all these
things
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"things shall be added to you. Yea every where Christ teacheth us to flight corporall matters, and our bodies, as base things in regard of our soules. Concerning the adoration in the Sacrament thus he wrote. "I say it is free for us to adore Christ, and call upon him sub sacramento under the Sacrament. For he sins not, who doth not adore: nor doth he sinne, who doth adore. Concerning the administration of the Lords Supper in the vulgar tongue thus he wrote. "I wish the Maffe might be used in the Mother tongue, rather then can promise to have it so. Because I cannot bring it to passe, as being a matter requiring both Musick and the Spirit. So in the mean time I permit every man to abound in his own sense; till Christ enables me to say more. He first celebrated the Maffe in the mother tongue; An. 1525. as he writeth to Langus and the minifters of Erford. This day we attend the Princes command, the next Lords day we will publiquely sing in the name of Christ: and Maffe shall be in the mother tongue for the Lay people. But the daily service shall be in Latine, but we will have the Lessons in the vulgar tongue. These things ye shall have shortly published.

Luther caused Psalmes in the German tongue to be used. Concerning this thus he wrote to Spalatinus, An. 1524. We intend according to the example of the Prophets and ancient fathers of the Church, to make Psalmes or spirituall songs for the common people, that the word of God may continue among the people, if not otherwise, yet surely in Psalmes. We seeke for Poets,

\[ \text{Tom. 2. ep. pag. 72.} \]

Tom. 2. ep. pag. 243.

Tom. 2. ep. pag. 301.

Tom. 2. ep. pag. 230.
where we may. Now seeing you have attained both the free use and Elegancy of the German tongue, I intreat you to take some pains with us in this business, and try how you can turn a Psalme into verse: as I have given you a pattern. I would have you not to use late invented and courtly termes: But make the verse to fit the simplest and most vulgar capacitie: yet let the words be smooth and proper. Let the sense also be cleare, and as neere as may be to the original: yet may you use this freedome, as to vary the words sometimes, so that you keep the sense. I cannot performe the worke so neatly, as I would, and therefore desire to try how neere you can come to He-man, Asaph or Jeduthun.

He taught many things soundly and gravely about the Scripture and the authoritie thereof, as,

*That our faith was to be built on the Canonickall books, the other books required our judgement.* Of the word, the Sacraments and Ministers he taught. *That we are planters and waterers, and are Ministers of the word of life and Sacraments of salvation: but are not Givers of the increase.* Concerning our Justice he said. *Thou art my justice: I am sinne. Thou hast taken what I am, and given me, that which was thine. Thou hast taken that which thou wast not, and given me, that which I was not.* Concerning ceremonies he said. I condemn no Ceremonies, but those which are contrary to the Gospel. Concerning Moses: *As the learned men of the world say; that Homer is the father of all the Poets, the fountain, yea the Ocean of all learning and wisdome, and eloquence: so our Moses is the father and fountain of all the Prophets and sacred books: that is,*
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of all heavenly wisdom and eloquence. Concerning humane learning. I am persuaded that Theologie could not wholly be kept sincere without the skill of other Arts. For heretofore, when knowledge of other learning was decayed or despised, Theologie did fall and lay neglected most miserably. Nay, I discern that the revelation of God's Word would never have become so glorious, unless first the Tongues and Arts had been brought into use and flourished, and made away for Divinitie, as John Baptist did for Christ. And elsewhere, I think they err, and are extremely out of the way, who think the knowledge of Philosophy and of nature to be of no use for Theologie. Of Temtations thus he speaketh. I would have men, who are tempted, thus to be comforted with faith and hope: first to avoid solitariness, and still to have company and to sing Psalms and talk of holy matters. Then secondly, to be assuredly persuaded, (which though it be most difficult, yet is it the most ready cure) that those thoughts are not their own, but Satans: and therefore that they should earnestly endeavour to turn their hearts to some other thoughts, and leave those evil thoughts to Satan. For to insist upon them, to strive with them, or to struggle to overcome them is a provoking and strengthening them, to a man's perdition without remedie. Of men distracted and foolest this was his judgement. "I think that all foolest and such as have not the use of reason are vexed or led aside by Satan: not that they are therefore condemned, but because Satan doth diversly tempt men, some grievously, some easily, some a longer, some a shorter time. And whereas Physitians at-
tribute much to natural causes, and mitigate those evils by natural means sometimes; this "cometh to passe, because they know not, how "great the power and strength of the devils are. Concerning the Assembly at Auffburg, whose remembrance Melancthon delighted not in, because there such as endeavoured the propagation of the Gospel were censured by Charles the fifth, harshly and grievously. Whereunto five Electors, thirtie Ecclesiastical Princes, Secular Princes twentie three, Abbats twentie two, Earles and Barons thirtie three, and thirtie nine free Cities subscribed; Of this assembly, I say, this was Luther's judgement; "Though after much expense ye see nothing done "at Auffburg, yet thus I think: though their cost "had been double, yet the publique confutation of "the sophistors and envious persons would be e- "quivalent thereunto: for they fought to disgrace "our doctrin with lies, as if it was the most errone- "ous that ever was heard. Of it also Brentius faith. "The cost bestowed in all assemblies within the "memory of men are not a sufficient price for the "excellent treasure of the Confession and Apo- "logy.

