

COVENANT  
THEOLOGICAL  SEMINARY

# REFORMATION TOUR

2016



# Reformation Study Tour

## August 31 – September 15, 2016

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As your Reformation tour begins, it is our hope that you will experience new cultures, new thoughts, new landscapes and new joy. Our desire is that your tour is a time of refreshment, relaxation and adventure. It is also our hope that you will get a flavor for an exciting time of spiritual growth and historical changes when concepts of *Sola Scriptura*, *Sola Gratia*, *Sola Fide* spread across the landscapes of Europe and beyond. For many, 1517 marks the beginning of the Reformation. The seeds for the Reformation were sown many years before that, with the work of men like Jan Hus and John Wycliffe.

We have created this tour book as a companion to your trip, with extra information on the places that you will visit and the people that will be mentioned along the way. There are also some fun facts on the various countries you are going to. Enjoy!

We do hope that you will enjoy fellowship and worship with brothers and sisters in Christ during your tour both with fellow travelers and with those you meet along the way. Finally it is our hope that you will return home from your tour refreshed and enriched in mind and spirit.

Our prayers go with you,  
Frank and Rowena Drinkhouse  
Reformation Tours, LLC

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St. Andrews

Edinburgh

Haarlem Amsterdam

Cologne

Koblenz

Rudesheim

Speyer

Worms

Heidelberg

Strasbourg

Breisach Freiburg

Basel Zurich

## Meet the Travelers

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**Wilson & Pam Benton:** We are college sweethearts who have been married for 53 years. After YEARS of grad school (PhD -University of Edinburgh) and 3 babies, God clearly called us into pastoral ministry rather than the teaching ministry we had planned. Wilson served First Presbyterian and then Covenant Presbyterian in Cleveland, Mississippi for 16 years. That was followed by 23 years at Kirk of the Hills in St. Louis and at Covenant Seminary. We are now retired after 5 years at Christ Presbyterian / Nashville. Our 10 grands range from 1st grade to college junior, residing in Hattiesburg, MS; Lexington, VA; and Nashville. They and their parents bring us much joy. What a wonderful blessing for us to make this trip with special friends!



**Susie Black:** I have just recently retired after many years at Christ Presbyterian Academy in Nashville, where I worked as Registrar, database manager and computer teacher. My husband and I walked together on a 6-year journey with ALS. As a recent widow, I enjoy spending time with my 3 children and 6 grandchildren, as well as reading and gardening. I grew up a Lutheran and have been a Presbyterian for 35 years, so am really looking forward to hearing more of my spiritual heritages. Psalm 121.



**Marcie Buck:** I was born in California...Missouri, that is! I went to a one-room school through sixth grade, but then "in town" for Jr and Sr high school! Was raised on a dairy farm where we worked most all of the time, but then when homework and chores were finished, I could swing in a swing that my Dad and Uncle made for me in a huge, old oak tree....beginning my "swinger" career! I have two daughters - one near San Francisco and one in Columbia, MO - and two grown granddaughters. I worked as an executive assistant to the founder and CEO of a river industry company in St. Louis. As part of my training and getting familiar with the company, I had to come down the Mississippi on a tow of barges from St. Paul, MN. I am a widow living in Chesterfield and a member of Twin Oaks Presbyterian Church.



**Bill & Sally Canfield:** We are native St. Louisans, high school sweethearts from Webster Groves, and have known each other 65 years! We have 2 sons and 8 grandchildren. We've been active and involved members of Central Presbyterian Church for 35+ years. In business, Bill was an entrepreneur, concluding his business career as CEO of TALX Corporation until retiring in 2010. Sally served 30

years in BSF, the last 22 as teaching leader, retiring in 2006. Both of us are passionate Cardinal fans and love our new life together, traveling, spending time with friends, enjoying winters in Naples, Florida, and playing duplicate bridge as partners. (A true test of a solid marriage!). Life together has always zeroed in on sports and competing....be it tennis, golf, or any activity that would challenge us. Less able to be physically athletic now, we still compete, but with our brains at the bridge table. Life together has been very good....one of the Lord's special blessings!



**James Canfield:** I am a grateful and blessed believer in Jesus. Thrilled to hang out with my parents and best friend for a wonderful educational tour while meeting wonderful new friends in Jesus.



**Mark and Elizabeth Dalbey:** Mark and Beth Dalbey met while attending college in Missouri. Mark was born in Portland, OR and Beth in Erie, PA. Both were pastors' children, growing up in western Pennsylvania. The Dalbeys have three married children, Steven (Katrina), Kristen (John), and Eric (Elizabeth) and 10 grandchildren. Mark began his career in administration and teaching at Geneva College near Pittsburgh, PA. The Dalbeys served two PCA churches (Cincinnati, OH and Richmond, IN). Covenant Seminary hired Mark in 1999. He served the seminary as Dean of Students, Dean of Faculty, Academic Dean and Interim President prior to his inauguration as Seminary

President in 2013. Beth earned two degrees from Covenant, works with First Light Ministries, is actively involved with the Seminary community, and loves time with grandchildren.



**Dr. Daniel Doriani:** Doriani is Professor of Theology and Vice President of Strategic Academic Projects at Covenant Theological Seminary, where he also served as Dean of Faculty and Professor of New Testament. He also has fifteen years of pastoral experience, principally as Senior Pastor of Central Presbyterian Church, a large university church in St. Louis. Doriani earned graduate degrees from Westminster Theological Seminary and Yale University, where he was also a research fellow. Doriani is a council member and regular blogger for The Gospel Coalition. He has written thirteen books on Scripture, hermeneutics, and gender and family issues and has contributed to eight others.

**Debbie Doriani:** Debbie is a musician, home-maker, wife, mother, grandmother and friend. She taught music for 16 years at Twin Oaks Christian School and taught piano lessons for almost 40 years. She has directed choirs, sung in choirs and played piano in churches her entire life. Debbie cares for her 3 year old granddaughter Estelle two or three days a week and will be caring for Jonah when he is born soon. Debbie is a classic home-maker, cooking great meals, welcoming sundry guests, tending gardens, even sewing on occasion. She has been a classic pastor's wife, remembering everyone's names and giving out hugs to hosts of believers throughout the church.



**Paula Edick:** She was born and raised in Illinois, then lived in many parts of the South. She trained as a Speech Therapist, and raised 3 children. One of her sons has a degree from Covenant Theological Seminary, and is now a pastor. She is a very proud grandmother to 7 grandchildren. She is currently a member of Central Presbyterian Church.



**Carlo and Margaret Hansen:** Carlo and Margie live in Waterloo, Illinois. Margie grew up in an Air Force family and lived all over the world. She is retired from the Waterloo School District where she was secretary / bookkeeper to the Superintendent for 25 years. Carlo grew up in Indianapolis, Indiana and attended Purdue University. He is also retired and worked at Ralston Purina for 31 years in pet food research and development. They have three adult children and six grandchildren. They attend Concord Presbyterian Church where Carlo serves as a ruling elder and Margie as church treasurer. They are very involved in their church, but also like to travel, bike, golf, and garden.



**Barbara Harrington:** I grew up in Arkansas but our home has been in Memphis, TN for the past 50 years. I am a widow, after 63 years of marriage to Dr. O. Brewster Harrington. We have 3 sons: Bruce and his wife Connie live in Colorado Springs. He is a Covenant Seminary graduate and board member. David lives in Memphis, TN. He is an engineer and business owner. Clay, married to Bisha, is also a Covenant graduate. We have 8 grandchildren and 9 great-grandchildren.



**Paula Keinath:** I grew up in a suburb community of Minneapolis, Minnesota and went east to Vassar for college. I met my wonderful husband, Warren, then at West Point, while at college and we were married in 1957. We shared 56 years together, raising 4 children, 3 of whom are deaf. Warren went to be with the Lord 3 years ago. In 1964 we settled in St. Louis for our children's education at Central Institute for the Deaf and we both came to the Lord through the ministry of Covenant Presbyterian Church and the teaching of Covenant Seminary faculty. The Seminary is close to my heart!



**Buzz & Cindy Leonard:** They have been on their honeymoon for 32 years. They have two adult sons and live in Seattle, WA. Cindy is an accountant & Buzz is a missionary; both co-labor in ministry developing deeper friendships based on the principles of Jesus and encouraging leaders to further surrender to and live in Christ. We do this by nurturing relationships that cross social, economic and racial barriers encouraging leaders to fully engage in the process of city transformation through unity in Christ. Cindy will be joining the tour in Scotland.



**Susan Patton:** I'm from Franklin, TN. I've lived most of my life in the Nashville area. I am a founding member of Christ Presbyterian Church, and have been a Christian since 1972. I co-founded a giving circle in 2009, which supports Christian ministries. Although I recently retired from teaching nursing at a local university, I still volunteer at a clinic for the uninsured. I was married to Phil Patton for 30 years; he died 13 years ago in a plane crash. Besides playing with my 3 preschool grandsons and spending time with family, I love to read and travel. I have never been on a river cruise, so I am looking forward this trip.



**John & Elizabeth Ranheim:** We live in Chesterfield, MO with our four incredible boys – Jacob, Caleb, Gunnar, and Bauer. John grew up near Seattle and loves seafood, skiing, strong coffee, and all things outdoors. His parents were involved in medical missions and as such John grew up traveling the world on various mission trips during childhood. Elizabeth by contrast is from the southeast, growing up in Georgia, Alabama, and Tennessee. She grew up loving the Florida beach, SEC football, and her

grandmother's legendary poundcake. After college, Elizabeth worked in youth and college ministry for six years, two of these being on staff with RUF. We met during our graduate studies at Covenant Seminary where Elizabeth completed her masters in counseling (MAC) and John his masters of divinity (MDiv) in 2006. Since that time, we have had fun raising (chasing) our active family and serving in our church in a number of capacities. John currently works as the vice president of advancement at the seminary and Elizabeth works as full-time mom and part-time with the women's ministry at Chesterfield Presbyterian Church. We both love to run, travel, enjoy good meals, and explore new places. We are thrilled to have the opportunity to share this trip with you all and to experience first-hand the richness of our faith and history in such spectacular settings.



**David and Linda Reynolds:** Linda grew up in a suburb of Minneapolis and Dave was raised in Madison, Wisconsin. Both of us are graduates of the University of Wisconsin and Linda, also, from the University of Colorado. We have been married for 47 years and have three children and two grandsons. We have lived in

Colorado Springs and been members of Village Seven Presbyterian Church since 1988 where we met Bob and Deena Stuart and became friends.



**Karen Schumacher:** I currently live in Ballwin, MO, having moved there 3 years ago. However, I have lived in 9 other states besides Missouri. My husband, Don, and I have been married for 37 years. We have 2 grown daughters and 4 grandchildren, who live out of state. I have worked in financial aid, in church ministry and in business. I enjoy reading, cooking, walking, gardening, travel and being outdoors.



**John and Joyce Sloop:** It all began in highschool where we met, became high school sweethearts and married 6 years later. John graduated from NC State University, and I graduated from Appalachian State University. We are blessed with 2 children (John and Kim) and 6 grandchildren. We celebrated our 46th wedding anniversary on July 18th. Our hobbies include golf, friends and family, and travel opportunities such as this Reformation Tour. God has blessed us in many ways, and we realize we are merely the overseers of his benevolence.

Our first 13 years of marriage were spent in Salisbury, NC where John worked for Celanese Corporation. The next 33 years were with Edward Jones where John became a general partner and served on the firm's Management Committee before retiring in 2004. Some of our fondest memories are the years spent in St. Louis, where we attended Kirk of the Hills under the pastorship of Wilson Benton and also became acquainted with Covenant Seminary. We became fast friends with the Dorianis after our first meeting. This led to many fun times of celebration, especially Valentines. We retired in Mooresville, NC close to our children, grand children and siblings. In March of this year, we completed a beach cottage on Kiawah Island, SC, where we seem to be spending a lot of our time.



**Dan Stegmann:** St. Louis is my home town. I met my wife Krys the first day of the 7th grade on the school bus. Dated on and off in high school and college, married after Junior year. We started an insurance business together. I have spent the majority of my business career developing commercial real estate. We have been blessed with two children. Ben and his wife

Lacy have two children, Kate(4), Will(2) and Lyndsay and her husband Jeremy, three children Chase(9) Ellie (7) Tucker(4). I have every hobby but never very good at most which include fishing, hunting, golf, skiing, and farming.

**Krys Stegmann:** She is a mother to 2 adult, married children, and a grandmother to 5. She lives in St. Louis, MO, and spends the winter months in Florida. She is a member of the Kirk of the Hills Presbyterian Church. Her husband, Dan, and she have been married 38 years, and have known each other since junior high. She enjoys new adventures and traveling; seeing God's beauty in the world we live in. She also enjoys working out, drinking coffee, journaling, cooking, home decorating, nutrition, and is an avid reader. She particularly enjoys studying God's word, and loves learning about the heroes of the faith. She is looking forward to walking in the footsteps of those heroes on this trip.



**Deena Stuart** grew up on the Main Line of Philadelphia in a Jewish family and married Bob Stuart (former Marine, former lawyer) and, after becoming Christians in 1978, have been serving the Lord and His people in 10 different churches. She attended four universities (with four different majors!), before graduating with a BS in Business and going on for graduate work at The College of William and Mary for Estate Planning. Bob and Deena have moved 23 times and have three grown children who have given them nine amazing grandchildren, ranging in age from 7 to 23. Her husband,

Bob now serves as Pastor of Shepherding and Leadership at Twin Oaks PCA in St. Louis and Deena is honored to work for Covenant Seminary as their Director of Gift Planning



**Frank and Elvesta Wicks:** Frank recently retired from Sigma-Aldrich after 34 years. We have been married 43 years and have three daughters and eleven grandchildren. Our daughters live in Tupelo, MS; Kirksville, MO; and Chicago. Our involvement with the seminary began in 1984 when we joined a small PCA church in South

County and our Sunday School teacher was Dr. Wilbur Wallace. In 1988 we worked with Dr. Phillip Douglass to plant Good Shepherd PCA in Oakville. Frank joined the board of the Seminary in 2001. Elvesta volunteers at the Seminary one day a week to support the faculty administrative assistant since 2005. Our hobbies revolve around the grandkids.



**Betsy Zieseniss** has a passion for Jesus Christ, family, service to those hurting and the military. She is the daughter of a career Army officer who served in WW II, Korea, and Vietnam. Her husband, who also served in the military, spent a year in Vietnam. Her son, currently in the military, served three tours of duty in Afghanistan and one in Iraq. As a great-great-granddaughter of a West Texas Methodist circuit-rider, the church has always taken a prominent role in her family. She has a loving-

supportive husband and two married children: Andy, in the military, has one child; and Suzanne, a pediatric physical therapist, has two children. She is a Stephen Ministry Leader who has a passion to walk with those who are hurting.

# Tour Itinerary

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*IF = In flight meals, B = Breakfast, L = Lunch, D = Dinner*

## **Day 1: Wednesday, August 31, 2016: Departure**

We will depart today for overnight flights to Amsterdam. **(IF)**

## **Day 2: Thursday, September 1, 2016: Arrival**

On arrival in Amsterdam, we will transfer to our centrally-located hotel in Amsterdam. In the afternoon there is an optional visit to the Ann Frank House at 1:15 PM (16 tickets available). The afternoon is at leisure to visit the Rembrandt Museum, do cheese tasting, or various other options. We will meet for cocktails in the hotel bar, followed by dinner in the Haesje Claes Restaurant. **(IF)**

## **Day 3: Friday, September 2, 2016: Haarlem, Amsterdam**

This morning there is an optional trip to nearby Haarlem to visit Corrie ten Boom's home (20 tickets available). In the afternoon we will have a bus tour in Amsterdam, then transfer to our luxurious river cruise ship, the AmaLyra. We will dine on the ship this evening. **(B, D)**

## **Day 4: Saturday, September 3, 2016: Amsterdam**

After breakfast, our tour of Amsterdam begins with a scenic canal cruise of the city. We will see the tall narrow homes lining the water, the Skinny Bridge, and the house where Anne Frank and her family lived in hiding during WWII. Later, we enjoy a panoramic city tour. We'll have some free time to explore before returning to the ship. The ship departs this afternoon to Germany Amsterdam is the home of millions of French Protestant refugees, of Prince William of Orange, courageous defender of the Protestant Reformation and of Abraham Kuyper, who, more than anyone, applied Reformation principles to the twentieth century. **(B, L, D)**

## **Day 5: Sunday, September 4, 2016: Cologne, Koblenz**

We enjoy a guided tour of Cologne this morning, which will take us to the Old Towne, Cathedral Square and the city's majestic 13th-century Gothic cathedral. Afterwards, we will have free time to visit some of the local shops or have a coffee at a quaint café. Late tonight the ship cruises to Koblenz and moors overnight. **(B, L, D)**

## **Day 6: Monday, September 5, 2016: Rudesheim**

This morning, we cruise through the picturesque Rhine Gorge with its many castles and fortress ruins. We arrive in the winemaking town of Rudesheim where we will enjoy an afternoon wine tasting with a local vintner. Or, we can take a Gondola Ride above the town to see the Niederwalddenkmal Statue. Later we'll have free time to explore the Drosselgasse, the town's most famous and charming street, a narrow passage lined with shops and taverns. This evening, visit Siegfried's Mechanical Instrument Museum, home to a remarkable collection of old robotic and self-playing musical instruments. The ship sails overnight. **(B, L, D)**

**Day 7: Tuesday, September 6, 2016: Speyer, Worms, Heidelberg**

We will arrive around noon in Speyer, one of Germany's oldest cities. We will have a half-day excursion to the Reformation town of Worms, where we will see the Reformation Monument, the site of the Diet of Worms, and the Cathedral. We will then continue to Heidelberg for free time before we return to the ship for dinner. This evening, the ship continues onward to Strasbourg, France. **(B, L, D)**

**Day 8: Wednesday, September 7, 2016: Strasbourg**

Strasbourg is where John Calvin was the head of the French Church and where, eventually, he met and married his wife, the quiet Idelette de Bure. Strasbourg is also the capital city of the Alsace region. After arrival in the morning, we will enjoy a panoramic city tour and a walking tour of the "La Petite France" neighborhood. An expert local church historian, Remi Kick, will join us for lunch and take us on a Calvin and Bucer-themed tour. The ship moors overnight **(B, L, D)**

**Day 9: Thursday, September 8, 2016: Breisach**

We have two exciting excursions to choose from today. The first is a walking tour of Riquewihr, a picturesque town that looks much as it did back in the 16th century. A second option is a walking tour of Breisach and Freiburg. Breisach is a beautiful town that houses one of Europe's largest wine cellars. In Freiburg, we will visit the historical city center and the Augustinerplatz, site of Freiburg's Münster, a Gothic cathedral constructed of red sandstone. Tonight, the ship cruises to Switzerland. **(B, L, D)**

**Day 10: Friday, September 9, 2016: Zurich**

We disembark after breakfast and our bus will take us to Zurich. After check-in the rest of the afternoon is free to explore Zurich. We will meet up again for cocktails, then dinner in a private dining room in the hotel. **(B, D)**

**Day 11: Saturday, September 10, 2016: Zurich**

Today we will have a tour of the city, including the key Reformation sites of the Grossmünster and the Zwingli Statue. We will also see the Zwingli Museum and his home, the Fraumünster (the famous Catholic Cathedral) with its Marc Chagall windows. The rest of the day is at leisure. **(B)**

**Day 12: Sunday, September 11, 2016: Edinburgh**

We will fly to Edinburgh this morning, then transfer to our hotel. We will meet in the bar, then dine in the hotel. **(B, D)**

**Day 13: Monday, September 12, 2016: Edinburgh**

Our full day tour of Edinburgh includes an inside visit of the Palace of Holyrood House, where John Knox met with Mary Queen of Scots. Our guide will also take us to St. Giles Cathedral, where John Knox first preached in 1559. It was reported that "he was so active and vigorous it looked as if he was about to break also includes John Knox House, Greyfriar's Church, and the Royal Mile. Dr. Doriani will tell us about the Reformation in Edinburgh: John Knox, the Covenanters and how

the saints stood strong for Jesus and true doctrine. Our tour of Edinburgh Castle will include tiny St. Margaret's Chapel, which dates back to the 1100s. We will have a whiskey tasting at Glenkinchie, then return to dine at our hotel. **(B, D)**

**Day 14: Tuesday, September 13, 2016: Edinburgh, St. Andrews**

The golfers in the group will have an early transfer to St. Andrews. The rest of the group will follow after a relaxing breakfast. Our guide will take us on a tour of St. Andrews, which has been a spiritual center in Scotland for centuries. During the Reformation, St. Andrews University was third in significance after Oxford and Cambridge. John Knox graduated in 1536 and was ordained as a priest. St. Andrews has had a castle on the same site since the 12th century. In the now ruined castle we see the Bottle Dungeon where Wishart was imprisoned before being burned at the stake. We will pause at his martyrdom site and also remember Patrick Hamilton, the first martyr of the Scottish Reformation. After Wishart's death, Knox became a preacher and his first sermon was at Holy Trinity Parish Church in 1547. St. Andrews Cathedral was once the largest church in Scotland, but fell into ruin after John Knox's sermon inspired by Wishart's martyrdom. In the afternoon we will hear about the work of the Chalmers Institute. Dinner is back at our hotel tonight. **(B, D)**

**Day 15: Wednesday, September 14, 2016: Edinburgh**

This is a free day and golf and spa options are available at the hotel. There will be an optional trip to Edinburgh and our guide will be available to escort the group. Tonight a piper will welcome us to our farewell dinner and we'll address the haggis with a glass of whisky. **(B, D)**

**Day 16: Thursday, September 15, 2016: Return**

We will transfer to the airport this morning for our return flights to St. Louis. **(B)**

# Hotel Sofitel Legend

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This 5-star hotel in the heart of Amsterdam offers luxurious rooms and facilities just 5 minutes from Dam Square. It features a top-level restaurant, and a spa with an indoor pool area. Free Wi-Fi is available and high speed wireless internet is available for an extra fee. Their Michelin star Bridges restaurant serves organic seafood. After a busy day, you can regain energy in the spa with its heated indoor pool, sauna, hammam (public bath) and fitness area. There is also a charming garden and terrace for sunny days. The most important landmarks are within walking distance, including the Van Gogh Museum, the Anne Frank House and Amsterdam Central Station. It is well known for its 'Council Chamber' where Her Royal Highness Princess Beatrix got married in 1966.