Of the Lords Supper thus Luther writeth. "I "neither can nor will deny this, that if Carolo-"dius or any other man within these five yeeres "could have perswaded me, that there was nothing "in the Sacrament but bread and wine, he should "have done me a singular kindnesse. For I have "laboured much and been most studious about "this
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"this points discussion, I have endeavoured with "all possible intention of minde to cleare and fully "open this matter; because I well saw that hereby "I could especially wound the Papists. Besides I "had two others, who wrote to me more soundly "and acutely of this point, then Carolostadius, nor "did so wrest the words to the conceit of their own "humour. But I saw my self fast taken, and had "no way left to escape. For the Text of the Go- "spel is so cleare and powerfull, that it cannot be "shaken, much lesse be overthrown with words and "glosses suggested by addle heads. Of this questi- on he wrote a large Epistle and indeavoured to prove That Christs flesh was not only eaten spirittually, "but corporally. And whereas elsewhere he speaketh otherwise of this matter, there be some, who affirm that he opened his minde thereof a little before his death. For tis said, that as he was fitting himself for his journey to Isleben, Ian. 23. An. 1546. he affir- med to Melanthon, that he confessed, that he had gone too farre in the Sacramentary controverse. And when Melanthon perswaded him to explicate his minde by publishing some book: he answered, that by this course he should derive a suspicion on all his doctrin as faultie: but Melanthon might do as he saw cause, when he was dead. The witnisses of this his speech are Melanthon, Herbert de Langen, Daniel Burenius Conf. of Breme and others.

When Antonius Musa the Pastor of Rochle on a time complained; that he himself could not beleve, what he taught others. Luther answered, I thank God that
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that hee or others to be affected to the Papists doctrine, as I was. He was wont to say, that a preacher should beware of bringing three dogs into the pulpit with him, pride, covetousnesse, envy. This rule he gave concerning government of ones selfe in preaching. When, faith he, You see the people heare most diligently, conclude that they will go away more cheerfully.

He judged them in Princes Courts to undergoe the greatest labours, who are compelled to drink so extremely, that they cannot rest night or day. When a Stone was brought unto him out of the Mansfield Stone-pits:wherein was the image of the Pope with a triple Crown. Lo, said he, the Pope must be revealed and extold by Metal Mines, and diggers of Metals.

Three things, said he, make a Divine. Meditation, prayer, tentation. And that three things were to be done by a Minister. 1. He must read the Bible over and over. 2. Pray earnestly. 3. Always be a learner. And that they were the best preachers to the people, who spake as to Babes in Christ, in the ordinary strain, popularly and most plainly. When he visited the Churches in Saxony, and a countrey man repeated the words of the Creed in the vulgar tongue, saying, I believe in God the Father Almighty. He asked the countrey man, what was meant by Almighty? who answered; I know not. Luther said, neither do I nor any learned man know it. Onely believe thou that God is thy father, and that he can and will preserve thee and thine.

He tooke delight to expresse some things in his own
owne tongue, and in Ryme. Of which some were to this sense and meaning.

_Eate what is sodden well;_  
_Drinke what is pure and cleare:_  
_THAT thou the truth doth tell,_  
_TO all let it appeare._

_Speare not to all, what ever thou doest know:_  
_IF thou be well, keepe wisely were thou art:_  
_CONSERVE with care, what ever is thine owne,_  
_Mischance sure-footed comes like th' nimble Hart._

_Be silent in due time, abstaine, sustaine,_  
_Hold up thy head. Of need to none complaine._  
_Despair not of Gods helpe, thy state to stay:_  
_Who sends assistance to us every day._

He was in his private converse of such behaviour that his life was a patterne of vertue. As he dined or supped, ostentimes he would dictate matter to be preached; sometimes correct the faults of the press; sometimes he would recreate himselfe and others with Musick. He was by nature (which Melanthon would often wonder at) a moderate eater and drinker: and yet had no small or weake body: He hath beene seene for foure dayes together and being in health, to eate and drinke nothing at set meale times: and often at other times for many dayes to be content with a little bread and fishe. I will say nothing how in the Cloysters he macerated himselfe
himselfe with watchings, fasting, labours. Often-
times being invited to banquets, he went not, be-
cause he would not lose his time, I, sayd he, lose too
much time by invitations to feasts here in the City: I
know Satan hath such an hand in it: that I may not de-
ny it, and yet it doth me harme to accept the courtesie. In
company he was familiar, pleasanf, courteous, yet
grave, as besemeth a man of his place. He was affa-
ble, and studious of truth.

Melanthon affirmeth, that he often found him at
prayer with great ardency and tears imploring
God for the whole Church. He set apart every day
a certain time for reading some Psalms, and inter-
mixt his owne prayers and tears with them. He of-
ten used to say; that he was offended with them,
who either through idlenesse or variety of employ-
ment sayd, that it was enough to pray with groanes
only. And for that end, said he, formes of prayer
are prescribed us by the will of God, that reading
might inflame our minds, yea that the voice also
might profess, what God we call upon.

When he recreated his mind, and tooke it of
from study, he delighted to play at Cheffe, and
was skilfull at it. He sometimes practised the art of
Turning with his servant Wolfgang: and would say:
if the world should deny us sustenance for my paines in
Gods word, we would learn to get our livings with our
hands. Sometimes he did play on an Instrument,
sometimes Shoot. He was carefull also of the neat-
nesse of his garden, and desired of his friends
varietie of plants to furnish it: So that he had no

His zeal in prayer.
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vacant time. Of his imployments thus he writeth. I am very full of imployments: the Psalter requireth a whole man: preaching to the people might well require all my paines: my course of worshipping God and prayer might wholly busie me: my paines in expounding Scripture by writing, my writing Epistles, my care of other mens affairs taketh up my time; my converse with my friends (which I use to call a feeding of my corps) doth very badly steale away a great part of my time. It was his usuall course either to meditate, or to read, or preach, or to give good counsel to his friends: so that he was never idle.

He was very liberall to the poore. On a time when a student asked some money of him, he bad his wife give him some thing: and when she excused the matter in regard of their penurie at that time: he tooke up a silver cup and gave it to the Scholler, and bid him fell it to the Gold-smith, and keep the money for his occasions. When a friend sent him 200. angels of gold from the metal-mines, he bestowed them all on poore students: When John the Electour gave him a new gowne: he said, that he was made to much of: for if here we receive a full recompence of our labours, we shall hope for none in another life. When the same Electour offered him a vayne of Metals at Sneberg: he refused it, lest he should incurre the tentation of the Devill, who is Lord of treasure under the Earth. He tooke nothing of Printers for his copies, as he writeth, saying. I have no plenty of money: and thus yet I deale with the Printers: I receive nothing from them for recompence of my many
How he dealt with Printers.

many copies, sometimes onely I receive of them one copie. This I think is due to me, whereas other writers, yea translators, for every eight leaves have an Angel. Concerning money given him, thus he writeth. The hundredth Angels given me I received by Tanbenhem: and Schart gave me fifty: that I stand in feare, that God will give me my reward here. But I protested that I would not so be satisfied by him, I will either presently repay it, or spend it. For what should I doe with so much money? I gave one halfe of it to P. Prior, and made him a joyfull man.