## [Hotel Sofitel Legend, the Grand Amsterdam](#)

Oudezijds Voorburgwal 197  
1012 Amsterdam, the Netherlands



# Hotel Baur au Lac

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Uniquely situated in its own private park in the heart of Zurich with views of Lake Zurich and the Alps, the 5-star Baur au Lac offers elegant and luxurious rooms and suites with free minibar use. Guests have an award-winning restaurant, free Wi-Fi, and a top-floor fitness center. The 2 renowned restaurants, one with a terrace in the idyllic garden, an inviting bar, as well as a members-only nightclub, contribute to the fame of the Baur au Lac. The Restaurant Pavillon was awarded 1 Michelin star and 17 points by Gault Millau.

## [Hotel Bauer au Lac](#)

Talstrasse 1  
8001, Zürich



# Archerfield House

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Mansion House boasts fifteen luxuriously decorated double bedrooms all with extensive en suite bathrooms, a stunning principal room, rotunda and snooker room. Archerfield also offers a spa and golf. The first recorded occupants of the estate were the bowmen of King Edward I, after whom the area would later come to be named. They were encamped at Archerfield during the English advance in 1298. The signs of a village believed to date from the 11th century have also been discovered within the estate. Archerfield Links is a collective term for two new courses - The Dirleton and The Fidra - that were designed by golf architect David J Russell.

## [Archerfield House](#)

Dirleton, North Berwick  
EH39 5HQ



# Amsterdam

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Amsterdam combines the unrivaled beauty of the 17th-century Golden Age city center with plenty of museums and art of the highest order, not to mention a laid-back atmosphere. Amsterdam was the home of millions of French Protestant refugees, of Prince William of Orange, courageous defender of the Protestant Reformation, and of Abraham Kuyper, who, more than anyone, applied Reformation principles to the twentieth century. With 7,000 registered monuments, most of which began as the residences and warehouses of humble merchants, set on 160 man-made canals, and traversed by 1,500 or so bridges, Amsterdam has the largest historical inner city in Europe.

## **New Church (Nieuwe Kerk)**

The Nieuwe Kerk is the National church of the Netherlands and the site of all coronations, including that of the current monarch King Willem-Alexander on 30 April, 2013. The large Gothic building was expanded until it reached its present size in 1540. The interior was destroyed by fire in 1645 and was reconstructed by strict Calvinists. Albert Vinckenbrink spent 15 years carving the pulpit, which is the focal point of the church, rather than the altar. Of special interest are the 14<sup>th</sup> century nave and the 17<sup>th</sup> century organ. Otto Mengelberg designed the colorful arches window in the south transept which depicts Queen Wilhemina at her coronation. Kuyper preached here, including his “Rooted and Grounded” sermon on August 10, 1870.

### **Old Church (Oude Kerk)**

The Oude Kerk is the oldest house of worship in Amsterdam and dates back to the early 14<sup>th</sup> century. It was badly damaged by iconoclasts after the Reformation but some of the stained glass windows survived. The 17<sup>th</sup> century organ is still used for frequent concerts. Cautionary note - it's located in the Red Light District.

### **Anne Frank House (Anne Frankhuis)**

In the pages of *The Diary of Anne Frank* the young Anne recorded two increasingly fraught years living in secret, in a warren of rooms at the back of this 1635 canal house, hidden from the Nazis. The five adults and three children sought refuge in the attic of the rear annex, or *achterhuis*, of her father Otto's business in the center of Amsterdam. The entrance to the flat was hidden behind a hinged bookcase. Here, like many *onderduikers* ("people in hiding") throughout Amsterdam, Anne dreamed her dreams, wrote her diary, and pinned up movie-star pictures to her wall (still on view). Five of Otto's trusted employees provided them with food and supplies. In her diary, Anne chronicles the day-to-day life in the house. In August 1944, the Franks were betrayed and the Gestapo invaded their hideaway. All the members of the annex were transported to camps and her father was the only one who survived.

### **Beginjhof**

The Beginjhof was originally built in 1346 as a sanctuary for religious women known as beguines. They were a lay Catholic sisterhood who lived like nuns but didn't take vows. They educated the poor and tended the sick in return for accommodation. The oldest surviving house is number 34, Houten House. The rest were built after the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The surviving homes around the courtyard are still occupied by single women.



### **English Church (Engelse Kerk)**

In the early 17<sup>th</sup> century the church in the Begijnhof was given to Amsterdam's English and Scottish Protestant churches. The American Pilgrim Fathers worshipped here during their brief stay in Amsterdam and there are plaques commemorating them on the wall.

### **Rembrandt House Museum (Museum Het Rembrandthuis)**

The Golden Age master was born in Leiden, though he worked, went bankrupt, and died in Amsterdam. Restored to mirror his daily life, this museum is the house in the old Jewish Quarter where Rembrandt lived from 1639 to 1656. Temporary exhibitions are mounted alongside a rotating selection of his nearly 300 etchings.

### **Rijksmuseum**

The state museum was recently renovated and displays over seven thousand artworks, including Rembrandt's *The Night Watch* and Vermeer's *The Kitchen Maid*.

### **Vondelpark**

Amsterdam's answer to Central Park has playgrounds, a child's pool, roller skating, an open-air theater, and plenty of eating and drinking options—all in the company of the Day-Glo-green parakeets that have been flying free here since released by a negligent pet owner in the 1970s.

### **Zuiderkerk**

The Zuiderkerk is the first Protestant church in Amsterdam. It's not used as a church any more, but is still a beautiful place to visit and it inspired artists like Monet and Rembrandt.

### **Canal Cruise**

Amsterdam's 60 miles of canals have led this city to become known as "The Venice of the North". A canal tour is a fascinating and relaxing way to take in the charms and beauty of the city. The four main city center canals are Prinsengracht, Herengracht, Keizersgracht and Singel. Amsterdam's famous circle of waterways, the grachtengordel, was a 17th-century urban expansion plan for the rich and is a lasting testament to the city's Golden Age.

### **Corrie ten Boom House (Haarlem)**

Corrie ten Boom (1892-1983) lived with her father and sister at Barteljorisstraat 19 in Haarlem, a small city west of Amsterdam. During WWII they sheltered Jews in their home above their clock shop. Her best-selling book, "The Hiding Place" was made into a feature film, and she had an international ministry of speaking about her experiences in Ravensbruck Concentration Camp, and the importance of forgiveness.

## Rüdesheim



Idyllic Rüdesheim am Rhein is the gateway to the UNESCO World Heritage Upper Middle Rhine Valley. It was first mentioned in 864. The Brömserburg, an early castle of the archbishops of Mainz, was rebuilt as a residence about 1200 and later belonged to the knights of Rüdesheim. It now houses historical collections and a wine museum. Half-timber houses, narrow streets, and old inns give the town a medieval character. At the top of the Niederwald Height is a monument commemorating the founding of the German Empire in 1871.

Wine-growing has a long tradition in Rüdesheim and has established the town's reputation as a producer of acclaimed Riesling and Pinot Noir wines. A stroll or cable car ride through the vineyards to the Germania monument or to Ehrenfels castle ruins offers fantastic views of the Rhine Valley.



# Heidelberg

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Heidelberg has been populated since Celtic days and is now a bustling tourist town. The beauty of Heidelberg attracted poets including Arnim, Brentano, Hölderlin, Eichendorff and Goethe, and composers such as Schumann, C.M. von Weber, and Brahms. Richard Thorpe's film, "The Student Prince" (1954) based on the romantic operetta has made this town a popular destination. During the Reformation its rulers embraced Lutheranism from 1556, but soon turned to Calvinism. The town gave its name to the Heidelberg Confession of 1563.

## **Elector Palatine Frederick V and Elizabeth Stuart**

On Valentine's day in 1613 James I's only surviving daughter, Princess Elizabeth, was married to the young Elector Palatine, Frederick V. Aside from being the ruler of one of the seven key states within the Holy Roman Empire, Frederick was the leader of the Protestant Evangelical Union, a coalition of German protestant states founded by his father against the influence of the Catholic Habsburgs. This marriage was intended to strengthen the ties between Britain and the German protestant states. The wedding celebrations were spectacular, and lasted considerably longer than recent royal weddings! The build up to the wedding day itself included a massive firework display over the Thames. In addition to the spectacle and fittingly for a romantic story, the marriage between the two, who had only met briefly before their wedding day, was reported to be happy and successful. Elizabeth gave birth to thirteen children. In 1619 Frederick claimed the Bohemian crown after a rebellion against the Habsburgs, an act which began the Thirty Years' War.

## **Heidelberg Castle**

This was first built in 1155, turned into a palace in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and destroyed in 1671. It was the seat of the Wittelsbach palatines. In its heyday it was one of Germany's most beautiful Renaissance residences. After they were married Frederick added an 'English wing' to his castle in Heidelberg for her. These renovations were completed in 1615 and the "Elizabeth Entrance" to Heidelberg Castle was dedicated.



## **Heidelberg Catechism**

The Heidelberg Catechism was written in Heidelberg at the request of Elector Frederick III, ruler of the most influential German province, the Palatinate, from 1559 to 1576. Zacharius Ursinus, twenty-eight years of age and professor of theology at the Heidelberg University, and Caspar Olevianus, twenty-six years old and Frederick's court preacher, were commissioned to prepare a catechism for instructing the youth and for guiding pastors and teachers. The Heidelberg Catechism was adopted by a Synod in Heidelberg and published in German with a preface by Frederick III, dated January 19, 1563.

# Worms

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Approximately a hundred Imperial diets (general assembly of the Imperial Estates of the Holy Roman Empire) were held in Worms. The most famous was in 1521, when Luther appeared before Emperor Charles V, who demanded that he recant his teachings. When Luther refused, Charles V issued an edict banning Luther and his teachings. In a bid to protect him, Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony, offered Martin Luther (disguised as 'Squire George') a place to hide at Wartburg Castle. The bishops' court where the Diet of Worms took place no longer exists today, but a plaque bedded in the ground marks the site where Luther came before the Emperor.

## Diet of Worms Plaque (Heylshofgarten)



“Here I stand, I can do no other. God help me. Amen.’ This small plaque in Heylshofgarten Park commemorates the site of the Bishop’s Palace, where the Imperial Diet was held in 1521. Martin Luther was summoned to appear before Holy Roman Emperor Charles V.

Luther would not recant, and was declared an outlaw. On his return toward Wittenberg, he was kidnapped for his own safety and taken to the Wartburg Castle. Here at his “Isle of Patmos”, he translated the New Testament until the fury of his banishment subsided.

## Worms Reformation Monument (Reformationsdenkmal)

The bronze Luther Monument, designed by Ernst Rietschel, was unveiled in 1868. Martin Luther is wearing his pulpit robe and holding a Bible in his hands, standing on the stepped main pedestal, which rises like a tower in the center of the memorial. He looks towards the former location of the Bishop’s palace, where in 1521 Luther stood before the Emperor and the notables of the state. At his feet are seated the forerunners of the Reformation, the Englishman John Wycliffe; the Czech Jan Hus; Peter Waldo, the founder of the Waldensians; and the monk Girolamo Savonarola.



## Holy Trinity Church, Church of the Holy Ghost (Dreifaltigkeitskirche)

Like a phoenix rising from the ruins of WW2 this rebuilt church is alive in witness and passion. Its 15 modern glass mosaics depict Martin Luther before the Diet of Worms and Biblical scenes. They state in their website- “a memorial church of the world of Protestantism for the commitment of Martin Luther in front of the emperor and empire in 1521 in Worms.”

## St. Peter's Cathedral (Wormser Dom, Dom St. Peter, Kaiserdom)

St. Peter's Cathedral in Worms was built in a high or late Romanesque style. As you enter through the 1000 year old south portal, you will see Bible scenes carved in stone for the illiterate peasants. Once inside, the vastness and height of the spectacular ceiling leaves one in awe. *"The cathedral is the house of God and the house of the people, all people who visit him: for worship, prayer, looking for silence or in admiration of works of art"*, states their website. Emperor Charles V was here at the 1521 the Diet of Worms in hope of getting Martin Luther to recant of his "heresies." The cathedral was begun in 1181 and completed in 1230. It is a "Kaiserdome" - or "Imperial" cathedral, along with the Romanesque cathedrals of Mainz and Speyer. It is an impressive structure and a masterpiece of medieval art, including the wooden choir stalls dating from 1760.

## William Tyndale and his connection to Worms, Germany, 1525-6



English Reformer William Tyndale has deep and significant connections to Worms, Germany. Here he finished work on translation and printing of his New Testament. In May 1524 he moved from England, where he faced certain death, and arrived in Cologne, Germany, where he could work in secret. As he was fluent in German (among at least 7 other languages) he was able to blend in. Fearing detection, he fled to Worms, where his first manuscripts were printed. The finished books were smuggled to

England in 1526 inside barrels on merchant ships. Some were confiscated and burned, but Tyndale's Bible was in great demand. The Cologne authorities were beginning to become a threat to Tyndale, so he moved to Antwerp. This was a convenient place for sending his Bibles to other countries. In May 1535 he was betrayed by Henry Phillip, arrested and taken to Vilvorde Castle near Brussels.

There he was kept a prisoner for 18 months in the most wretched conditions. During those 18 months, the authorities tried to make Tyndale say what he believed was wrong, and to say that it was untrue that man can reach salvation by Christ alone. But Tyndale refused to deny the truth, and said he would rather die and join his

Lord in Heaven than deny his word and shame him. So in August 1536 they declared Tyndale a heretic and two months later he was killed by strangulation, then his corpse was burned in the city square. His last words, just before he died were this prayer, "Lord, open the King of England's eyes...". That prayer was answered two years after Tyndale's death, when King Henry VIII ordered that the Miles Coverdale's Bible must be used in every parish in the land. This was largely based on Tyndale's Bible. In 1539 Tyndale's own edition of the Bible became officially approved for printing.



# Strasbourg

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Strasbourg was an important town for John Calvin. He pastored French Huguenot refugees, got married, and wrote a second edition to his famous book, the Institutes. Strasbourg, as a free imperial town, was a beacon for Protestantism right from the 16th century. During his time in Strasbourg, Calvin was not attached to one particular church, but held his office successively in the Saint-Nicolas Church, the Sainte-Madeleine Church and the former Dominican Church, renamed the Temple Neuf. (All of these churches still exist, but none is in the architectural state of Calvin's days.)

Strasbourg's historic city center, the Grande Île ("Grand Island"), was classified a World Heritage site by UNESCO in 1988, the first time such an honor was placed on an entire city center. Strasbourg is famous for old half-timber houses, waterways, and the colossal single spire of its red-sandstone cathedral. Both World Wars brought destruction here, but today it is a delightful taste of France. Strasbourg is the capital and principal city of the Alsace region. With over 700,000 inhabitants, its metropolitan area is the ninth largest in France.

## **Cathedral of Notre-Dame (Cathédrale Notre Dame)**

Until 1874 this was the tallest church in the world. Today it is the 6th tallest and its tower dominates the Strasbourg skyline. The ground on which this magnificent edifice stands has been used for religious purposes for over 3000 years. The present cathedral took many centuries to finish and has three distinctive styles. The North

Transept and the Quire were built in the Romanesque style. In 1225 the Gothic style was introduced by stonemasons from Chartres and the statue of the “Pillar of Angels” in the South Transept was sculpted during the same period. The famous West Front with its 1000’s of sculpted figures representing the saints, the martyrs and the Virtues is a magnificent example of the Gothic style. The North Tower, built in 1439, is 142 meters high and on a clear day you can see for over 30km from the observation level. The Lawrence Portal in the North Transept was finished in 1505 in the Renaissance style.

### **Church of St. Thomas (Eglise Saint-Thomas)**



This has been the main Protestant church since 1549. Reformer Martin Bucer served here as a pastor from 1531 to 1540, despite the fact that the area was annexed to Catholic France during that time period. The site was used as a place of worship under Thomas the Apostle as early as the sixth century. The church is an excellent example of Alsatian Gothic art. Its choir is home to the impressive mausoleum of the Maréchal de Saxe, a masterpiece of 18th-century baroque funerary art. The church is internationally renowned for its historic and

musically-significant organs. Mozart played the Silbermann organ here in 1778. Don't miss the important and richly decorated tombs that range from the elaborate to the somewhat macabre! The Sunday services are at 9:15 AM in German and 10.30 AM in French. Address: Place Saint-Thomas, 67000 Strasbourg.

### **Bouclier Church (Église Reforme du Bouclier)**

John Calvin was the first pastor here and it is still going strong. It is home to a French congregation and also the International Church of Strasbourg, ICS. Their website states: “...ICS... will reach both believers and non-believers residing in and around Strasbourg... With God's blessing we sacrifice, labor, and pray, trusting that He will work a great work through us to His Glory.” Reformation Tours' clients have had some great fellowship with ICS and the French congregation also invites all to come and join in a service. Sunday service times: 10:30 AM, followed by fellowship lunch. Address: 4, Rue du Bouclier, La Petite France.

### **Saint-Aurelie Church (Église Sainte-Aurélie de Strasbourg)**

The Saint-Aurelie church was the market gardeners' parish. Like many others in Strasbourg, it was reformed at the beginning of the 16th century and has stayed that way ever since. Martin Bucer was its pastor from 1524 to 1530. In 1765 its nave was completely rebuilt, based on the architectural principal that the prayer room should be centered around the pulpit and the altar.

### **The Protestant Church of St. Peter the Young (Saint-Pierre-le-Jeune)**

Built from the end of the 13th century to the beginning of the 14th century, this church is one of Strasbourg's most inspiring buildings. The church became Protestant in 1524 and its congregation forms part of the Protestant Church of Augsburg Confession of Alsace and Lorraine. In 1683, when the chancel was given to a Catholic parish, a wall was built behind the jube, dividing the church. After the Catholics' departure in 1893, the furniture in the chancel was kept.

### **St. Nicholas Church (Église Saint Nicolas)**

The church was built between 1387 and 1454 on the site of an earlier church dedicated to Mary Magdalene. This earlier church, which dated from 1182, had been built on the site of a small Roman fort. The tower with its tapering spire was erected in 1585 in the Gothic style. The interior was remodeled during the 17th Century. The interior contains remains of 15th Century frescoes. The Church no longer functions as a parish church, due to the decline of the population of the centre of Strasbourg. Today it is used by a Christian ministry called "Renouveau Saint Nicholas" which does local outreach and mission in Strasbourg under the name SEMIS - Evangelical Mission Society Interior Strasbourg.