He was very lovingly affectioned towards his children, and gave them liberall education: He kept in his house a Schoole-mafter to traine them up in good arts and a godly life. When he saw Magdalen his eldest daughter ready to die, he read to her that in Esay 26. 19. Thy dead servants shall rise againe, together with my dead body shall they arise. Awake and sing ye that dwell in the dust: For thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast out the dead. Come my people, enter into thy chambers, and shut thy doores about thee: Hide thy selfe as it were for a little moment, untill the indignation be over-past. My daughter enter thou into thy chamber with peace: I shall ere long be with thee. For God will not permit me to see the punishments hanging over the head of Germany. And upon this wept plentifully. But in publique when he went along with the Herfe he bridled his affection, and was not seene to shed one teare. And as all men of excellent spirits have a zealous anger in due place. So Luther by nature was vehement, but yet

His loving affection to his children.

His anger & zeale.
yet placable: As appeareth in this, that when Melanthon much moved to passion once came unto him, and all the rest were very mute, Luther uttered this verse.

Vince animos iramque tuam, qui cetera vincis.
Thine owne heart overcome, thy fury tame,
VWho all things els haft stoutly overcame.

And then smiling said, _we will not further dispute of this matter_, and turned his speech to other occasions.

He foresaw and foretold many things, as the combustion which rose in Germany; saying, I am very much afraid, that if the Princes give care to Duke George his ill counsel, there will arise some tumult, which will destroy all the Princes and Magistrates in all Germany, and ingage in it all the Clergy. Of the death of Frederik Elector of Saxony, thus he writeth. _If God in heaven hath resolved in wrath to deale with us, that neither our prayers, nor counsels of amendment can hinder it, let us obtain this that our Josias may sleep in peace, though the world be left to go into its Babylon._

Of the covetousnesse of Germany and the dearth there, thus he speaketh. "We feare famine, and "we shall suffer it, and finde no remedie for it. And "when as without necessitie, we are solicitous to "prevent famine, like wicked and incredulous "Gentiles, and neglect the word of God and his "work; he will permit shortly a dismall day to "come upon us, which will bring with it whole "Wain-loads of cares; which we shall neither have T "power
Of Luther's Health.

Of Luther's Person.

Of his wife and children after his death.

"power or means to escape. Divers other things he also foretold.

He had his health competently well, but that sometimes he was troubled with headach, especially in his elder years. Whereupon he was afraid of some violent Apoplexie: and when he felt a swimming in his head, or noyse in his eares, he used to say: Lord Jesu, smite me gently, for I am absolved from my sins according to thy word, and am fed unto life eternall by thy body and blood. Thine Apostle John and our Elector were taken out of this world, by this kinde of death. He endured often tentations, whereupon he said: All here are in health except Luther, who is found in body, and without sufferes at no mans hand in the world: onely the Devil and all his Angels vex him.

He was of an indifferent stature, of strong body, of so Lionlike a quicknesse of his eyes, that some could not endure to look directly upon him, when he intentively beheld them. They say that one of mild spirit, who could not endure in private to talk with Luther; was courteously used by Luther, yet was so pierced with the quicknesse of his eyes, that being amazed he knew no course better then to run from him. His voyce was mild and not very cleare, whereupon, when on a time there was mention at table about Pauls voyce, which was not very perfect and full: Luther said; I also have a lowe speech and pronunciation. To whom Melanthon answered. But this small voyce is heard very farre and neere.

In wedlock he lived chastly and godly above twentie yeers, and when he died, left three sonnes and
and Catharin de Bora a widow, who lived after his death seven yeeres. To her it was a great grief that her husband died in a place farre from her, so that she could not be with him, and performe the last conjugal offices to him in his sickness. In the time of the warre which presently followed, she wandred up and down with her orphans, and in banishment was exposed to many difficulties and dangers: And besides the miseries of widowhood, which are full many, the ingratitude of many did much affliet her: for where she hoped for kindness in regard of her husbands worthy and noble deserts of Gods Church, often she was put of with great indignitie. When afterward her house at Wittenberg in time of pestilence was infected, she for her childrens safetie, as became a godly mother, betooke her self to Torg, where was also an Universitie. But in the way, when the horses affrighted ran out and seemed to indanger the waggon, she amazed not so much for her own, as her childrens preservation, lept out of the waggon, whereby poore wretch she grievously bruised her body in the fall, and being cast into a poole of cold water, caught thereby a disease, of which she lay sick three monethes in banishment, and pining away at length died quietely in the yeere, 1552.