### **Saint Peter the Old Church (Église Saint Pierre-le-Vieux)**

This is probably the first church to be built in Strasbourg and it is certainly worth a visit. Although the first mention of the church was documented in 1130, there are several vestiges from a much older church dating back to somewhere between the 4th and the 8th centuries. The church you can visit today was built in 1382 and it has the particularity of being both a Catholic and a Protestant church. From 1382 to 1529 it belonged to the Catholic congregation of the city. In 1529 it was handed over to the Lutherans, before becoming the first double-religion church in France in 1638. In 1867, due to the growing Catholic congregation, the architect Courath was commissioned to build an extension perpendicular to the original building. In 1912 two of the bays were demolished to make room for the new Rue de 22 Novembre (The date when Alsace was annexed to France, rather than Germany in 1918). At this time a new façade and a bell tower was added.

### **La Petite France Quarter**

This is the most picturesque district of old Strasbourg and much of it remains as it was in John Calvin's day. With some imagination, today's visitor to La Petite France district can imagine John Calvin's life here. With gingerbread half-timber houses that seem to lean precariously over the canals of the Ill, plus old-fashioned shops, and inviting little restaurants, "Little France" is the most magical neighborhood in Strasbourg. The district, just southwest of the center, is historically Alsatian in style and filled with Renaissance buildings that have survived plenty of wars. Wander up and down the tiny streets that connect Rue du Bain-aux-Plantes and Rue des Dentelles to Grand-Rue, and stroll the waterfront promenade.

1414 and 1418. The statue has her arms outstretched and is holding two grotesque figures who have donned an imperial crown and a papal tiara, the insignia of worldly

# Zurich

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**Zürich** is one of the prettiest cities in all of Europe and a favorite of visitors. Despite being the largest city in Switzerland with 375,000 residents, it still manages to retain its Old World charm. The Altstadt (Old Town) is one of the most intriguing in Switzerland, with numerous historic churches, riverside quays, and winding cobblestone streets ideal for exploring. Zurich dates its origins from 15BC; by the tenth century, the town had acquired the status of a city.

## Grossmünster Church

The twin towers face the River Limmat and have become the most recognizable symbols in Zurich. Originally endowed by Charlemagne, parts of this church date back to the 11th and 13th centuries.

Although cleansed of much ornamentation, there are still remains of a Romanesque cloister, 12th-century statuary and more recently added stained glass in the choir by Augusto Giacometti (Alberto's cousin). Most importantly, Zwingli began his great Reformation teaching here in 1518. He used this platform to begin teaching his reform theologies that led the way to Zurich's eventual freedom from Rome's control. The Zwingli Bronze Door was created in 1939 by Otto Münch. The 24 panels depict key moments in Zwingli's life.



## Romanesque Cloister

Next to the Grossmünster on Zwingliplatz is the cathedral's **chapterhouse**, which now houses the Theological Institute of Zürich University. Here a door leads to an atmospheric cloister (1170-80), renovated in the 1960s. This is well worth visiting, and makes for a very tranquil resting spot to relax during a visit to Zurich.

## **Zwingli Statue**

The Ulrich Zwingli monument is located below the Grossmünster by the Limmat River. On the monument he holds both a Bible and a sword, as a believer that the church and state were both part of the Christian nation.

## **Church of Our Lady (Fraumünster)**

Although this beautiful Catholic church dates from the ninth century (when it was a Benedictine abbey), it is often the five 20th-century stained-glass windows in the choir by Marc Chagall (1970) that attract visitors. These glass works of art are best seen in the morning light. The church itself was begun in the 12th century, although the undercroft contains the original abbey crypt. The Fraumünster spire is an elegant and notable landmark dating from 1732. The rest of the church is predominantly Gothic, although the choir is Romanesque.

## **Zwingli's study (Zwingli-Stube)**

The unassuming office building at 13 Kirchgasse belies the importance of the work that was accomplished within its walls. Here is the "Helferei", the office where Huldrych Zwingli studied and wrote the sermons that forever altered Zürich and Switzerland. The rough, wood-paneled walls and sloping wooden floor appear just as they did in the 16th century, as do the thick glass windows looking out on the garden out back. The entire Helferei is still owned by the church. Downstairs the building houses a bookstore, a fair trade shop, meeting rooms and a chapel dating from 1856. Zwingli's office is still used by the Grossmünster's ministers, who draw inspiration from the space as they prepare their sermons.





### **Anabaptist Memorial on Limmat River**

This simple granite memorial states: "Here in the middle of the River Limmat from a fishing platform were drowned Felix Manz and five other Anabaptists during the Reformation of 1527 to 1532. Hans Landis, the last Anabaptist, was executed in Zurich during 1614."

The Anabaptists had the same beliefs as other Christians of the Reformation: that the Bible was the sole authority in matters of faith and practice, that people were made right in the sight of God by faith (not by doing religion), that Christ alone was the mediator with God (not Mary), that salvation was by God's grace (not the mass). However they differed in the area of believers' baptism, rather than just infant baptism. They also believed that the church should be independent of the authority of the state and that true faith was demonstrated by holiness of life.

### **Neustadtgasse**

The street behind the Grossmünster is where Felix Manz was born and raised. He was the illegitimate son of the canon of the Grossmünster. As priests at that time recognized and assumed responsibility for their children, he was given a quality education and was well-trained as a Hebrew Scholar. His hymn, "I sing with Exultation" written while imprisoned, is still part of Mennonite worship today.

### **St. Peter's Church (St. Peterskirche)**

Zurich's oldest church dates from the early part of the 8th century but has been renovated several times. In 1534, the tower was extended to accommodate the enormous clock and the nave was rebuilt in 1705. Inexpensive and even free classical concerts are often held here and open to the public.

# Edinburgh

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**Edinburgh** has been recognized as the capital of Scotland since the 15th century. It is home to the Scottish Parliament and the seat of the monarchy in Scotland. The city is also the annual venue of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland and home to national institutions such as the National Museum of Scotland, the National Library of Scotland and the Scottish National Gallery. It is the largest financial centre in the UK after London.

## **Holyrood Palace**

Built during the 15<sup>th</sup> century in the abbey grounds, Holyrood Palace became the preferred royal residence of Kings James I, II, and III—all of whom were married in the abbey church. A fire destroyed the palace in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, but it was rebuilt by the Stuart kings. It was here that



Mary Queen of Scots attempted to dispute the truth of Christianity with John Knox. After Mary's son James VI of Scotland, James I of England, accepted the English throne, the palace lost much of its importance. In 1650, Cromwell lived here during his invasion of Scotland. Today, the Queen stays here on visits to Edinburgh and hosts garden parties.



### **St. Giles Cathedral**

St. Giles Cathedral, Edinburgh with its distinctive crown-shaped steeple, has been a factor in Scotland's religious history for 900 years. The present church dates from the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Since the Reformation, it has been known as "The Mother Church of Presbyterianism," despite Archbishop Laud's attempts to force Anglicanism again on the Scots. John Knox was installed here as pastor on July 7, 1559 after his return from Geneva, where he had fled during the persecutions of Bloody Mary's tyrannical rule. He powerfully preached the sovereignty of God from its high pulpit, waging war against Mary Queen of Scots and her attempts to revive Rome's influence. Inside the church you will see a statue of Knox and also a window showing him preaching. He is buried behind St. Giles under what is now the parking lot. Note the Mercat Cross outside the church, which was a place of preaching and public proclamations.

### **The Royal Mile**

The Royal Mile is the name given to a succession of streets forming the main thoroughfare of the Old Town of the city of Edinburgh in Scotland. The thoroughfare, as the name suggests, is approximately one Scots mile long and runs downhill between Edinburgh Castle and Holyrood Palace. The Royal Mile is the busiest tourist street in the Old Town, rivaled only by Princes Street in New Town.

## **John Knox House**

The John Knox House is on the Royal Mile, very close to St. Giles Cathedral. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century one of the principal gates of the city, Nether Bow Port, was right next to his house. It's now a museum dedicated to the Reformer. Although the house was built in 1490, making it the oldest house in the city, most of the current house only dates back to the mid 16<sup>th</sup> century. Another resident of the home was Mary Queen of Scots' goldsmith, James Mossman.

## **Greyfriars Church and Churchyard**

Built on the site of a Franciscan priory, this church played a key role. The National League and Covenant was signed here on February 28, 1638 by nobles who used their own blood as ink. This covenant renewed the original one drawn up by John Knox which had been signed in December 1557 by Scottish nobles.

## **Edinburgh Castle**

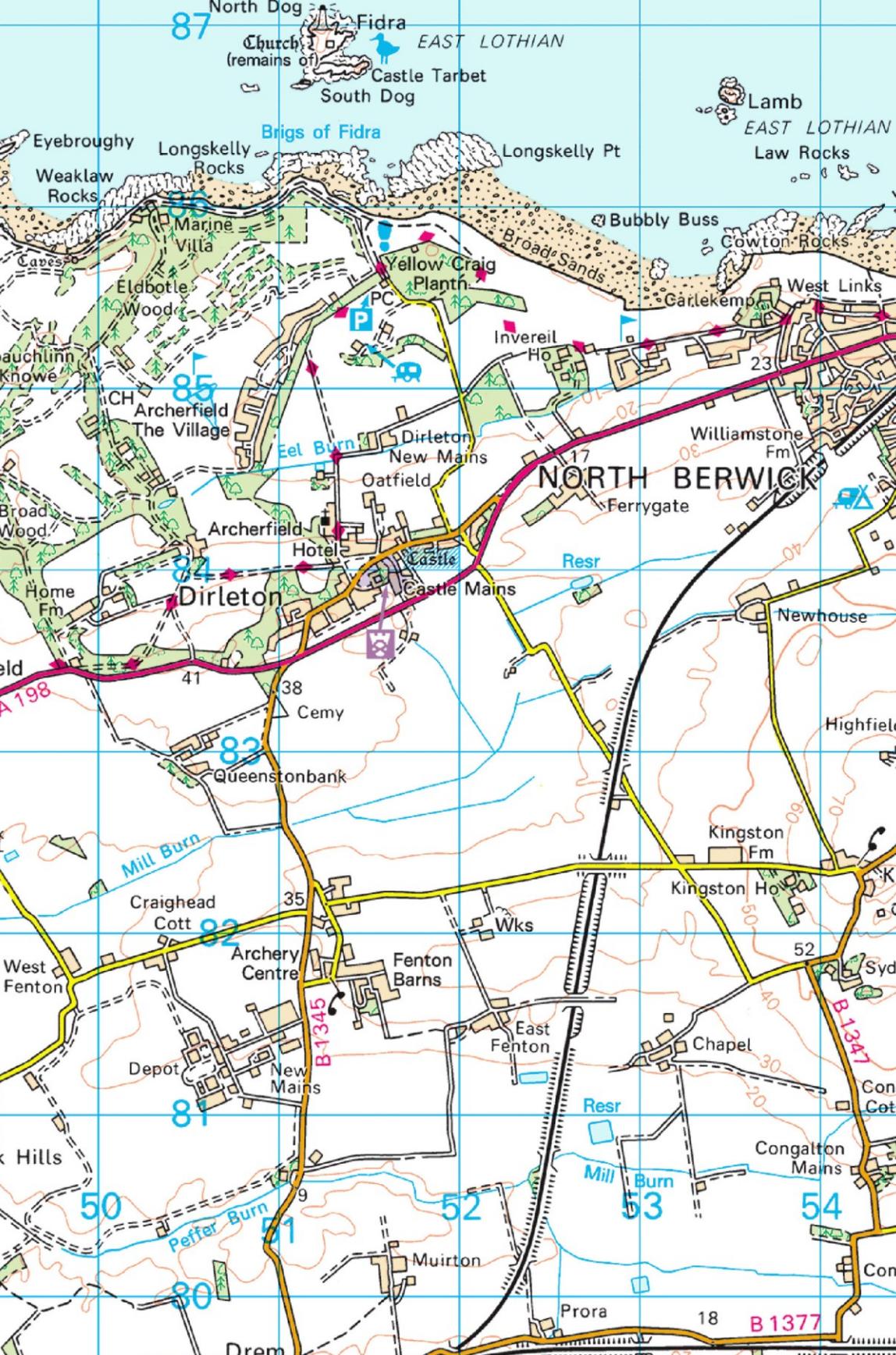
Britain's most famous castle, Edinburgh Castle, is perched on a jagged rock dominating the landscape of the city. Built by King Malcolm, it was held against the English by his wife Queen Margaret in 1093. James IV of Scotland—James I of England—was born here in 1566. Some of the items the castles houses are the Honours (Crown Jewels) of Scotland, the Stone of Destiny (believed to have been used as a pillow by Jacob in the biblical story of Jacob's ladder), Mons Meg (one of the largest cannons to be created in the 15<sup>th</sup> century) and the National War Museum of Scotland.

## **Magdalen Chapel**

In the Magdalen Chapel (only open by appointment), the inaugural General Assembly of the reformed church's leaders took place in December, 1560 in the days of John Knox. In 1578, Magdalen housed the General Assembly, with Andrew Melville leading, while discussing plans for the famous Second Book of Discipline. The chapel was used for Scottish Covenanter meetings, or Conventicles, during 1660-1680. After the Revolution, the Chapel was used as a place of worship by Episcopalians, and in the eighteenth century, a Baptist congregation met there for a number of years. Part of the Chapel, or a building adjoining, was used as a printing press in the mid-eighteenth century.

## **Museum of Edinburgh**

The Museum of Edinburgh (Huntley House) is located in three interconnected 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century townhouses. The museum traces the history of Edinburgh from its earliest days as a pre-historic settlement to its Roman occupation to present day. The museum contains an eclectic collection of items: elegant Edinburgh silver and glass, Scottish pottery, and the original plans for the Georgian New Town. The most important artifact is the National Covenant—a charter demanding religious freedom, which was signed in 1638. The creaky wooden floors and view out to the rear courtyard give some sense of what the Old Town was like in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.



# St. Andrews

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St Andrews is known worldwide as the home of Golf, and also boasts Scotland's oldest university. The St Andrews Royal and Ancient Golf Club first met here in 1754, though it was first played here as early as the 15th century. The Old Course, which you can still play, is most famous of the town's eight championship courses, and has played host to some of the world's finest golfers at the British



Open Championship over the years. Interestingly Mary Queen of Scots played golf here almost immediately after the murder of her husband Lord Darnely.

## St Andrews University

The University, founded in 1410, dominates the centre of town. The elegant, ivy-clad buildings and delightful quadrangles and gardens have seen a procession of famous graduates such as Prince William. One of the top universities in Britain, St Andrews is often compared to Oxford and Cambridge for its defining presence and the collegiate feel it gives to the town.

## St. Andrews Castle

On a rocky crag to the north of St. Andrews stand the romantic ruins of the city's castle, the main residence of the bishops and archbishops of St. Andrews. From this precipice, local bishops—who were effectively princes—ruled the surrounding area throughout the Middle Ages. The castle has a superb strategic position, with steep cliffs falling to the sea on three sides and a deep moat on the fourth side. St. Andrews also has an underground 16th-century siege mine and counter-mine, and a 'bottle dungeon,' one of the most infamous castle prisons in medieval Britain, which was cut out of the solid rock. George Wishart may have been imprisoned in this dank and airless space.



## **St. Andrews Cathedral**

St. Andrews Cathedral was built between 1160 and 1318. It is believed that between 573 and 600 a Columban missionary, Regulus, began Christian worship at this site. At the height of its power, the cathedral was the largest church in Scotland and the most powerful politically. In June 1559, John Knox visited St. Andrews to preach a rabble-rousing sermon inspired by the memory of the death of his friend John Wishart, who was burnt at the stake after a trial in the cathedral a few years earlier. Knox's sermons lead to a mob attacking and ransacking the Cathedral. The grave of Samuel Rutherford, known as the "Saint of the Covenant" is in the grounds of the cathedral. He was called to the Chair of Divinity at St. Andrews University.

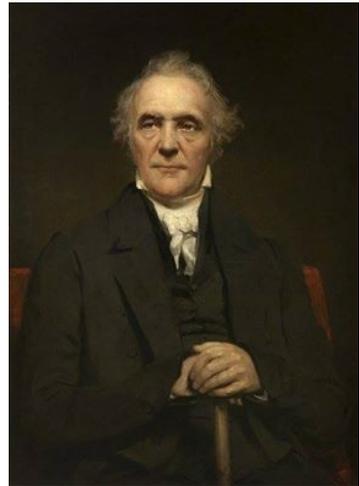
## **St. Rule's Tower**

The tower is all that remains of the church of the Augustinian priory. You can climb to the top of the 33m tall St Rule's Tower for spectacular views across St Andrews and Fife.

## **Thomas Chalmers (1780-1847)**

Thomas Chalmers was one of the great leaders of the church in Scotland in the 19th century. He was born in Anstruther and was an undergraduate at St Andrews before being ordained to parish ministry in Kilmany, 10 miles north of St Andrews. During his time as a minister there, Chalmers came to faith in Christ and his life and ministry were transformed. He then accepted a call to the Tron Church in Glasgow where he pioneered a system of parish poverty relief and became one of the most famous preachers of his day. He then came back to St Andrews as professor of moral philosophy between 1825 and 1828. During this time, he effectively carried out student ministry

from his home, mentoring young students, several of whom went on to be pioneer missionaries. In 1828, he transferred to Edinburgh to take up the chair of systematic theology at New College. Chalmers subsequently became one of the leading figures in the Disruption of 1843 when 470 ministers left the Church of Scotland over the issue of patronage, setting up the new Free Church. Chalmers was a polymath, accomplished in subjects from astronomy to mathematics to philosophy and economics. He is remembered amongst his multiple accomplishments for his sermon "The Expulsive Power of the New Affection" in which he argued that it was not good enough to seek holiness only by negatively eliminating certain behaviours, but rather that the new love for Christ would displace lesser desires from our hearts.



# Devotional schedule

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## **Day 1: Wednesday, August 31: Overnight flight**

**Read:** Psalms 34 and 103 on the plane or upon arrival

**Meditation:** Spend some time recounting God's blessings in your life. Consider how he may bless you and speak to you on this journey. Sing the doxology.

## **Day 2: Thursday, September 1: Amsterdam**

**Read:** Romans 1, Psalm 13

**Meditation:** We remember the houses of Anne Frank and Corrie Ten Boom because of Nazi evil, but there are many forms of sin. What does Romans 1 say about human sinfulness? About the gospel (see 1:17)?

**Document:** John Calvin's Introduction to Romans (pages 39-44).

## **Day 3: Friday, September 2: Amsterdam**

**Read:** Romans 2, Psalm 2

**Meditation:** Abraham Kuyper said, "There is not a square inch in the whole domain of our human existence over which Christ, who is Sovereign over all, does not cry, Mine!" How might you bring every square inch of life to Christ?

## **Day 4: Saturday, September 3: Amsterdam**

**Read:** Romans 3:1-20, Psalm 129, James 5:7-11

**Meditation:** The Reformation brought upheaval and opposition, some of it violent. Many died or fled for their lives. William of Orange fought to protect them. When might we need to fight today? To flee? To be patient?

**Document:** Luther's 95 Theses (pages 45-51).

## **Day 5: Sunday, September 4: Cologne, Coblenz**

**Read:** Romans 3:21-31, Psalm 32.

**Meditation:** Summarize the good news according to Romans 3:21-31. Thank the Lord for his grace and Gospel. Ask Him to help you live by it daily.

**Also:** As a city, Cologne resisted the Reformation. Why do some people and cultures resist the Gospel?

**Document:** Luther's appeal to German Nobility and his definition of faith (pages 52-53).

## **Day 6: Monday, September 5: Rudesheim**

**Read:** Romans 4, Psalm 8, Ecclesiastes 3:1-8

**Meditation:** This is a light day for touring more than theology. Thank the Lord his work in creation, in the human race, and in the seasons of your life.

**Document:** Luther's account of the Diet of Worms (for tomorrow) (pages 54-56). Also: Council of Trent, Canons Concerning Justification, # 1-3, 9-12 (page 56)

### **Day 7: Tuesday, September 6: Heidelberg, Worms**

**Read:** Romans 5, Galatians 2:15-20

**Meditation:** In Worms Luther stood alone before the emperor and the powers of his church. He hesitated a bit, then confessed "Here I stand." How do we stand in the tests of life? How can tests make us strong? See Romans 5:1-5?