Luthers writings were published at Wittenberg and lene in severall Towns both in Latine and the German tongue. Part of them were expositions of Scriptures, part doctrinal, part polemicall. Of these this was his own judgement. Above all I beseech the godly Reader, and I beseech him for our Lord Jesu Christ.
Christ's sake, that he would read my writings judiciously, and with much pitying my case. And let him know, that I was formerly a Monk and a most furious Papist, when I first entred into the cause undertaken by me: yea, I was so drunk & drowned in the opinions of Papism me, that I was most ready to kill all men, if I could, or to assist and consent to their attempts that did kill them, who even in one syllable should dissent from the Pope. Such a Saul was I, as some that be yet alive. I was not so cold and calme in defending Popery as was Eckius and his mates, who more truly for their bellies sake seemed to defend Popery, then that they were serious in the cause: yea they seeme still to me to laugh at the Pope in secret, as Epicureans. But I proceeded in the Popes defence earnestly, because I set before mine eyes the last day of judgement, and trembled thereat: and desired from my very heart to attain salvation. In another of his writings, he in a manner wisheth his books extinct, saying. Alas, my friends should not trouble me: I have enough to do with the Papists, and might almost say with Job and Jeremy, would I had not been born, yea almost say, I would I had not published so many books: and would not care, if they were all perished. Let other such spirited mens writings be sold in every shop, as they desire.

Luther also was much against it, that any man should be called a Lutheran after his name. Because the doctrin was not his, neither did he die for any one; and because Saint Paul would not endure to have it done by his own person, 1 Cor. 3. Against this humour of men also. Luther said. How should it come to passe, that a sack of wormes meat should be necessary to this, that
that the children of Christ should be called after my base and unworthy name. He also much opposed the title of Lutherans, because we be all Christians, and profess the doctrin of Christ: as also because the Papists are guiltie of this crime, by calling themselves Pontificians. We ought not to imitate them in evil. Of Luthers books thus writeth Sturmius. I remember that in an epistle of Luthers to Wolfgangus Capito, which is in Conra
dus Huberts Library some yeeres ago I read, That he himselfe took content in none of his books, but onely in his Catechisme and his book against Free Will.

For a conclusion I will here adde Melanethons judgement concerning the Talents by God beftowed on Luther and others. Pomeranum, faith he, is a Gramarian, and explains the force of words, I intend Logick and shew the context of the matter, and the Arguments, Juftus Jonas is an orator, and copiously and elegantly discourseth: But Luther is all these, a very miracle among men. What ever he faith, what ever he writeth it, pierceth mens minds and leaves behind it a wonderfull sting in their hearts. And Camerarius speaketh thus of Luther. The name of Luther is so o
dious to some, that they deteit the hearing it: on the contrary other endure not that any thing should be found fault with, which either he speak or did: & if any man dare speake against him, they declaime against him presently, as one guilty of impiety. They who thus extoll the name and authority of Martin Luther, as not doubting to ele
vate him above the condition and measure of Mortall men, should see to it, that they doe not wrong the good name of so excellent and admirable a man by attribut-

In his b. of Rhetoric, Exe.
Melaneth, in Mathes, term.
Camerarius in Melaneth. life pag. 251.
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ing too much to him: and that they do not seeme to shelter and protect their audaciousnes, under his excellency. And those calumniators, who not only condemn all his writings as ungodly and turbulent, now also, if they had any wit, might remember and consider, what is gotten by bitter envy, contumacy, froward opposition and outrageous clamours.

Wolfgang Severus Tutour of Ferdinando of Austria, afterward Emperour, wrote a distich encomiastic upon Luther to this purpose.

Of Iaphets race hath Luthers like n'ere been,
And his superior, sure, will n'ere be seen.

His Imprefe was a Rose and a Crosse, the explication whereof is this.

A Rose and Crosse great Luthers heart disclose.
The Rose, his Joy, the Crosse, Christs yoak, he chose.

Thus have we described Luther's Life and Death out of his owne and other learned mens writings: in perusing whereof, the Reader is to be intreated (which thing Luther himselfe requested concerning his whole workes) to judge well what he readeth, and to consider well, whence Luther came, and at what time he wrote, namely, out of the dark mistes of Popery, and when the raies of the Gospel began again to shew themselves.

FINIS.