**Document:** Heidelberg Catechism, questions 1-2; (pages 57-58) and Luther's tower experience (pages 59-60).

### **Day 8: Wednesday, September 7: Strasbourg**

**Read:** Romans 6-7, Ecclesiastes 4:9-12

**Meditation:** Calvin was a man who knew great triumphs and painful failures, illustrating Romans 6-7. In Strasbourg, the friendship of Martin Bucer led young Calvin to maturity. What is true friendship? Why are friends important to us?

**Document:** Calvin's Institutes, selections, book 1, chapters, 1 and 6 (pages 61-66)

### **Day 9: Thursday, September 8: Breisach**

**Read:** Romans 8:1-17, Psalm 1

**Meditation:** A professor of nearby Freiburg, wrote "So that you may acquire Luther's scriptures, sell all your books, shirts, shoes and pictures." And Lazarus Spengler said, "I thank God that he let me live long enough to hear Martin Luther." Can you understand their sentiments? Can you say anything like that about a spiritual element of your life?

**Document:** Luther's preface to the Latin Writings (pages 67-77)

### **Day 10: Friday, September 9: Zurich**

**Read:** Romans 8:18-39, Psalm 19

**Meditation:** The Swiss Reformation began with Zwingli reading the word and preaching (from the Greek NT). What does Psalm 19 say about God's word? How can you get the most from reading the Word?

**Document:** Excerpts from Zwingli's 67 articles of 1523 (pages 78-79)

### **Day 11: Saturday, September 10: Zurich**

**Read:** Romans 9, Genesis 32.

**Meditation:** Election was a prominent Reformation doctrine. Meditate on Jacob, chosen by God despite his sinfulness. Where do you fit in this story?

### **Day 12: Sunday, September 11: Edinburgh**

**Read:** Romans 10-11, as we travel

**Meditation:** Read Romans 10 for God's great promises. Why does Romans 11 end with a doxology?

**Document:** Scots Confession 1, 9, 15 (pages 80-81) Can you catch the flavor of John Knox?

**Day 13: Monday, September 12: Edinburgh**

**Read:** Romans 12 slowly

**Meditation:** Pray over the general principles for Christian living in 12:1-3, 9-11. And pray over specific commands in 12:12-21. What command do you especially need to heed? Where do you most need God's empowering grace?

**Document:** Calvin's Institutes Book 2, chapter 7, paragraph 12 (pages 61-66).

**Day 14: Tuesday, September 13: Edinburgh**

**Read:** Romans 13-14 (esp. 13:1-7), 1 Peter 2:13-17, Revelation 13:1-10.

**Meditation:** What do the Scriptures above say about what the Christian attitude toward the government (Revelation 13 describes the government gone astray)? What was the teaching of the Scottish and Calvinistic churches? What is your attitude toward the government? Let's pray for our civil leaders today.

**Document:** Scots Confession, 24 (pages 80-81).

**Day 15: Wednesday, September 14: Edinburgh and Homeward**

**Read:** Romans 16. Psalm 23-25

**Meditation:** Paul praises so many of his friends, by name, in Romans 16. What a marvelous thing to have your name in a book of the Bible! Better yet, to have your name in God's book of life, by faith. Thank the Lord for that, and take time to give thanks by name for the people on this trip.

**Document:** Read Psalms 23-25 on the way home. How is the Lord your Shepherd (Ps. 23) and King (Ps. 24) directing your steps in this season of life (Ps. 25).

# Introduction to Romans by John Calvin

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## Statement of purpose

"I remember that when three years ago we had a friendly converse as to the best mode of expounding Scripture, the plan which especially pleased you, seemed also to me the most entitled to approbation: we both thought that the chief excellency of an expounder consists in lucid brevity. And, indeed, since it is almost his only work to lay open the mind of the writer whom he undertakes to explain, the degree in which he leads away his readers from it, in that degree he goes astray from his purpose, and in a manner wanders from his own boundaries."

## The Argument of Romans

With regard to the excellency of this Epistle, I know not whether it would be well for me to dwell long on the subject; for I fear, lest through my recommendations falling far short of what they ought to be, I should do nothing but obscure its merits: besides, the Epistle itself, at its very beginning, explains itself in a much better way than can be done by any words which I can use. It will then be better for me to pass on to the Argument, or the contents of the Epistle; and it will hence appear beyond all controversy, that besides other excellencies, and those remarkable, this can with truth be said of it, and it is what can never be sufficiently appreciated — that when any one gains a knowledge of this Epistle, he has an entrance opened to him to all the most hidden treasures of Scripture.

The whole Epistle is so methodical, that even its very beginning is framed according to the rules of art. As contrivance appears in many parts, which shall be noticed as we proceed, so also especially in the way in which the main argument is deduced: for having begun with the proof of his Apostleship, he then comes to the Gospel with the view of recommending it; and as this necessarily draws with it the subject of faith, he glides into that, being led by the chain of words as by the hand: and thus he enters on the main subject of the whole Epistle justification by faith; in treating which he is engaged to the end of the fifth chapter.

The subject then of these chapters may be stated thus, — man's only righteousness is through the mercy of God in Christ, which being offered by the Gospel is apprehended by faith. But as men are asleep in their sins, and flatter and delude themselves with a false notion about righteousness, so that they think not that they need the righteousness of faith, except they be cast down from all self-confidence, — and further, as they are inebriated with the sweetness of lusts, and sunk in deep self-security, so that they are not-easily roused to seek righteousness, except they are struck down by the terror of divine judgment, — the Apostle proceeds to do two things — to convince men of iniquity, and to shake off the torpor of those whom he proves guilty. He first condemns all mankind from the beginning of the world for ingratitude, because they recognized not the workman in his extraordinary work: nay, when they were constrained to acknowledge him, they did not duly honor his majesty, but in their vanity profaned and dishonored it. Thus all became guilty of impiety, a wickedness more detestable than any thing else. And that he might more

clearly show that all had departed from the Lord, he re- counts the filthy and horrible crimes of which men everywhere became guilty: and this is a manifest proof, that they had degenerated from God, since these sins are evidences of divine wrath, which appear not except in the ungodly. And as the Jews and some of the Gentiles, while they covered their inward depravity by the veil of outward holiness, seemed to be in no way chargeable with such crimes, and hence thought themselves exempt from the common sentence of condemnation, the Apostle directs his discourse against this fictitious holiness; and as this mask before men cannot be taken away from saintlings, (sanctulis — petty saints,) he summons them to the tribunal of God, whose eyes no latent evils can escape. Having af- terwards divided his subject, he places apart both the Jews and the Gentiles before the tribunal of God. He cuts off from the Gentiles the excuse which they pleaded from ignorance, because conscience was to them a law, and by this they were abundantly convicted as guilty. He chiefly urges on the Jews that from which they took their defense, even the written law; and as they were proved to have transgressed it, they could not free themselves from the charge of iniquity, and a sentence against them had already been pronounced by the mouth of God himself. He at the same time obviates any objection which might have been made by them — that the covenant of God, which was the symbol of holiness, would have been violated, if they were not to be distinguished from others. Here he first shows, that they ex- celled not others by the right of the covenant, for they had by their unfaithfulness departed from it: and then, that he might not derogate from the perpetuity of the divine promise, he concedes to them some privilege as arising from the covenant; but it proceeded from the mercy of God, and not from their merits. So that with regard to their own qualifications they were on a level with the Gentiles. He then proves by the authority of Scripture, that both Jews and Gentiles were all sinners; and he also slightly refers to the use of the law.

Having wholly deprived all mankind of their confidence in their own virtue and of their boast of righteousness, and laid them prostrate by the severity of God's judgment, he returns to what he had before laid down as his subject — that we are justified by faith; and he explains what faith is, and how the righteousness of Christ is by it attained by us. To these things he adds at the end of the third chapter a remarkable conclusion, with the view of beating down the fierceness of human pride, that it might not dare to raise up itself against the grace of God: and lest the Jews should confine so great a favor of God to their own nation, he also by the way claims it in behalf of the Gentiles.

In the fourth chapter he reasons from example; which he adduces as being evident, and hence not liable to be cavilled at; and it is that of Abraham, who, being the father of the faithful ought to be deemed a pattern and a kind of universal example. Having then proved that he was justified by faith, the Apostle teaches us that we ought to maintain no other way of justification. And here he shows, that it follows from the rule of contraries, that the righteousness of works ceases to exist, since the righteousness of faith is introduced. And he confirms this by the declaration of David, who, by making the blessedness of man to depend on the mercy of God,

takes it away from works, as they are incapable of making a man blessed. He then treats more fully what he had before shortly referred to — that the Jews had no reason to raise themselves above the Gentiles, as this felicity is equally common to them both, since Scripture declares that Abraham obtained this righteousness in an uncircumcised state: and here he takes the opportunity of adding some remarks on the use of circumcision. He afterwards subjoins, that the promise of salvation depends on God's goodness alone: for were it to depend on the law, it could not bring peace to consciences, which it ought to confirm, nor could it attain its own fulfillment. Hence, that it may be sure and certain, we must, in embracing it, regard the truth of God alone, and not ourselves, and follow the example of Abraham, who, turning away from himself, had regard only to the power of God. At the end of the chapter, in order to make a more general application of the adduced example, he introduces several comparisons.

In the fifth chapter, after having touched on the fruit and effects of the righteousness of faith, he is almost wholly taken up with illustrations, in order to make the point clearer. For, deducing an argument from one greater, he shows how much we, who have been redeemed and reconciled to God, ought to expect from his love; which was so abundantly poured forth towards us, when we were sinners and lost, that he gave for us his only-begotten and beloved Son. He afterwards makes comparisons between sin and free righteousness, between Christ and Adam, between death and life, between the law and grace: it hence appears that our evils, however vast they are, are swallowed up by the infinite mercy of God.

He proceeds in the sixth chapter to mention the sanctification which we obtain in Christ. It is indeed natural to our flesh, as soon as it has had some slight knowledge of grace, to indulge quietly in its own vices and lusts, as though it had become free from all danger: but Paul, on the contrary, contends here, that we cannot partake of the righteousness of Christ, except we also lay hold on sanctification. He reasons from baptism, by which we are initiated into a participation of Christ, (*per quem in Christi participationem initiamur*;) and in it we are buried together with Christ, so that being dead in ourselves, we may through his life be raised to a newness of life. It then follows, that without regeneration no one can put on his righteousness. He hence deduces exhortations as to purity and holiness of life, which must necessarily appear in those who have been removed from the kingdom of sin to the kingdom of righteousness, the sinful indulgence of the flesh, which seeks in Christ a greater liberty in sinning, being cast aside. He makes also a brief mention of the law as being abrogated; and in the abrogation of this the New Testament shines forth eminently; for together with the remission of sins, it contains the promise of the Holy Spirit. In the seventh chapter he enters on a full discussion on the use of the law, which he had pointed out before as it were by the finger, while he had another subject in hand: he assigns a reason why we are loosed from the law, and that is, because it serves only for condemnation. Lest, however, he should expose the law to reproach, he clears it in the strongest terms from any imputation of this kind; for he shows that through our fault it is that the law, which was given for life, turns to be an occasion of death. He also explains how sin is by it increased. He then proceeds to describe the contest between the Spirit and the flesh, which the children of God

find in themselves, as long as they are surrounded by the prison of a mortal body; for they carry with them the relics of lust, by which they are continually prevented from yielding full obedience to the law.

The eighth chapter contains abundance of consolations, in order that the consciences of the faithful, having heard of the disobedience which he had before proved, or rather imperfect obedience, might not be terrified and dejected. But that the ungodly might not hence flatter themselves, he first testifies that this privilege belongs to none but to the regenerated, in whom the Spirit of God lives and prevails. He unfolds then two things — that all who are planted by the Spirit in the Lord Jesus Christ, are beyond the danger or the chance of condemnation, however burdened they may yet be with sins; and, also, that all who remain in the flesh, being without the sanctification of the Spirit, are by no means partakers of this great benefit. He afterwards explains how great is the certainty of our confidence, since the Spirit of God by his own testimony drives away all doubts and fears. He further shows, for the purpose of anticipating objections, that the certainty of eternal life cannot be intercepted or disturbed by present evils, to which we are subject in this life; but that, on the contrary, our salvation is promoted by such trials, and that the value of it, when compared with our present miseries, renders them as nothing. He confirms this by the example of Christ, who, being the first-begotten and holding the highest station in the family of God, is the pattern to which we must all be conformed. And, in the last place, as though all things were made secure, he concludes in a most exulting strain, and boldly triumphs over all the power and artifices of Satan.

But as most were much concerned on seeing the Jews, the first guardians and heirs of the covenant, rejecting Christ, for they hence concluded, that either the covenant was transferred from the posterity of Abraham, who disregarded the fulfilling of the covenant, or that he, who made no better provision for the people of Israel, was not the promised Redeemer — he meets this objection at the beginning of the ninth chapter. Having then spoken of his love towards his own nation, that he might not appear to speak from hatred, and having also duly mentioned those privileges by which they excelled others, he gently glides to the point he had in view, that is, to remove the offence, which arose from their own blindness. And he divides the children of Abraham into two classes, that he might show that not all who descended from him according to the flesh, are to be counted for seed and become partakers of the grace of the covenant; but that, on the contrary, aliens become his children, when they possess his faith. He brings forward Jacob and Esau as examples. He then refers us back here to the election of God, on which the whole matter necessarily depends. Besides, as election rests on the mercy of God alone, it is in vain to seek the cause of it in the worthiness of man. There is, on the other hand, rejection (*rejectio*), the justice of which is indubitable, and yet there is no higher cause for it than the will of God. Near the end of the chapter, he sets forth the calling of the Gentiles and the rejection of the Jews as proved by the predictions of the Prophets.

Having again begun, in the tenth chapter, by testifying his love towards the Jews, he declares that a vain confidence in their own works was the cause of their ruin; and lest they should pretend the law, he obviates their objection, and says, that we are even by the law itself led as it were by the hand to the righteousness of faith. He adds that this righteousness is through God's bountiful goodness offered indiscriminately to all nations, but that it is only apprehended by those, whom the Lord through special favor illuminates. And he states, that more from the Gentiles than from the Jews would obtain this benefit, as predicted both by Moses and by Isaiah; the one having plainly prophesied of the calling of the Gentiles, and the other of the hardening of the Jews.

The question still remained, "Is there not a difference between the seed of Abraham and other nations according to the covenant of God?" Proceeding to answer this question, he first reminds us, that the work of God is not to be limited to what is seen by our eyes, since the elect often escape our observation; for Elias was formerly mistaken, when he thought that religion had become wholly extinct among the Israelites, when there were still remaining seven thousand; and, further, that we must not be perplexed by the number of unbelievers, who, as we see, hate the gospel. He at length alleges, that the covenant of God continues even to the posterity of Abraham according to the flesh, but to those only whom the Lord by a free election hath predestinated. He then turns to the Gentiles, and speaks to them, lest they should become insolent on account of their adoption, and exult over the Jews as having been rejected since they excel them in nothing, except in the free favor of the Lord, which ought to make them the more humble; and that this has not wholly departed from the seed of Abraham, for the Jews were at length to be provoked to emulation by the faith of the Gentiles, so that God would gather all Israel to himself.

The three chapters which follow are admonitory, but they are various in their contents. The twelfth chapter contains general precepts on Christian life. The thirteenth, for the most part, speaks of the authority of magistrates. We may hence undoubtedly gather that there were then some unruly persons, who thought Christian liberty could not exist without overturning the civil power. But that Paul might not appear to impose on the Church any duties but those of love, he declares that this obedience is included in what love requires. He afterwards adds those precepts, which he had before mentioned, for the guidance of our conduct. In the next chapter he gives an exhortation, especially necessary in that age: for as there were those who through obstinate superstition insisted on the observance of Mosaic rites, and could not endure the neglect of them without being most grievously offended; so there were others, who, being convinced of their abrogation, and anxious to pull down superstition, designedly showed their contempt of such things. Both parties offended through being too intemperate; for the superstitious condemned the others as being despisers of God's law; and the latter in their turn unreasonably ridiculed the simplicity of the former. Therefore the Apostle recommends to both a befitting moderation, deporting the one from superciliousness and insult, and the other from excessive moroseness: and he also

prescribes the best way of exercising Christian liberty, by keeping within the boundaries of love and edification; and he faithfully provides for the weak, while he forbids them to do any thing in opposition to conscience.

The fifteenth chapter begins with a repetition of the general argument, as a conclusion of the whole subject — that the strong should use their strength in endeavours to confirm the weak. And as there was a perpetual discord, with regard to the Mosaic ceremonies, between the Jews and the Gentiles, he allays all emulation between them by removing the cause of contention; for he shows, that the salvation of both rested on the mercy of God alone; on which relying, they ought to lay aside all high thoughts of themselves and being thereby connected together in the hope of the same inheritance, they ought mutually to embrace one another. And being anxious, in the last place, to turn aside for the purpose of commending his own apostleship, which secured no small authority to his doctrine, he takes occasion to defend himself, and to deprecate presumption in having assumed with so much confidence the office of teacher among them. He further gives them some hope of his coming to them, which he had mentioned at the beginning, but had hitherto in vain looked for and tried to effect; and he states the reason which at that time hindered him, and that was, because the churches of Macedonia and Achaia had committed to him the care of conveying to Jerusalem those alms which they had given to relieve the wants of the faithful in that city.

The last chapter is almost entirely taken up with salutations, though scattered with some precepts worthy of all attention; and concludes with a remarkable prayer.

## **Disputation of Doctor Martin Luther on the Power and Efficacy of Indulgences (Ninety-Five Theses), by Dr. Martin Luther (1517)**

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Out of love for the truth and the desire to bring it to light, the following propositions will be discussed at Wittenberg, under the presidency of the Reverend Father Martin Luther, Master of Arts and of Sacred Theology, and Lecturer in Ordinary on the same at that place. Wherefore he requests that those who are unable to be present and debate orally with us, may do so by letter.

In the Name our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

1. Our Lord and Master Jesus Christ, when He said *Poenitentiam agite*, willed that the whole life of believers should be repentance.
2. This word cannot be understood to mean sacramental penance, i.e., confession and satisfaction, which is administered by the priests.
3. Yet it means not inward repentance only; nay, there is no inward repentance which does not outwardly work divers mortifications of the flesh.
4. The penalty [of sin], therefore, continues so long as hatred of self continues; for this is the true inward repentance, and continues until our entrance into the kingdom of heaven.
5. The pope does not intend to remit, and cannot remit any penalties other than those which he has imposed either by his own authority or by that of the Canons.
6. The pope cannot remit any guilt, except by declaring that it has been remitted by God and by assenting to God's remission; though, to be sure, he may grant remission in cases reserved to his judgment. If his right to grant remission in such cases were despised, the guilt would remain entirely unforgiven.
7. God remits guilt to no one whom He does not, at the same time, humble in all things and bring into subjection to His vicar, the priest.
8. The penitential canons are imposed only on the living, and, according to them, nothing should be imposed on the dying.
9. Therefore the Holy Spirit in the pope is kind to us, because in his decrees he always makes exception of the article of death and of necessity.
10. Ignorant and wicked are the doings of those priests who, in the case of the dying, reserve canonical penances for purgatory.
11. This changing of the canonical penalty to the penalty of purgatory is quite evidently one of the tares that were sown while the bishops slept.
12. In former times the canonical penalties were imposed not after, but before absolution, as tests of true contrition.
13. The dying are freed by death from all penalties; they are already dead to canonical rules, and have a right to be released from them.

14. The imperfect health [of soul], that is to say, the imperfect love, of the dying brings with it, of necessity, great fear; and the smaller the love, the greater is the fear.
15. This fear and horror is sufficient of itself alone (to say nothing of other things) to constitute the penalty of purgatory, since it is very near to the horror of despair.
16. Hell, purgatory, and heaven seem to differ as do despair, almost-despair, and the assurance of safety.
17. With souls in purgatory it seems necessary that horror should grow less and love increase.
18. It seems unproved, either by reason or Scripture, that they are outside the state of merit, that is to say, of increasing love.
19. Again, it seems unproved that they, or at least that all of them, are certain or assured of their own blessedness, though we may be quite certain of it.
20. Therefore by "full remission of all penalties" the pope means not actually "of all," but only of those imposed by himself.
21. Therefore those preachers of indulgences are in error, who say that by the pope's indulgences a man is freed from every penalty, and saved;
22. Whereas he remits to souls in purgatory no penalty which, according to the canons, they would have had to pay in this life.
23. If it is at all possible to grant to any one the remission of all penalties whatsoever, it is certain that this remission can be granted only to the most perfect, that is, to the very fewest.
24. It must needs be, therefore, that the greater part of the people are deceived by that indiscriminate and high-sounding promise of release from penalty.
25. The power which the pope has, in a general way, over purgatory, is just like the power which any bishop or curate has, in a special way, within his own diocese or parish.
26. The pope does well when he grants remission to souls [in purgatory], not by the power of the keys (which he does not possess), but by way of intercession.
27. They preach men who say that so soon as the penny jingles into the money-box, the soul flies out [of purgatory].
28. It is certain that when the penny jingles into the money-box, gain and avarice can be increased, but the result of the intercession of the Church is in the power of God alone.
29. Who knows whether all the souls in purgatory wish to be bought out of it, as in the legend of Sts. Severinus and Paschal.
30. No one is sure that his own contrition is sincere; much less that he has attained full remission.

31. Rare as is the man that is truly penitent, so rare is also the man who truly buys indulgences, i.e., such men are most rare.
32. They will be condemned eternally, together with their teachers, who believe themselves sure of their salvation because they have letters of pardon.
33. Men must be on their guard against those who say that the pope's pardons are that inestimable gift of God by which man is reconciled to Him;
34. For these "graces of pardon" concern only the penalties of sacramental satisfaction, and these are appointed by man.
35. They preach no Christian doctrine who teach that contrition is not necessary in those who intend to buy souls out of purgatory or to buy confessionalia.
36. Every truly repentant Christian has a right to full remission of penalty and guilt, even without letters of pardon.
37. Every true Christian, whether living or dead, has part in all the blessings of Christ and the Church; and this is granted him by God, even without letters of pardon.
38. Nevertheless, the remission and participation [in the blessings of the Church] which are granted by the pope are in no way to be despised, for they are, as I have said, the declaration of divine remission.
39. It is most difficult, even for the very keenest theologians, at one and the same time to commend to the people the abundance of pardons and [the need of] true contrition.
40. True contrition seeks and loves penalties, but liberal pardons only relax penalties and cause them to be hated, or at least, furnish an occasion [for hating them].
41. Apostolic pardons are to be preached with caution, lest the people may falsely think them preferable to other good works of love.
42. Christians are to be taught that the pope does not intend the buying of pardons to be compared in any way to works of mercy.
43. Christians are to be taught that he who gives to the poor or lends to the needy does a better work than buying pardons;
44. Because love grows by works of love, and man becomes better; but by pardons man does not grow better, only more free from penalty.
45. Christians are to be taught that he who sees a man in need, and passes him by, and gives [his money] for pardons, purchases not the indulgences of the pope, but the indignation of God.
46. Christians are to be taught that unless they have more than they need, they are bound to keep back what is necessary for their own families, and by no means to squander it on pardons.
47. Christians are to be taught that the buying of pardons is a matter of free will, and not of commandment.

48. Christians are to be taught that the pope, in granting pardons, needs, and therefore desires, their devout prayer for him more than the money they bring.
49. Christians are to be taught that the pope's pardons are useful, if they do not put their trust in them; but altogether harmful, if through them they lose their fear of God.
50. Christians are to be taught that if the pope knew the exactions of the pardon-preachers, he would rather that St. Peter's church should go to ashes, than that it should be built up with the skin, flesh and bones of his sheep.
51. Christians are to be taught that it would be the pope's wish, as it is his duty, to give of his own money to very many of those from whom certain hawkers of pardons cajole money, even though the church of St. Peter might have to be sold.
52. The assurance of salvation by letters of pardon is vain, even though the commissary, nay, even though the pope himself, were to stake his soul upon it.
53. They are enemies of Christ and of the pope, who bid the Word of God be altogether silent in some Churches, in order that pardons may be preached in others.
54. Injury is done the Word of God when, in the same sermon, an equal or a longer time is spent on pardons than on this Word.
55. It must be the intention of the pope that if pardons, which are a very small thing, are celebrated with one bell, with single processions and ceremonies, then the Gospel, which is the very greatest thing, should be preached with a hundred bells, a hundred processions, a hundred ceremonies.
56. The "treasures of the Church," out of which the pope grants indulgences, are not sufficiently named or known among the people of Christ.
57. That they are not temporal treasures is certainly evident, for many of the vendors do not pour out such treasures so easily, but only gather them.
58. Nor are they the merits of Christ and the Saints, for even without the pope, these always work grace for the inner man, and the cross, death, and hell for the outward man.
59. St. Lawrence said that the treasures of the Church were the Church's poor, but he spoke according to the usage of the word in his own time.
60. Without rashness we say that the keys of the Church, given by Christ's merit, are that treasure;
61. For it is clear that for the remission of penalties and of reserved cases, the power of the pope is of itself sufficient.
62. The true treasure of the Church is the Most Holy Gospel of the glory and the grace of God.
63. But this treasure is naturally most odious, for it makes the first to be last.

64. On the other hand, the treasure of indulgences is naturally most acceptable, for it makes the last to be first.
65. Therefore the treasures of the Gospel are nets with which they formerly were wont to fish for men of riches.
66. The treasures of the indulgences are nets with which they now fish for the riches of men.
67. The indulgences which the preachers cry as the "greatest graces" are known to be truly such, in so far as they promote gain.
68. Yet they are in truth the very smallest graces compared with the grace of God and the piety of the Cross.
69. Bishops and curates are bound to admit the commissaries of apostolic pardons, with all reverence.
70. But still more are they bound to strain all their eyes and attend with all their ears, lest these men preach their own dreams instead of the commission of the pope.
71. He who speaks against the truth of apostolic pardons, let him be anathema and accursed!
72. But he who guards against the lust and license of the pardon-preachers, let him be blessed!
73. The pope justly thunders against those who, by any art, contrive the injury of the traffic in pardons.
74. But much more does he intend to thunder against those who use the pretext of pardons to contrive the injury of holy love and truth.
75. To think the papal pardons so great that they could absolve a man even if he had committed an impossible sin and violated the Mother of God -- this is madness.
76. We say, on the contrary, that the papal pardons are not able to remove the very least of venial sins, so far as its guilt is concerned.
77. It is said that even St. Peter, if he were now Pope, could not bestow greater graces; this is blasphemy against St. Peter and against the pope.
78. We say, on the contrary, that even the present pope, and any pope at all, has greater graces at his disposal; to wit, the Gospel, powers, gifts of healing, etc., as it is written in I. Corinthians xii.
79. To say that the cross, emblazoned with the papal arms, which is set up [by the preachers of indulgences], is of equal worth with the Cross of Christ, is blasphemy.
80. The bishops, curates and theologians who allow such talk to be spread among the people, will have an account to render.

81. This unbridled preaching of pardons makes it no easy matter, even for learned men, to rescue the reverence due to the pope from slander, or even from the shrewd questionings of the laity.
82. To wit: -- "Why does not the pope empty purgatory, for the sake of holy love and of the dire need of the souls that are there, if he redeems an infinite number of souls for the sake of miserable money with which to build a Church? The former reasons would be most just; the latter is most trivial."
83. Again: -- "Why are mortuary and anniversary masses for the dead continued, and why does he not return or permit the withdrawal of the endowments founded on their behalf, since it is wrong to pray for the redeemed?"
84. Again: -- "What is this new piety of God and the pope, that for money they allow a man who is impious and their enemy to buy out of purgatory the pious soul of a friend of God, and do not rather, because of that pious and beloved soul's own need, free it for pure love's sake?"
85. Again: -- "Why are the penitential canons long since in actual fact and through disuse abrogated and dead, now satisfied by the granting of indulgences, as though they were still alive and in force?"
86. Again: -- "Why does not the pope, whose wealth is to-day greater than the riches of the richest, build just this one church of St. Peter with his own money, rather than with the money of poor believers?"
87. Again: -- "What is it that the pope remits, and what participation does he grant to those who, by perfect contrition, have a right to full remission and participation?"
88. Again: -- "What greater blessing could come to the Church than if the pope were to do a hundred times a day what he now does once, and bestow on every believer these remissions and participations?"
89. "Since the pope, by his pardons, seeks the salvation of souls rather than money, why does he suspend the indulgences and pardons granted heretofore, since these have equal efficacy?"
90. To repress these arguments and scruples of the laity by force alone, and not to resolve them by giving reasons, is to expose the Church and the pope to the ridicule of their enemies, and to make Christians unhappy.
91. If, therefore, pardons were preached according to the spirit and mind of the pope, all these doubts would be readily resolved; nay, they would not exist.
92. Away, then, with all those prophets who say to the people of Christ, "Peace, peace," and there is no peace!
93. Blessed be all those prophets who say to the people of Christ, "Cross, cross," and there is no cross!
94. Christians are to be exhorted that they be diligent in following Christ, their Head, through penalties, deaths, and hell;

95. And thus be confident of entering into heaven rather through many tribulations, than through the assurance of peace.

**Source:** *Works of Martin Luther*, Adolph Spaeth, L.D. Reed, Henry Eyster Jacobs, et al. (trans. and eds.), (Philadelphia: A. J. Holman Company, 1915), Vol.1, pp. 29-38



## **“Appeal to the German Nobility,” Martin Luther (1520)**

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... The Romanists have, with great adroitness, drawn three walls round themselves, with which they have hitherto protected themselves, so that no one could reform them, whereby all Christendom has suggested terribly.

First, if pressed by the temporal power, they have affirmed and maintained that the temporal power has no jurisdiction over them, but on the contrary, that the spiritual power is above the temporal.

Secondly, if it were proposed to admonish them with the Scriptures, they objected that no one may interpret the Scriptures but the Pope.

Thirdly, if they are threatened with a council, they invented the notion that no one may call a council but the Pope.

Thus they have privily stolen from us our three sticks, so that they may not be beaten....

There has been a fiction by which the Pope, bishops, priests, and monks are called the ‘spiritual estate’; princes, Lords, artisans, and peasants are the ‘temporal estate’. This is an artful lie and hypocritical invention, but let no one be made afraid by it, and that for this reason: that all Christians are truly of the spiritual estate, and there is no difference among them, save of office. As St. Paul says (1 Cor. xii), we are all one body, though each member does its own work so as to serve the others. This is because we have one baptism, one Gospel, one faith, and are all Christians alike; for baptism, Gospel, and faith, those alone make spiritual and Christian people.

... And to put the matter more plainly, if a little company of pious Christian laymen were taken prisoners and carried away to a desert, and had not among them a priest consecrated by a bishop, and were there to agree to elect one of them ... and were to order him to baptize, to celebrate the mass, to absolve and to preach, this man would as truly be a priest, as if all the bishops and all the popes had consecrated him. That is why, in cases of necessity, every man can baptize and absolve, which would not be possible if we were not all priests....

It follows, then that between laymen and priests, princes and bishops, or, as they call it, between ‘spiritual’ and ‘temporal’ persons, the only real difference is one of office and function, and not of estate...

... The second wall is even more tottering and weak: namely their claim to be considered masters of the Scriptures ... If the article of our faith is right, ‘I believe in the holy Christian Church’, the Pope cannot alone be right; else we must say, ‘I believe in the Pope of Rome,’ and reduce the Christian Church to one man, which is a devilish and damnable heresy. Besides that, we are all priests, as I have said, and have all one faith, one Gospel, one Sacrament: how then should we not have the power of discerning and judging what is right or wrong in matters of faith? ...

The third wall falls of itself, as soon as the first two have fallen; for if the Pope acts contrary to the Scriptures, we are bound to stand by the Scriptures to punish and to constrain him, according to Christ’s commandment ... ‘tell it unto the Church’ (Matt. xviii, 15-17). ... If then I am to accuse him before the Church, I must collect the Church together. ... Therefore when need requires, and the Pope is a

cause of offence to Christendom, in these cases whoever can best do so, as a faithful member of the whole body, must do what he can to procure a true free council. This no one can do so well as the temporal authorities, especially since they are fellow-Christians, fellow-priests. ...

...Poor Germans that we are — we have been deceived! We were born to be masters, and we have been compelled to bow the head beneath the yoke of our tyrants, and to become slaves. Name, title, outward signs of royalty, we possess all these; force, power, right, liberty, all these have gone over to the popes, who have robbed us of them.... It is time the glorious Teutonic people should cease to be the puppet of the Roman pontiff. Because the pope crowns the emperor, it does not follow that the pope is superior to the emperor. Samuel, who crowned Saul and David, was not above these kings, nor Nathan above Solomon, whom he consecrated. ...Let the emperor then be a veritable emperor, and no long allow himself to be stripped of his sword or of his sceptre!...

**Source:** *Readings in European History*, Leon Bernard and Theodore B. Hodges (eds.), (New York: MacMillan, 1958), pp. 226-229.

## Excerpts from Martin Luther's account of the confrontation at the Diet of Worms (1521)

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[Dr. Eck:] . . . Do you wish to defend the books which are recognized as your work? Or to retract anything contained in them? . . .

[Luther:] Most Serene Lord Emperor, Most Illustrious Princes, Most Gracious Lords . . . I beseech you to grant a gracious hearing to my plea, which, I trust, will be a plea of justice and truth; and if through my inexperience I neglect to give to any their proper titles or in any way offend against the etiquette of the court in my manners or behavior, be kind enough to forgive me, I beg, since I am a man who has spent his life not in courts but in the cells of a monastery; a man who can say of himself only this, that to this day I have thought and written in simplicity of heart, solely with a view to the glory of God and the pure instruction of Christ's faithful people. . . .

. . . Your Imperial Majesty and Your Lordships: I ask you to observe that my books are not all of the same kind.

There are some in which I have dealt with piety in faith and morals with such simplicity and so agreeably with the Gospels that my adversaries themselves are compelled to admit them useful, harmless, and clearly worth reading by a Christian. Even the Bull, harsh and cruel though it is, makes some of my books harmless, although it condemns them also, by a judgment downright monstrous. If I should begin to recant here, what, I beseech you, would I be doing but condemning alone among mortals, that truth which is admitted by friends and foes alike, in an unaided struggle against universal consent?

The second kind consists in those writings leveled against the papacy and the doctrine of the papists, as against those who by their wicked doctrines and precedents have laid waste Christendom by doing harm to the souls and the bodies of men. No one can either deny or conceal this, for universal experience and world-wide grievances are witnesses to the fact that through the Pope's laws and through man-made teachings the consciences of the faithful have been most pitifully ensnared, troubled, and racked in torment, and also that their goods and possessions have been devoured (especially amongst this famous German nation) by unbelievable tyranny, and are to this day being devoured without end in shameful fashion; and that though they themselves by their own laws take care to provide that the Pope's laws and doctrines which are contrary to the Gospel or the teachings of the Fathers are to be considered as erroneous and reprobate. If then I recant these, the only effect will be to add strength to such tyranny, to open not the windows but the main doors to such blasphemy, which will thereupon stalk farther and more widely than it has hitherto dared. . . .

The third kind consists of those books which I have written against private individuals, so-called; against those, that is, who have exerted themselves in defense of the Roman tyranny and to the overthrow of that piety which I have taught. I confess that I have been more harsh against them than befits my religious vows and my profession. For I do not make myself out to be any kind of saint, nor am I now contending about my conduct but about Christian doctrine. But it is not in my

power to recant them, because that recantation would give that tyranny and blasphemy and occasion to lord it over those whom I defend and to rage against God's people more violently than ever.

However, since I am a man and not God, I cannot provide my writings with any other defense than that which my Lord Jesus Christ provided for His teaching. When He had been interrogated concerning His teaching before Annas and had received a buffet from a servant, He said: "If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil." If the Lord Himself, who knew that He could not err, did not refuse to listen to witness against His teaching, even from a worthless slave, how much more ought I, scum that I am, capable of naught but error, to seek and to wait for any who may wish to bear witness against my teaching.

And so, through the mercy of God, I ask Your Imperial Majesty, and Your Illustrious Lordships, or anyone of any degree, to defeat them by the writings of the Prophets or by the Gospels; for I shall be most ready, if I be better instructed, to recant any error, and I shall be the first in casting my writings into the fire. . . .

Thereupon the Orator of the Empire, in a tone of upbraiding, said that his [Luther's] answer was not to the point, and that there should be no calling into question of matters on which condemnations and decisions had before been passed by Councils. He was being asked for a plain reply, without subtlety or sophistry, to this question: Was he prepared to recant, or no?

Luther then replied: Your Imperial Majesty and Your Lordships demand a simple answer. Here it is, plain and unvarnished. Unless I am convicted [convinced] of error by the testimony of Scripture or (since I put no trust in the unsupported authority of Pope or councils, since it is plain that they have often erred and often contradicted themselves) by manifest reasoning, I stand convicted [convinced] by the Scriptures to which I have appealed, and my conscience is taken captive by God's word, I cannot and will not recant anything, for to act against our conscience is neither safe for us, nor open to us.

On this I take my stand. I can do no other. God help me.

Amen.

**Source:** H.C. Bettenson, *Documents of the Christian Church* (1903), based on Luther's *Opera Latina* (Frankfurt, 1865-73)



# **Council of Trent, Canons concerning Justification**

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## **CANON I**

If any one saith, that man may be justified before God by his own works, whether done through the teaching of human nature, or that of the law, without the grace of God through Jesus Christ; let him be anathema.

## **CANON II**

If any one saith, that the grace of God, through Jesus Christ, is given only for this, that man may be able more easily to live justly, and to merit eternal life, as if, by free will without grace, he were able to do both, though hardly indeed and with difficulty; let him be anathema.

## **CANON III**

If any one saith, that without the prevenient inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and without his help, man can believe, hope, love, or be penitent as he ought, so as that the grace of Justification may be bestowed upon him; let him be anathema.

## **CANON IX**

If any one saith, that by faith alone the impious is justified; in such wise as to mean, that nothing else is required to co-operate in order to the obtaining the grace of Justification, and that it is not in any way necessary, that he be prepared and disposed by the movement of his own will; let him be anathema.

## **CANON X**

If any one saith, that men are just without the justice of Christ, whereby He merited for us to be justified; or that it is by that justice itself that they are formally just; let him be anathema.

## **CANON XI**

If any one saith, that men are justified, either by the sole imputation of the justice of Christ, or by the sole remission of sins, to the exclusion of the grace and the charity which is poured forth in their hearts by the Holy Ghost, and is inherent in them; or even that the grace, whereby we are justified, is only the favour of God; let him be anathema.

## **CANON XII**

If any one saith, that justifying faith is nothing else but confidence in the divine mercy which remits sins for Christ's sake; or, that this confidence alone is that whereby we are justified; let him be anathema.

# Heidelberg Catechism

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The Heidelberg Catechism was written in Heidelberg at the request of Elector Frederick III, ruler of the most influential German province, the Palatinate, from 1559 to 1576. This pious Christian prince commissioned Zacharius Ursinus, twenty-eight years of age and professor of theology at the Heidelberg University, and Caspar Olevianus, twenty-six years old and Frederick's court preacher, to prepare a catechism for instructing the youth and for guiding pastors and teachers. Frederick obtained the advice and cooperation of the entire theological faculty in the preparation of the Catechism. The Heidelberg Catechism was adopted by a Synod in Heidelberg and published in German with a preface by Frederick III, dated January 19, 1563. A second and third German edition, each with some small additions, as well as a Latin translation were published in Heidelberg in the same year.

The Catechism was soon divided into fifty-two sections, so that a section of the Catechism could be explained to the churches each Sunday of the year. In The Netherlands this Heidelberg Catechism became generally and favorably known almost as soon as it came from the press, mainly through the efforts of Petrus Dathenus, who translated it into the Dutch language and added this translation to his Dutch rendering of the Genevan Psalter, which was published in 1566. In the same year, Peter Gabriel set the example of explaining this catechism to his congregation at Amsterdam in his Sunday afternoon sermons.

The National Synods of the sixteenth century adopted it as one of the Three Forms of Unity, requiring office-bearers to subscribe to it and ministers to explain it to the churches. These requirements were strongly emphasized by the great Synod of Dort in 1618-19. The Heidelberg Catechism has been translated into many languages and is the most influential and the most generally accepted of the several catechisms of Reformation times.

## **1. Q. What is your only comfort in life and death?**

A. That I am not my own,[1] but belong with body and soul, both in life and in death,[2] to my faithful Saviour Jesus Christ.[3] He has fully paid for all my sins with His precious blood, and has set me free from all the power of the devil.[5] He also preserves me in such a way[6] that without the will of my heavenly Father not a hair can fall from my head;[7] indeed, all things must work together for my salvation.[8] Therefore, by His Holy Spirit He also assures me of eternal life[9] and makes me heartily willing and ready from now on to live for Him.[10]

[1] I Cor. 6:19, 20 [2] Rom. 14:7-9. [3] I Cor. 3:23; Tit. 2:14. [4] I Pet. 1:18, 19; I John 1:7; 2:2. [5] John 8:34-36; Heb. 2:14, 15; I John 3:8. [6] John 6:39, 40; 10:27-30; II Thess. 3:3; I Pet. 1:5. [7] Matt. 10:29-31; Luke 21:16-18. [8] Rom. 8:28. [9] Rom. 8:15, 16; II Cor. 1:21, 22; 5:5; Eph. 1:13, 14. [10] Rom. 8:14.

## **2. Q. What do you need to know in order to live and die in the joy of this comfort?**

A. First, how great my sins and misery are;[1] second, how I am delivered from all my sins and misery;[2] third, how I am to be thankful to God for such deliverance.[3]

[1] Rom. 3:9, 10; I John 1:10. [2] John 17:3; Acts 4:12; 10:43. [3] Matt. 5:16; Rom. 6:13; Eph. 5:8-10; I Pet. 2:9, 10.

<http://www.wts.edu/resources/creeds/heidelberg.html>

## Luther's Tower Experience (1519)

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Meanwhile in that same year, 1519, I had begun interpreting the Psalms once again. I felt confident that I was now more experienced, since I had dealt in university courses with St. Paul's Letters to the Romans, to the Galatians, and the Letter to the Hebrews. I had conceived a burning desire to understand what Paul meant in his Letter to the Romans, but thus far there had stood in my way, not the cold blood around my heart, but that one word which is in chapter one: "The justice of God is revealed in it." I hated that word, "justice of God," which, by the use and custom of all my teachers, I had been taught to understand philosophically as referring to formal or active justice, as they call it, i.e., that justice by which God is just and by which he punishes sinners and the unjust.

But I, blameless monk that I was, felt that before God I was a sinner with an extremely troubled conscience. I couldn't be sure that God was appeased by my satisfaction. I did not love, no, rather I hated the just God who punishes sinners. In silence, if I did not blaspheme, then certainly I grumbled vehemently and got angry at God. I said, "Isn't it enough that we miserable sinners, lost for all eternity because of original sin, are oppressed by every kind of calamity through the Ten Commandments? Why does God heap sorrow upon sorrow through the Gospel and through the Gospel threaten us with his justice and his wrath?" This was how I was raging with wild and disturbed conscience. I constantly badgered St. Paul about that spot in Romans 1 and anxiously wanted to know what he meant.

I meditated night and day on those words until at last, by the mercy of God, I paid attention to their context: “The justice of God is revealed in it, as it is written: ‘The just person lives by faith.’” I began to understand that in this verse the justice of God is that by which the just person lives by a gift of God, that is by faith. I began to understand that this verse means that the justice of God is revealed through the Gospel, but it is a passive justice, i.e. that by which the merciful God justifies us by faith, as it is written: “The just person lives by faith.” All at once I felt that I had been born again and entered into paradise itself through open gates. Immediately I saw the whole of Scripture in a different light. I ran through the Scriptures from memory and found that other terms had analogous meanings, e.g., the work of God, that is, what God works in us; the power of God, by which he makes us powerful; the wisdom of God, by which he makes us wise; the strength of God, the salvation of God, the glory of God.

I exalted this sweetest word of mine, “the justice of God,” with as much love as before I had hated it with hate. This phrase of Paul was for me the very gate of paradise. Afterward I read Augustine's “On the Spirit and the Letter,” in which I found what I had not dared hope for. I discovered that he too interpreted “the justice of God” in a similar way, namely, as that with which God clothes us when he justifies us. Although Augustine had said it imperfectly and did not explain in detail how God imputes justice to us, still it pleased me that he taught the justice of God by which we are justified.

**Source:** *Preface to the Complete Edition of Luther's Latin Works* (1545) by Dr. Martin Luther, 1483-1546 Translated by Bro. Andrew Thornton, OSB from the “Vorrede zu Band I der Opera Latina der Wittenberger Ausgabe. 1545” in vol. 4 of *Luthers Werke in Auswahl*, ed. Otto Clemen, 6th ed., (Berlin: de Gruyter. 1967). pp. 421-428.

# Institutes of the Christian Religion

## John Calvin (1509—1564)

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Calvin was born and educated as a lawyer in France, converted to the Reformation in 1533, and reluctantly drafted to guide the Reformation in Geneva in 1536. Except for three years when the Genevans drove him out and he moved to Strasbourg, he spent the rest of his life there, preaching and teaching. The brief first edition of the *Institutes of the Christian Religion* appeared in 1536, but Calvin kept revising it—and adding to it—all his life; these selections come from the final edition of 1559.



### Book 1 : Chapter 1

1. OUR wisdom, in so far as it ought to be deemed true and solid Wisdom, consists almost entirely of two parts: the knowledge of God and of ourselves. But as these are connected together by many ties, it is not easy to determine which of the two precedes and gives birth to the other. For, in the first place, no man can survey himself without forthwith turning his thoughts towards the God in whom he lives and moves; because it is perfectly obvious, that the endowments which we possess cannot possibly be from ourselves; nay, that our very being is nothing else than subsistence in God alone. In the second place, those blessings which unceasingly distil to us from heaven, are like streams conducting us to the fountain. Here, again, the infinitude of good which resides in God becomes more apparent from our poverty. In particular, the miserable ruin into which the revolt of the first man has plunged us, compels us to turn our eyes upwards; not only that while hungry and famishing we may thence ask what we want, but being aroused by fear may learn humility. For as there exists in man something like a world of misery, and ever since we were stript of the divine attire our naked shame discloses an immense series of disgraceful properties every man, being stung by the consciousness of his own unhappiness, in this way necessarily obtains at least some knowledge of God. Thus, our feeling of ignorance, vanity, want, weakness, in short, depravity and corruption, reminds us (see Calvin on John 4:10), that in the Lord, and none but He, dwell the true light of wisdom, solid virtue, exuberant goodness. We are accordingly urged by our own evil things to consider the good things of God; and, indeed, we cannot aspire to Him in earnest until we have begun to be displeased with ourselves. For what man is not disposed to rest in himself? Who, in fact, does not thus rest, so long as he is unknown to himself; that is, so long as he is contented with his own endowments, and unconscious or unmindful of his misery? Every person, therefore, on coming to the knowledge of himself, is not only urged to seek God, but is also led as by the hand to find him.

2. On the other hand, it is evident that man never attains to a true self-knowledge until he have previously contemplated the face of God, and come down after such contemplation to look into himself. For (such is our innate pride) we always seem to

ourselves just, and upright, and wise, and holy, until we are convinced, by clear evidence, of our injustice, vileness, folly, and impurity. Convinced, however, we are not, if we look to ourselves only, and not to the Lord also--He being the only standard by the application of which this conviction can be produced. For, since we are all naturally prone to hypocrisy, any empty semblance of righteousness is quite enough to satisfy us instead of righteousness itself. And since nothing appears within us or around us that is not tainted with very great impurity, so long as we keep our mind within the confines of human pollution, anything which is in some small degree less defiled delights us as if it were most pure just as an eye, to which nothing but black had been previously presented, deems an object of a whitish, or even of a brownish hue, to be perfectly white. Nay, the bodily sense may furnish a still stronger illustration of the extent to which we are deluded in estimating the powers of the mind. If, at mid-day, we either look down to the ground, or on the surrounding objects which lie open to our view, we think ourselves endued with a very strong and piercing eyesight; but when we look up to the sun, and gaze at it unveiled, the sight which did excellently well for the earth is instantly so dazzled and confounded by the refulgence, as to oblige us to confess that our acuteness in discerning terrestrial objects is mere dimness when applied to the sun. Thus too, it happens in estimating our spiritual qualities. So long as we do not look beyond the earth, we are quite pleased with our own righteousness, wisdom, and virtue; we address ourselves in the most flattering terms, and seem only less than demigods. But should we once begin to raise our thoughts to God, and reflect what kind of Being he is, and how absolute the perfection of that righteousness, and wisdom, and virtue, to which, as a standard, we are bound to be conformed, what formerly delighted us by its false show of righteousness will become polluted with the greatest iniquity; what strangely imposed upon us under the name of wisdom will disgust by its extreme folly; and what presented the appearance of virtuous energy will be condemned as the most miserable impotence. So far are those qualities in us, which seem most perfect, from corresponding to the divine purity.

3. Hence that dread and amazement with which as Scripture uniformly relates, holy men were struck and overwhelmed whenever they beheld the presence of God. When we see those who previously stood firm and secure so quaking with terror, that the fear of death takes hold of them, nay, they are, in a manner, swallowed up and annihilated, the inference to be drawn is that men are never duly touched and impressed with a conviction of their insignificance, until they have contrasted themselves with the majesty of God. Frequent examples of this consternation occur both in the Book of Judges and the Prophetical Writings; so much so, that it was a common expression among the people of God, "We shall die, for we have seen the Lord." Hence the Book of Job, also, in humbling men under a conviction of their folly, feebleness, and pollution, always derives its chief argument from descriptions of the Divine wisdom, virtue, and purity. Nor without cause: for we see Abraham the reader to acknowledge himself but dust and ashes the nearer he approaches to behold the glory of the Lord, and Elijah unable to wait with unveiled face for His approach; so dreadful is the sight. And what can man do, man who is but rottenness and a worm, when even the Cherubim themselves must veil their faces in very

terror? To this, undoubtedly, the Prophet Isaiah refers, when he says (Isaiah 24:23), "The moon shall be confounded, and the sun ashamed, when the Lord of Hosts shall reign;" i.e., when he shall exhibit his refulgence, and give a nearer view of it, the brightest objects will, in comparison, be covered with darkness.

But though the knowledge of God and the knowledge of ourselves are bound together by a mutual tie, due arrangement requires that we treat of the former in the first place, and then descend to the latter.

### **Book 1: Chapter 6**

1. THEREFORE, though the effulgence which is presented to every eye, both in the heavens and on the earth, leaves the ingratitude of man without excuse, since God, in order to bring the whole human race under the same condemnation, holds forth to all, without exception, a mirror of his Deity in his works, another and better help must be given to guide us properly to God as a Creator. Not in vain, therefore, has he added the light of his Word in order that he might make himself known unto salvation, and bestowed the privilege on those whom he was pleased to bring into nearer and more familiar relation to himself. For, seeing how the minds of men were carried to and fro, and found no certain resting-place, he chose the Jews for a peculiar people, and then hedged them in that they might not, like others, go astray. And not in vain does he, by the same means, retain us in his knowledge, since but for this, even those who, in comparison of others, seem to stand strong, would quickly fall away. For as the aged, or those whose sight is defective, when any books however fair, is set before them, though they perceive that there is something written are scarcely able to make out two consecutive words, but, when aided by glasses, begin to read distinctly, so Scripture, gathering together the impressions of Deity, which, till then, lay confused in our minds, dissipates the darkness, and shows us the true God clearly. God therefore bestows a gift of singular value, when, for the instruction of the Church, he employs not dumb teachers merely, but opens his own sacred mouth; when he not only proclaims that some God must be worshipped, but at the same time declares that He is the God to whom worship is due; when he not only teaches his elect to have respect to God, but manifests himself as the God to whom this respect should be paid.

The course which God followed towards his Church from the very first, was to supplement these common proofs by the addition of his Word, as a surer and more direct means of discovering himself. And there can be no doubt that it was by this help, Adam, Noah, Abraham, and the other patriarchs, attained to that familiar knowledge which, in a manner, distinguished them from unbelievers. I am not now speaking of the peculiar doctrines of faith by which they were elevated to the hope of eternal blessedness. It was necessary, in passing from death unto life, that they should know God, not only as a Creator, but as a Redeemer also; and both kinds of knowledge they certainly did obtain from the Word. In point of order, however, the knowledge first given was that which made them acquainted with the God by whom the world was made and is governed. To this first knowledge was afterwards added the more intimate knowledge which alone quickens dead souls, and by which God is known not only as the Creator of the worlds and the sole author and disposer of all

events, but also as a Redeemer, in the person of the Mediator. But as the fall and the corruption of nature have not yet been considered, I now postpone the consideration of the remedy (for which, see Book 2 c. 6 &c). Let the reader then remember, that I am not now treating of the covenant by which God adopted the children of Abraham, or of that branch of doctrine by which, as founded in Christ, believers have, properly speaking, been in all ages separated from the profane heathen. I am only showing that it is necessary to apply to Scripture, in order to learn the sure marks which distinguish God, as the Creator of the world, from the whole herd of fictitious gods. We shall afterward, in due course, consider the work of Redemption. In the meantime, though we shall adduce many passages from the New Testament, and some also from the Law and the Prophets, in which express mention is made of Christ, the only object will be to show that God, the Maker of the world, is manifested to us in Scripture, and his true character expounded, so as to save us from wandering up and down, as in a labyrinth, in search of some doubtful deity.

2. Whether God revealed himself to the fathers by oracles and visions, or, by the instrumentality and ministry of men, suggested what they were to hand down to posterity, there cannot be a doubt that the certainty of what he taught them was firmly engraven on their hearts, so that they felt assured and knew that the things which they learnt came forth from God, who invariably accompanied his word with a sure testimony, infinitely superior to mere opinion. At length, in order that, while doctrine was continually enlarged, its truth might subsist in the world during all ages, it was his pleasure that the same oracles which he had deposited with the fathers should be consigned, as it were, to public records. With this view the law was promulgated, and prophets were afterwards added to be its interpreters. For though the uses of the law were manifold (Book 2 c. 7 and 8), and the special office assigned to Moses and all the prophets was to teach the method of reconciliation between God and man (whence Paul calls Christ "the end of the law," Rom. 10:4); still I repeat that, in addition to the proper doctrine of faith and repentance in which Christ is set forth as a Mediator, the Scriptures employ certain marks and tokens to distinguish the only wise and true God, considered as the Creator and Governor of the world, and thereby guard against his being confounded with the herd of false deities. Therefore, while it becomes man seriously to employ his eyes in considering the works of God, since a place has been assigned him in this most glorious theatre that he may be a spectator of them, his special duty is to give ear to the Word, that he may the better profit. Hence it is not strange that those who are born in darkness become more and more hardened in their stupidity; because the vast majority instead of confining themselves within due bounds by listening with docility to the Word, exult in their own vanity. If true religion is to beam upon us, our principle must be, that it is necessary to begin with heavenly teaching, and that it is impossible for any man to obtain even the minutest portion of right and sound doctrine without being a disciple of Scripture. Hence, the first step in true knowledge is taken, when we reverently embrace the testimony which God has been pleased therein to give of himself. For not only does faith, full and perfect faith, but all

correct knowledge of God, originate in obedience. And surely in this respect God has with singular Providence provided for mankind in all ages.

3. For if we reflect how prone the human mind is to lapse into forgetfulness of God, how readily inclined to every kind of error, how bent every now and then on devising new and fictitious religions, it will be easy to understand how necessary it was to make such a depository of doctrine as would secure it from either perishing by the neglect, vanishing away amid the errors, or being corrupted by the presumptuous audacity of men. It being thus manifest that God, foreseeing the inefficiency of his image imprinted on the fair form of the universe, has given the assistance of his Word to all whom he has ever been pleased to instruct effectually, we, too, must pursue this straight path, if we aspire in earnest to a genuine contemplation of God;--we must go, I say, to the Word, where the character of God, drawn from his works is described accurately and to the life; these works being estimated, not by our depraved Judgment, but by the standard of eternal truth. If, as I lately said, we turn aside from it, how great soever the speed with which we move, we shall never reach the goal, because we are off the course. We should consider that the brightness of the Divine countenance, which even an apostle declares to be inaccessible (1 Tim. 6:16), is a kind of labyrinth,--a labyrinth to us inextricable, if the Word do not serve us as a thread to guide our path; and that it is better to limp in the way, than run with the greatest swiftness out of it. Hence the Psalmist, after repeatedly declaring (Psalm 93, 96, 97, 99, &c). that superstition should be banished from the world in order that pure religion may flourish, introduces God as reigning; meaning by the term, not the power which he possesses and which he exerts in the government of universal nature, but the doctrine by which he maintains his due supremacy: because error never can be eradicated from the heart of man until the true knowledge of God has been implanted in it.

4. Accordingly, the same prophet, after mentioning that the heavens declare the glory of God, that the firmament sheweth forth the works of his hands, that the regular succession of day and night proclaim his Majesty, proceeds to make mention of the Word:--"The law of the Lord," says he, "is perfect, converting the soul; the testimony of the Lord is sure, making wise the simple. The statutes of the Lord are right, rejoicing the heart; the commandment of the Lord is pure, enlightening the eyes," (Psalm 19:1-9). For though the law has other uses besides (as to which, see Book 2 c. 7, sec. 6, 10, 12), the general meaning is, that it is the proper school for training the children of God; the invitation given to all nations, to behold him in the heavens and earth, proving of no avail. The same view is taken in the 29th Psalm, where the Psalmist, after discoursing on the dreadful voice of God, which, in thunder, wind, rain, whirlwind, and tempest, shakes the earth, makes the mountains tremble, and breaks the cedars, concludes by saying, "that in his temple does every one speak of his glory," unbelievers being deaf to all God's words when they echo in the air. In like manner another Psalm, after describing the raging billows of the sea, thus concludes, "Thy testimonies are very sure; holiness becometh thine house for ever," (Psalm 93:5). To the same effect are the words of our Saviour to the Samaritan woman, when he told her that her nation and all other nations worshipped they knew not what; and that the Jews alone gave worship to the true

God (John 4:22). Since the human mind, through its weakness, was altogether unable to come to God if not aided and upheld by his sacred word, it necessarily followed that all mankind, the Jews excepted, inasmuch as they sought God without the Word, were labouring under vanity and error.

### **Book 2: Chapter 7**

12: The third use of the Law (being also the principal use, and more closely connected with its proper end) has respect to believers in whose hearts the Spirit of God already flourishes and reigns. For although the Law is written and engraven on their hearts by the finger of God, that is, although they are so influenced and actuated by the Spirit, that they desire to obey God, there are two ways in which they still profit in the Law. For it is the best instrument for enabling them daily to learn with greater truth and certainty what that will of the Lord is which they aspire to follow, and to confirm them in this knowledge; just as a servant who desires with all his soul to approve himself to his master, must still observe, and be careful to ascertain his master's dispositions, that he may comport himself in accommodation to them. Let none of us deem ourselves exempt from this necessity, for none have as yet attained to such a degree of wisdom, as that they may not, by the daily instruction of the Law, advance to a purer knowledge of the Divine will. Then, because we need not doctrine merely, but exhortation also, the servant of God will derive this further advantage from the Law: by frequently meditating upon it, he will be excited to obedience, and confirmed in it, and so drawn away from the slippery paths of sin. In this way must the saints press onward, since, however great the alacrity with which, under the Spirit, they hasten toward righteousness, they are retarded by the sluggishness of the flesh, and make less progress than they ought. The Law acts like a whip to the flesh, urging it on as men do a lazy sluggish ass. Even in the case of a spiritual man, inasmuch as he is still burdened with the weight of the flesh, the Law is a constant stimulus, pricking him forward when he would indulge in sloth. David had this use in view when he pronounced this high eulogium on the Law, "The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul: the testimony of the Lord is sure, making wise the simple. The statutes of the Lord are right, rejoicing the heart: the commandment of the Lord is pure, enlightening the eyes," (Ps. 19:7, 8). Again, "Thy word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path," (Ps. 119:105). The whole psalm abounds in passages to the same effect. Such passages are not inconsistent with those of Paul, which show not the utility of the law to the regenerate, but what it is able of itself to bestow. The object of the Psalmist is to celebrate the advantages which the Lord, by means of his law, bestows on those whom he inwardly inspires with a love of obedience. And he adverts not to the mere precepts, but also to the promise annexed to them, which alone makes that sweet which in itself is bitter. For what is less attractive than the law, when, by its demands and threatening, it overawes the soul, and fills it with terror? David specially shows that in the law he saw the Mediator, without whom it gives no pleasure or delight.

## Preface to the Complete Edition of Luther's Latin Works (1545)

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by Dr. Martin Luther, 1483-1546.

Translated by Bro. Andrew Thornton, OSB

Translator's Note: The material between square brackets is explanatory in nature and is not part of Luther's preface. The terms "just, justice, justify" in the following reading are synonymous with the terms "righteous, righteousness, make righteous." Both sets of English words are common translations of the Latin "justus" and related words. A similar situation exists with the word "faith"; it is synonymous with "belief." Both words can be used to translate Latin "fides." Thus, "We are justified by faith" translates the same original Latin sentence as does "We are made righteous by belief."

This letter is truly the most important piece in the New Testament. It is purest Gospel. It is well worth a Christian's while not only to memorize it word for word but also to occupy himself with it daily, as though it were the daily bread of the soul. It is impossible to read or to meditate on this letter too much or too well. The more one deals with it, the more precious it becomes and the better it tastes. Therefore I want to carry out my service and, with this preface, provide an introduction to the letter, insofar as God gives me the ability, so that every one can gain the fullest possible understanding of it. Up to now it has been darkened by glosses [explanatory notes and comments which accompany a text] and by many a useless comment, but it is in itself a bright light, almost bright enough to illumine the entire Scripture.

To begin with, we have to become familiar with the vocabulary of the letter and know what St. Paul means by the words law, sin, grace, faith, justice, flesh, spirit, etc. Otherwise there is no use in reading it.

You must not understand the word law here in human fashion, i.e., a regulation about what sort of works must be done or must not be done. That's the way it is with human laws: you satisfy the demands of the law with works, whether your heart is in it or not. God judges what is in the depths of the heart. Therefore his law also makes demands on the depths of the heart and doesn't let the heart rest content in works; rather it punishes as hypocrisy and lies all works done apart from the depths of the heart. All human beings are called liars (Psalm 116), since none of them keeps or can keep God's law from the depths of the heart. Everyone finds inside himself an aversion to good and a craving for evil. Where there is no free desire for good, there the heart has not set itself on God's law. There also sin is surely to be found and the deserved wrath of God, whether a lot of good works and an honorable life appear outwardly or not.

Therefore in chapter 2, St. Paul adds that the Jews are all sinners and says that only the doers of the law are justified in the sight of God. What he is saying is that no one is a doer of the law by works. On the contrary, he says to them, "You teach that

one should not commit adultery, and you commit adultery. You judge another in a certain matter and condemn yourselves in that same matter, because you do the very same thing that you judged in another." It is as if he were saying, "Outwardly you live quite properly in the works of the law and judge those who do not live the same way; you know how to teach everybody. You see the speck in another's eye but do not notice the beam in your own."

Outwardly you keep the law with works out of fear of punishment or love of gain. Likewise you do everything without free desire and love of the law; you act out of aversion and force. You'd rather act otherwise if the law didn't exist. It follows, then, that you, in the depths of your heart, are an enemy of the law. What do you mean, therefore, by teaching another not to steal, when you, in the depths of your heart, are a thief and would be one outwardly too, if you dared. (Of course, outward work doesn't last long with such hypocrites.) So then, you teach others but not yourself; you don't even know what you are teaching. You've never understood the law rightly. Furthermore, the law increases sin, as St. Paul says in chapter 5. That is because a person becomes more and more an enemy of the law the more it demands of him what he can't possibly do.

In chapter 7, St. Paul says, "The law is spiritual." What does that mean? If the law were physical, then it could be satisfied by works, but since it is spiritual, no one can satisfy it unless everything he does springs from the depths of the heart. But no one can give such a heart except the Spirit of God, who makes the person be like the law, so that he actually conceives a heartfelt longing for the law and henceforward does everything, not through fear or coercion, but from a free heart. Such a law is spiritual since it can only be loved and fulfilled by such a heart and such a spirit. If the Spirit is not in the heart, then there remain sin, aversion and enmity against the law, which in itself is good, just and holy.

You must get used to the idea that it is one thing to do the works of the law and quite another to fulfill it. The works of the law are every thing that a person does or can do of his own free will and by his own powers to obey the law. But because in doing such works the heart abhors the law and yet is forced to obey it, the works are a total loss and are completely useless. That is what St. Paul means in chapter 3 when he says, "No human being is justified before God through the works of the law." From this you can see that the schoolmasters [i.e., the scholastic theologians] and sophists are seducers when they teach that you can prepare yourself for grace by means of works. How can anybody prepare himself for good by means of works if he does no good work except with aversion and constraint in his heart? How can such a work please God, if it proceeds from an averse and unwilling heart?

But to fulfill the law means to do its work eagerly, lovingly and freely, without the constraint of the law; it means to live well and in a manner pleasing to God, as though there were no law or punishment. It is the Holy Spirit, however, who puts such eagerness of unconstrained love into the heart, as Paul says in chapter 5. But the Spirit is given only in, with, and through faith in Jesus Christ, as Paul says in his

introduction. So, too, faith comes only through the word of God, the Gospel, that preaches Christ: how he is both Son of God and man, how he died and rose for our sake. Paul says all this in chapters 3, 4 and 10.

That is why faith alone makes someone just and fulfills the law; faith it is that brings the Holy Spirit through the merits of Christ. The Spirit, in turn, renders the heart glad and free, as the law demands. Then good works proceed from faith itself. That is what Paul means in chapter 3 when, after he has thrown out the works of the law, he sounds as though he wants to abolish the law by faith. No, he says, we uphold the law through faith, i.e. we fulfill it through faith.

Sin in the Scriptures means not only external works of the body but also all those movements within us which bestir themselves and move us to do the external works, namely, the depth of the heart with all its powers. Therefore the word do should refer to a person's completely falling into sin. No external work of sin happens, after all, unless a person commit himself to it completely, body and soul. In particular, the Scriptures see into the heart, to the root and main source of all sin: unbelief in the depth of the heart. Thus, even as faith alone makes just and brings the Spirit and the desire to do good external works, so it is only unbelief which sins and exalts the flesh and brings desire to do evil external works. That's what happened to Adam and Eve in Paradise (cf. Genesis 3).

That is why only unbelief is called sin by Christ, as he says in John, chapter 16, "The Spirit will punish the world because of sin, because it does not believe in me." Furthermore, before good or bad works happen, which are the good or bad fruits of the heart, there has to be present in the heart either faith or unbelief, the root, sap and chief power of all sin. That is why, in the Scriptures, unbelief is called the head of the serpent and of the ancient dragon which the offspring of the woman, i.e. Christ, must crush, as was promised to Adam (cf. Genesis 3). Grace and gift differ in that grace actually denotes God's kindness or favor which he has toward us and by which he is disposed to pour Christ and the Spirit with his gifts into us, as becomes clear from chapter 5, where Paul says, "Grace and gift are in Christ, etc." The gifts and the Spirit increase daily in us, yet they are not complete, since evil desires and sins remain in us which war against the Spirit, as Paul says in chapter 7, and in Galatians, chapter 5. And Genesis, chapter 3, proclaims the enmity between the offspring of the woman and that of the serpent. But grace does do this much: that we are accounted completely just before God. God's grace is not divided into bits and pieces, as are the gifts, but grace takes us up completely into God's favor for the sake of Christ, our intercessor and mediator, so that the gifts may begin their work in us.

In this way, then, you should understand chapter 7, where St. Paul portrays himself as still a sinner, while in chapter 8 he says that, because of the incomplete gifts and because of the Spirit, there is nothing damnable in those who are in Christ. Because our flesh has not been killed, we are still sinners, but because we believe in Christ and have the beginnings of the Spirit, God so shows us his favor and mercy, that he

neither notices nor judges such sins. Rather he deals with us according to our belief in Christ until sin is killed.

Faith is not that human illusion and dream that some people think it is. When they hear and talk a lot about faith and yet see that no moral improvement and no good works result from it, they fall into error and say, "Faith is not enough. You must do works if you want to be virtuous and get to heaven." The result is that, when they hear the Gospel, they stumble and make for themselves with their own powers a concept in their hearts which says, "I believe." This concept they hold to be true faith. But since it is a human fabrication and thought and not an experience of the heart, it accomplishes nothing, and there follows no improvement.

Faith is a work of God in us, which changes us and brings us to birth anew from God (cf. John 1). It kills the old Adam, makes us completely different people in heart, mind, senses, and all our powers, and brings the Holy Spirit with it. What a living, creative, active powerful thing is faith! It is impossible that faith ever stop doing good. Faith doesn't ask whether good works are to be done, but, before it is asked, it has done them. It is always active. Whoever doesn't do such works is without faith; he gropes and searches about him for faith and good works but doesn't know what faith or good works are. Even so, he chatters on with a great many words about faith and good works.

Faith is a living, unshakeable confidence in God's grace; it is so certain, that someone would die a thousand times for it. This kind of trust in and knowledge of God's grace makes a person joyful, confident, and happy with regard to God and all creatures. This is what the Holy Spirit does by faith. Through faith, a person will do good to everyone without coercion, willingly and happily; he will serve everyone, suffer everything for the love and praise of God, who has shown him such grace. It is as impossible to separate works from faith as burning and shining from fire. Therefore be on guard against your own false ideas and against the chatterers who think they are clever enough to make judgements about faith and good works but who are in reality the biggest fools. Ask God to work faith in you; otherwise you will remain eternally without faith, no matter what you try to do or fabricate.

Now justice is just such a faith. It is called God's justice or that justice which is valid in God's sight, because it is God who gives it and reckons it as justice for the sake of Christ our Mediator. It influences a person to give to everyone what he owes him. Through faith a person becomes sinless and eager for God's commands. Thus he gives God the honor due him and pays him what he owes him. He serves people willingly with the means available to him. In this way he pays everyone his due. Neither nature nor free will nor our own powers can bring about such a justice, for even as no one can give himself faith, so too he cannot remove unbelief. How can he then take away even the smallest sin? Therefore everything which takes place outside faith or in unbelief is lie, hypocrisy and sin (Romans 14), no matter how smoothly it may seem to go.

You must not understand flesh here as denoting only unchastity or spirit as denoting only the inner heart. Here St. Paul calls flesh (as does Christ in John 3) everything born of flesh, i.e. the whole human being with body and soul, reason and senses, since everything in him tends toward the flesh. That is why you should know enough to call that person "fleshly" who, without grace, fabricates, teaches and chatters about high spiritual matters. You can learn the same thing from Galatians, chapter 5, where St. Paul calls heresy and hatred works of the flesh. And in Romans, chapter 8, he says that, through the flesh, the law is weakened. He says this, not of unchastity, but of all sins, most of all of unbelief, which is the most spiritual of vices.

On the other hand, you should know enough to call that person "spiritual" who is occupied with the most outward of works as was Christ, when he washed the feet of the disciples, and Peter, when he steered his boat and fished. So then, a person is "flesh" who, inwardly and outwardly, lives only to do those things which are of use to the flesh and to temporal existence. A person is "spirit" who, inwardly and outwardly, lives only to do those things which are of use to the spirit and to the life to come.

Unless you understand these words in this way, you will never understand either this letter of St. Paul or any book of the Scriptures. Be on guard, therefore against any teacher who uses these words differently, no matter who he be, whether Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, Origen or anyone else as great as or greater than they. Now let us turn to the letter itself.

The first duty of a preacher of the Gospel is, through his revealing of the law and of sin, to rebuke and to turn into sin everything in life that does not have the Spirit and faith in Christ as its base. [Here and elsewhere in Luther's preface, as indeed in Romans itself, it is not clear whether "spirit" has the meaning "Holy Spirit" or "spiritual person," as Luther has previously defined it.] Thereby he will lead people to a recognition of their miserable condition, and thus they will become humble and yearn for help. This is what St Paul does. He begins in chapter 1 by rebuking the gross sins and unbelief which are in plain view, as were (and still are) the sins of the pagans, who live without God's grace. He says that, through the Gospel, God is revealing his wrath from heaven upon all mankind because of the godless and unjust lives they live. For, although they know and recognize day by day that there is a God, yet human nature in itself, without grace, is so evil that it neither thanks nor honors God. This nature blinds itself and continually falls into wickedness, even going so far as to commit idolatry and other horrible sins and vices. It is unashamed of itself and leaves such things unpunished in others.

In chapter 2, St. Paul extends his rebuke to those who appear outwardly pious or who sin secretly. Such were the Jews, and such are all hypocrites still, who live virtuous lives but without eagerness and love; in their heart they are enemies of God's law and like to judge other people. That's the way with hypocrites: they think that they are pure but are actually full of greed, hate, pride and all sorts of filth (cf.

Matthew 23). These are they who despise God's goodness and, by their hardness of heart, heap wrath upon themselves. Thus Paul explains the law rightly when he lets no one remain without sin but proclaims the wrath of God to all who want to live virtuously by nature or by free will. He makes them out to be no better than public sinners; he says they are hard of heart and unrepentant.

In chapter 3, Paul lumps both secret and public sinners together: the one, he says, is like the other; all are sinners in the sight of God. Besides, the Jews had God's word, even though many did not believe in it. But still God's truth and faith in him are not thereby rendered useless. St. Paul introduces, as an aside, the saying from Psalm 51, that God remains true to his words. Then he returns to his topic and proves from Scripture that they are all sinners and that no one becomes just through the works of the law but that God gave the law only so that sin might be perceived.

Next St. Paul teaches the right way to be virtuous and to be saved; he says that they are all sinners, unable to glory in God. They must, however, be justified through faith in Christ, who has merited this for us by his blood and has become for us a mercy seat [cf. Exodus 25:17, Leviticus 16:14ff, and John 2:2] in the presence of God, who forgives us all our previous sins. In so doing, God proves that it is his justice alone, which he gives through faith, that helps us, the justice which was at the appointed time revealed through the Gospel and, previous to that, was witnessed to by the Law and the Prophets. Therefore the law is set up by faith, but the works of the law, along with the glory taken in them, are knocked down by faith. [As with the term "spirit," the word "law" seems to have for Luther, and for St. Paul, two meanings. Sometimes it means "regulation about what must be done or not done," as in the third paragraph of this preface; sometimes it means "the Torah," as in the previous sentence. And sometimes it seems to have both meanings, as in what follows.]

In chapters 1 to 3, St. Paul has revealed sin for what it is and has taught the way of faith which leads to justice. Now in chapter 4 he deals with some objections and criticisms. He takes up first the one that people raise who, on hearing that faith make just without works, say, "What? Shouldn't we do any good works?" Here St. Paul holds up Abraham as an example. He says, "What did Abraham accomplish with his good works? Were they all good for nothing and useless?" He concludes that Abraham was made righteous apart from all his works by faith alone. Even before the "work" of his circumcision, Scripture praises him as being just on account of faith alone (cf. Genesis 15). Now if the work of his circumcision did nothing to make him just, a work that God had commanded him to do and hence a work of obedience, then surely no other good work can do anything to make a person just. Even as Abraham's circumcision was an outward sign with which he proved his justice based on faith, so too all good works are only outward signs which flow from faith and are the fruits of faith; they prove that the person is already inwardly just in the sight of God.

St. Paul verifies his teaching on faith in chapter 3 with a powerful example from Scripture. He calls as witness David, who says in Psalm 32 that a person becomes just without works but doesn't remain without works once he has become just. Then Paul extends this example and applies it against all other works of the law. He concludes that the Jews cannot be Abraham's heirs just because of their blood relationship to him and still less because of the works of the law. Rather, they have to inherit Abraham's faith if they want to be his real heirs, since it was prior to the Law of Moses and the law of circumcision that Abraham became just through faith and was called a father of all believers. St. Paul adds that the law brings about more wrath than grace, because no one obeys it with love and eagerness. More disgrace than grace come from the works of the law. Therefore faith alone can obtain the grace promised to Abraham. Examples like these are written for our sake, that we also should have faith.

In chapter 5, St. Paul comes to the fruits and works of faith, namely: joy, peace, love for God and for all people; in addition: assurance, steadfastness, confidence, courage, and hope in sorrow and suffering. All of these follow where faith is genuine, because of the overflowing good will that God has shown in Christ: he had him die for us before we could ask him for it, yes, even while we were still his enemies. Thus we have established that faith, without any good works, makes just. It does not follow from that, however, that we should not do good works; rather it means that morally upright works do not remain lacking. About such works the "works-holy" people know nothing; they invent for themselves their own works in which are neither peace nor joy nor assurance nor love nor hope nor steadfastness nor any kind of genuine Christian works or faith.

Next St. Paul makes a digression, a pleasant little side-trip, and relates where both sin and justice, death and life come from. He opposes these two: Adam and Christ. What he wants to say is that Christ, a second Adam, had to come in order to make us heirs of his justice through a new spiritual birth in faith, just as the old Adam made us heirs of sin through the old fleshy birth.

St. Paul proves, by this reasoning, that a person cannot help himself by his works to get from sin to justice any more than he can prevent his own physical birth. St. Paul also proves that the divine law, which should have been well-suited, if anything was, for helping people to obtain justice, not only was no help at all when it did come, but it even increased sin. Evil human nature, consequently, becomes more hostile to it; the more the law forbids it to indulge its own desires, the more it wants to. Thus the law makes Christ all the more necessary and demands more grace to help human nature.

In chapter 6, St. Paul takes up the special work of faith, the struggle which the spirit wages against the flesh to kill off those sins and desires that remain after a person has been made just. He teaches us that faith doesn't so free us from sin that we can be idle, lazy and self-assured, as though there were no more sin in us. Sin is there, but, because of faith that struggles against it, God does not reckon sin as deserving damnation. Therefore we have in our own selves a lifetime of work cut out for us;

we have to tame our body, kill its lusts, force its members to obey the spirit and not the lusts. We must do this so that we may conform to the death and resurrection of Christ and complete our Baptism, which signifies a death to sin and a new life of grace. Our aim is to be completely clean from sin and then to rise bodily with Christ and live forever.

St. Paul says that we can accomplish all this because we are in grace and not in the law. He explains that to be "outside the law" is not the same as having no law and being able to do what you please. No, being "under the law" means living without grace, surrounded by the works of the law. Then surely sin reigns by means of the law, since no one is naturally well-disposed toward the law. That very condition, however, is the greatest sin. But grace makes the law lovable to us, so there is then no sin any more, and the law is no longer against us but one with us.

This is true freedom from sin and from the law; St. Paul writes about this for the rest of the chapter. He says it is a freedom only to do good with eagerness and to live a good life without the coercion of the law. This freedom is, therefore, a spiritual freedom which does not suspend the law but which supplies what the law demands, namely eagerness and love. These silence the law so that it has no further cause to drive people on and make demands of them. It's as though you owed something to a moneylender and couldn't pay him. You could be rid of him in one of two ways: either he would take nothing from you and would tear up his account book, or a pious man would pay for you and give you what you needed to satisfy your debt. That's exactly how Christ freed us from the law. Therefore our freedom is not a wild, fleshy freedom that has no obligation to do anything. On the contrary, it is a freedom that does a great deal, indeed everything, yet is free of the law's demands and debts.

In chapter 7, St. Paul confirms the foregoing by an analogy drawn from married life. When a man dies, the wife is free; the one is free and clear of the other. It is not the case that the woman may not or should not marry another man; rather she is now for the first time free to marry someone else. She could not do this before she was free of her first husband. In the same way, our conscience is bound to the law so long as our condition is that of the sinful old man. But when the old man is killed by the spirit, then the conscience is free, and conscience and law are quit of each other. Not that conscience should now do nothing; rather, it should now for the first time truly cling to its second husband, Christ, and bring forth the fruit of life.

Next St. Paul sketches further the nature of sin and the law. It is the law that makes sin really active and powerful, because the old man gets more and more hostile to the law since he can't pay the debt demanded by the law. Sin is his very nature; of himself he can't do otherwise. And so the law is his death and torture. Now the law is not itself evil; it is our evil nature that cannot tolerate that the good law should demand good from it. It's like the case of a sick person, who cannot tolerate that you demand that he run and jump around and do other things that a healthy person does.

St. Paul concludes here that, if we understand the law properly and comprehend it in the best possible way, then we will see that its sole function is to remind us of our sins, to kill us by our sins, and to make us deserving of eternal wrath. Conscience learns and experiences all this in detail when it comes face to face with the law. It follows, then, that we must have something else, over and above the law, which can make a person virtuous and cause him to be saved. Those, however, who do not understand the law rightly are blind; they go their way boldly and think they are satisfying the law with works. They don't know how much the law demands, namely, a free, willing, eager heart. That is the reason that they don't see Moses rightly before their eyes. [In both Jewish and Christian teaching, Moses was commonly held to be the author of the Pentateuch, the first five books of the bible. Cf. the involved imagery of Moses' face and the veil over it in 2 Corinthians 3:7-18.] For them he is covered and concealed by the veil.

Then St. Paul shows how spirit and flesh struggle with each other in one person. He gives himself as an example, so that we may learn how to kill sin in ourselves. He gives both spirit and flesh the name "law," so that, just as it is in the nature of divine law to drive a person on and make demands of him, so too the flesh drives and demands and rages against the spirit and wants to have its own way. Likewise the spirit drives and demands against the flesh and wants to have its own way. This feud lasts in us for as long as we live, in one person more, in another less, depending on whether spirit or flesh is stronger. Yet the whole human being is both: spirit and flesh. The human being fights with himself until he becomes completely spiritual.

In chapter 8, St. Paul comforts fighters such as these and tells them that this flesh will not bring them condemnation. He goes on to show what the nature of flesh and spirit are. Spirit, he says, comes from Christ, who has given us his Holy Spirit; the Holy Spirit makes us spiritual and restrains the flesh. The Holy Spirit assures us that we are God's children no matter how furiously sin may rage within us, so long as we follow the Spirit and struggle against sin in order to kill it. Because nothing is so effective in deadening the flesh as the cross and suffering, Paul comforts us in our suffering. He says that the Spirit, [cf. previous note about the meaning of "spirit."] love and all creatures will stand by us; the Spirit in us groans and all creatures long with us that we be freed from the flesh and from sin. Thus we see that these three chapters, 6, 7 and 8, all deal with the one work of faith, which is to kill the old Adam and to constrain the flesh.

In chapters 9, 10 and 11, St. Paul teaches us about the eternal providence of God. It is the original source which determines who would believe and who wouldn't, who can be set free from sin and who cannot. Such matters have been taken out of our hands and are put into God's hands so that we might become virtuous. It is absolutely necessary that it be so, for we are so weak and unsure of ourselves that, if it depended on us, no human being would be saved. The devil would overpower all of us. But God is steadfast; his providence will not fail, and no one can prevent its realization. Therefore we have hope against sin.

But here we must shut the mouths of those sacrilegious and arrogant spirits who, mere beginners that they are, bring their reason to bear on this matter and commence, from their exalted position, to probe the abyss of divine providence and uselessly trouble themselves about whether they are predestined or not. These people must surely plunge to their ruin, since they will either despair or abandon themselves to a life of chance.

You, however, follow the reasoning of this letter in the order in which it is presented. Fix your attention first of all on Christ and the Gospel, so that you may recognize your sin and his grace. Then struggle against sin, as chapters 1-8 have taught you to. Finally, when you have come, in chapter 8, under the shadow of the cross and suffering, they will teach you, in chapters 9-11, about providence and what a comfort it is. [The context here and in St. Paul's letter makes it clear that this is the cross and passion, not only of Christ, but of each Christian.] Apart from suffering, the cross and the pangs of death, you cannot come to grips with providence without harm to yourself and secret anger against God. The old Adam must be quite dead before you can endure this matter and drink this strong wine. Therefore make sure you don't drink wine while you are still a babe at the breast. There is a proper measure, time and age for understanding every doctrine.

In chapter 12, St. Paul teaches the true liturgy and makes all Christians priests, so that they may offer, not money or cattle, as priests do in the Law, but their own bodies, by putting their desires to death. Next he describes the outward conduct of Christians whose lives are governed by the Spirit; he tells how they teach, preach, rule, serve, give, suffer, love, live and act toward friend, foe and everyone. These are the works that a Christian does, for, as I have said, faith is not idle.

In chapter 13, St. Paul teaches that one should honor and obey the secular authorities. He includes this, not because it makes people virtuous in the sight of God, but because it does insure that the virtuous have outward peace and protection and that the wicked cannot do evil without fear and in undisturbed peace. Therefore it is the duty of virtuous people to honor secular authority, even though they do not, strictly speaking, need it. Finally, St. Paul sums up everything in love and gathers it all into the example of Christ: what he has done for us, we must also do and follow after him.

In chapter 14, St. Paul teaches that one should carefully guide those with weak conscience and spare them. One shouldn't use Christian freedom to harm but rather to help the weak. Where that isn't done, there follow dissention and despising of the Gospel, on which everything else depends. It is better to give way a little to the weak in faith until they become stronger than to have the teaching of the Gospel perish completely. This work is a particularly necessary work of love especially now when people, by eating meat and by other freedoms, are brashly, boldly and unnecessarily shaking weak consciences which have not yet come to know the truth.

In chapter 15, St. Paul cites Christ as an example to show that we must also have patience with the weak, even those who fail by sinning publicly or by their disgusting morals. We must not cast them aside but must bear with them until they become better. That is the way Christ treated us and still treats us every day; he puts up with our vices, our wicked morals and all our imperfection, and he helps us ceaselessly. Finally Paul prays for the Christians at Rome; he praises them and commends them to God. He points out his own office and the message that he preaches. He makes an unobtrusive plea for a contribution for the poor in Jerusalem. Unalloyed love is the basis of all he says and does.

The last chapter consists of greetings. But Paul also includes a salutary warning against human doctrines which are preached alongside the Gospel and which do a great deal of harm. It's as though he had clearly seen that out of Rome and through the Romans would come the deceitful, harmful Canons and Decretals along with the entire brood and swarm of human laws and commands that is now drowning the whole world and has blotted out this letter and the whole of the Scriptures, along with the Spirit and faith. Nothing remains but the idol Belly, and St. Paul depicts those people here as its servants. God deliver us from them. Amen.

We find in this letter, then, the richest possible teaching about what a Christian should know: the meaning of law, Gospel, sin, punishment, grace, faith, justice, Christ, God, good works, love, hope and the cross. We learn how we are to act toward everyone, toward the virtuous and sinful, toward the strong and the weak, friend and foe, and toward ourselves. Paul bases everything firmly on Scripture and proves his points with examples from his own experience and from the Prophets, so that nothing more could be desired. Therefore it seems that St. Paul, in writing this letter, wanted to compose a summary of the whole of Christian and evangelical teaching which would also be an introduction to the whole Old Testament. Without doubt, whoever takes this letter to heart possesses the light and power of the Old Testament. Therefore each and every Christian should make this letter the habitual and constant object of his study. God grant us his grace to do so. Amen.

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## From Zwingli's *Sixty-Seven Articles* of 1523

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1. All who say that the gospel is nothing without the approbation of the Church err and cast reproach upon God.
2. The sum of the gospel is that our Lord Jesus Christ, the true Son of God, has made known to us the will of his heavenly Father, and redeemed us by his innocence from eternal death, and reconciled us to God.
3. Therefore Christ is the only way to salvation to all who were, who are, who shall be.
4. Whosoever seeks or shows another door, errs—indeed, is a murderer of souls and a robber.
7. Christ is the head of all believers who are his body; but without him the body is dead.
8. All who live in this Head are his members and children of God. And this is the Church, the communion of saints, the bride of Christ, the *Ecclesia catholica*.
15. Who believes the gospel shall be saved; who believes not, shall be damned. For in the gospel the whole truth is clearly contained.
16. From the gospel we learn that the doctrines and traditions of men are of no use to salvation.
17. Christ is the one eternal high priest. Those who pretend to be high priests resist, indeed, set aside, the honor and dignity of Christ.
18. Christ, who offered himself once on the cross, is the sufficient and perpetual sacrifice for the sins of all believers. Therefore the mass is no sacrifice, but a commemoration of the one sacrifice of the cross, and a seal of the redemption through Christ.
19. Christ is the only Mediator between God and us.
22. Christ is our righteousness. From this it follows that our works are good so far as they are Christ's, but not good so far as they are our own.
24. Christians are not bound to any works that Christ has not commanded. They may eat at all times all kinds of food.
26. Nothing is more displeasing to God than hypocrisy.
27. All Christians are brethren.
28. Whatsoever God permits and has not forbidden, is right. Therefore marriage is becoming to all men.
34. The spiritual [hierarchical] power, so called, has no foundation in the Holy Scriptures and the teaching of Christ. (Zwingli means the worldly power and splendor of the pope and the bishops, and quotes against it the lessons of humility, Matt. 18:1; 1 Pet. 5:14...)

35. But the secular power [of the state] is confirmed by the teaching and example of Christ. (For this he quotes Luke 2:5 and Matt. 22:21)
37. All Christians owe obedience to the magistracy, provided it does not command what is against God. (Romans 13:1; Isaiah 3:4)
49. I know of no greater scandal than the prohibition of lawful marriage to priests, while they are permitted for money to have concubines. Shame!
50. God alone forgives sins, through Jesus Christ our Lord alone.
57. The Holy Scripture knows nothing of a purgatory after this life.
58. God alone knows the condition of the departed, and the less he has made known to us, the less we should pretend to know.
66. All spiritual superiors should repent without delay, and set up the cross of Christ alone, or they will perish. The axe is laid at the root.



# Scot's Confession of 1560

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The Scottish Confession of Faith was drafted in 1560 by six Scottish ministers, led by John Knox. It was quickly ratified by the Scottish Parliament, but was not made official until 1567 because of Queen Mary's opposition. Drawn heavily from earlier continental, Reformed confessions, it served as the confession of the Scottish Reformed Church until replaced by The Westminster Confession of Faith in 1647.

## **1: God**

We confess and acknowledge one God alone, to whom alone we must cleave, whom alone we must serve, whom only we must worship, and in whom alone we put our trust. Who is eternal, infinite, immeasurable, incomprehensible, omnipotent, invisible; one in substance and yet distinct in three persons, the father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. By whom we confess all things in heaven and earth, visible and invisible, to have been created, to be retained in their being, and to be ruled and guided by His inscrutable providence for such end as His eternal wisdom, goodness, and justice have appointed, and to the manifestation of His own glory.

## **9: Christ's Death, Passion, and Burial**

That our Lord Jesus offered Himself a voluntary sacrifice unto His Father for us, that He suffered contradiction of sinners, that He was wounded and plagued for our transgressions, that He, the clean innocent Lamb of God, was condemned in the presence of an earthly judge, that we should be absolved before the judgment seat of our God; that He suffered not only the cruel death of the cross, which was accursed by the sentence of God; but also that He suffered for a season the wrath of His Father which sinners had deserved. But yet we avow that he remained the only, well beloved, and blessed Son of His Father even in the midst of His anguish and torment which He suffered in body and soul to make full atonement for the sins of His people. From this we confess and avow that there remains no other sacrifice for sins; if any affirm so, we do not hesitate to say that they are blasphemers against Christ's death and the everlasting atonement thereby purchased for us.

## **15: The Perfection of the Law and the Imperfection of Man**

We confess and acknowledge that the law of God is most just, equal, holy and perfect, commanding those things which, when perfectly done, can give life and eternal felicity; but our nature is so corrupt, weak, and imperfect, that we are never able perfectly to fulfil the works of the law. Even after we are reborn, if we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves and the truth of God is not in us. It is therefore essential for us to lay hold on Christ Jesus, in His righteousness and His atonement, since He is the end and consummation of the Law and since it is by Him that we are set at liberty so that the curse of God may not fall upon us, even though we do not fulfil the Law in all points. For as God the Father beholds us in the body of His Son Christ Jesus, He accepts our imperfect obedience as if it were perfect, and covers our works, which are defiled with many stains, with the

righteousness of His Son. We do not mean that we are so set at liberty that we owe no obedience to the Law - for we have already acknowledged its place - but we affirm that no man on earth, with the sole exception of Christ Jesus, has given, gives, or shall give in action that obedience to the Law which the Law requires. When we have done all things we must fall down and unfeignedly confess that we are unprofitable servants. Therefore, whoever boasts of the merits of his own works or puts his trust in works of supererogation, boasts of what does not exist, and puts his trust in damnable idolatry.

#### **24: The Civil Magistrate**

We confess and acknowledge that empires, kingdoms, dominions, and cities are appointed and ordained by God; the powers and authorities in them, emperors in empires, kings in their realms, dukes and princes in their dominions, and magistrates in cities, are ordained by God's holy ordinance for the manifestation of His own glory and for the good and well being of all men. We hold that any men who conspire to rebel or overturn the civil powers, as duly established, are not merely enemies to humanity but rebels against God's will. Further, we confess and acknowledge that such persons as are set in authority are to be loved, honoured, feared, and held in the highest respect, because they are the lieutenants of God, and in their councils God Himself doth sit and judge. They are the judges and princes to whom God has given the sword for the praise and defence of good men and the punishment of all open evil doers. Moreover, we state that the preservation and purification of religion is particularly the duty of kings, princes, rulers, and magistrates. They are not only appointed for civil government but also to maintain true religion and to suppress all idolatry and superstition. This may be seen in David, Jehosaphat, Hezekiah, Josiah, and others highly commended for their zeal in that cause. Therefore we confess and avow that those who resist the supreme powers, so long as they are acting in their own spheres, are resisting God's ordinance and cannot be held guiltless. We further state that so long as princes and rulers vigilantly fulfil their office, anyone who denies them aid, counsel, or service, denies it to God, who by His lieutenant craves it of them.

# Reformation Timeline

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## Pre-Reformation Events

**1211**

Followers of Peter Waldo were known as Waldensians, “Poor in Spirit.” Pope Lucius III excommunicated them in 1184. In 1211, more than eighty were burned as heretics in Strasbourg, beginning centuries of persecution.

**1384**

The Wycliffe Bible was the first translation of the scripture into English. John Wycliffe determined that every believer should have access to a Bible in his or her own language. His followers became known as Lollards.

**1415**

Jan Hus was condemned at the Council of Constance and martyred for his beliefs. The bonfire used for his execution was fueled with his copy of Wycliffe’s books. He sang praises until his final breath.

**By 1455**

Johann Gutenberg’s development of moveable type enabled the teaching of the Reformers to be widely circulated. By 1455, around 180 Bibles had been printed at a cost of nearly a year’s wages.

**1497**

At the carnival in Florence, Dominican Monk Girolamo Savonarola organized the “Bonfire of the Vanities.” He sent children door-to-door to gather the worldly things that were distracting people from true Christian living. The pile of books, cosmetics, dresses, masks, musical instruments, cards and other materials was estimated to be fifteen stories high.

## Reformation Events

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**1517**

October 31, 1517, Martin Luther is said to have nailed the 95 Theses on the door of Castle Church in Wittenberg marking the start of the Reformation. Many theologians think that the theses actually accompanied a letter to his superiors as a basis for discussion.



**1519**

At the Disputation of Leipzig, Andreas von Carlstadt and Luther debated with Dominican Friar Johann Eck. Eck forced Luther to admit that he agreed with Jan Hus (who was burned at the stake as a heretic), but this only served to strengthen Luther's resolve.

**1521**

Emperor Charles V called for the famous Diet of Worms to allow the Pope's ambassador, Cardinal Aleander, to examine Luther to see if he was a heretic. It was here that Luther made his famous reply including these words, "...my conscience is captive to the word of God. I cannot and I will not recant anything, for to go against conscience is neither safe nor right. God help me! Amen."

**1521**

The Edict of Worms, signed by Emperor Charles V, declared Martin Luther a heretic and placed him under an imperial ban. It also specified that all Luther's books were to be burned.

**1522**

While being kept safe by his friend Frederick the Wise in Wartburg Castle, Luther translated the entire New Testament into the German language in two and a half months

**1523**

Ulrich Zwingli presented his 67 Theses at the Zurich Disputation, before hundreds of educated men. These included such topics as allowing clergy to marry, the mass being a celebration not a sacrifice and more.

**1524-1526**

The German peasants, angered by rising prices and the feudal system, decided to revolt in June 1524. Luther, in speaking on spiritual matters, made it clear that the Christian was "a perfect free lord of all, subject to none." The peasants interpreted this politically. The Peasant's Revolt began peacefully, but by 1525, the protests turned violent. At about the same time, Luther wrote a tract on Earthly Government stating that secular authorities should be obeyed. In the tract he called for patience and prayer and rejected the violence of the Revolt. As a result, many of the peasants rejected Luther.

**1526**

William Tyndale published an English language New Testament in Worms. The Bibles were then smuggled into England and distributed.

**1530**

Emperor Charles V called the Parliament together in Augsburg to resolve the political, religious and social problems created by the Reformation. The result was a document called the Augsburg Confession, which is still the Lutheran doctrinal standard.

**1530-1531**

The Schmalkaldic League was formed in the winter of 1530-31 as a defensive alliance against the empire. In a meeting set up by princes Philip of Hesse and John of Saxony, eight princes and eleven cities met and adopted the Augsburg Confession.

**1536**

Menno Simons, the former Priest, gathered the scattered Anabaptists into congregations. They then became known as Mennonites. This group has influenced Baptists, Amish, Hutterites and Quakers.

**1539**

The Treaty of Frankfurt was an attempt to bring peace between the Schmalkaldic League and Emperor Charles V. Unfortunately it failed to prevent future wars between Catholics and Protestants.

**1549**

“Consensus Tigurinus” - Calvinists and Zwinlians agree about communion.

**1555**

The Peace of Augsburg was an edict of toleration for Lutheranism. The outcome became known as ‘cuius regio, eius religio,’ (not actually in the Peace) which meant that each individual prince could choose the religion for his area. Lutheranism was formally recognized, but the other Reformation movements were not.

**1563**

The Heidelberg Catechism is one of the most important Calvinistic statements of faith.

**1572**

The St. Bartholomew’s Day massacre began with the murder of Gaspard de Coligny, one of the Huguenot leaders. Beginning in Paris and spreading to Rouen, Lyons, Bourges, Orleans, Bordeaux and beyond, up to 10,000 Huguenots were killed. The few survivors who fled to other countries, were imprisoned or enslaved.

**1618-1648**

The Thirty Years War took place. Society broke down in this period and two-thirds of the population died through warfare, famine and plague.

**1648**

After years of struggle, a series of treaties known as ‘The Peace of Westphalia’ were signed in Münster, by Emperor Frederick III. This was the start of the separation of church and state. Calvinists were added to the list of tolerated religions, which brought increased stability.

## George Buchanan (1506-1582)

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George Buchanan was a Scottish historian and humanist scholar. His ideology of resistance to royal usurpation gained widespread acceptance during the Scottish Reformation. In 1539, Buchanan was imprisoned for satirizing the Franciscans, but he escaped to the Continent. Buchanan returned to Scotland in 1561 and served as a classical tutor to Mary Queen of Scots in 1562, and principal of St. Andrews in 1566. He declared himself a Protestant. In 1567, he was appointed as the elected leader of the Church of Scotland. Although initially intensely loyal to the Queen, he became hostile to the Catholic Mary Queen of Scots when he became suspicious of Mary's role in the assassination of her husband. From 1570 to 1578, he was the tutor of the young king James VI (later James I of England). In his most influential work, *De jure regni apud Scotos* (1579), Buchanan argued that a king rules by popular will and for the general good.



**George Buchanan** by A. Bronckorst (1581)  
in the National Gallery of Scotland.

# John Calvin (1509 – 1564)

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## Calvin's Early Years

Calvin was born on July 10, 1509 in Noyon, France, the son of Gerard LeFranc Calvin, who was a registrar for the county with connections to the Cathedral. He had an older brother, Charles, and three younger brothers. His mother, Jeanne LeFranc Calvin, died while he was yet a child. His father remarried and added two daughters to the family. There is now a museum at the site of his birthplace.

## Calvin's Education



Calvin was educated in his home town while being employed by the church (though he did no actual work at the church, as was a common practice). At the age of 14, he moved into his uncle's home and began attending the College de La Marche, majoring in Latin. He received his B.A. in philosophy and Theology in early 1528 from College de Montaigne. At his father's urging, he began to pursue his law degree at the University of Orleans and added Greek to his studies at the University of Bourges. However, he abandoned his studies in late 1530 due to his father's illness (his father died in May 1531).

## Calvin's Conversion

Calvin underwent a "sudden conversion" in 1533, at which time he began pursuing the things of God wholeheartedly and soon found himself leading his first group of Reformers in Paris. His new affiliation was not looked upon kindly and he spent the next year breaking with Rome and even being imprisoned for a time.

## Calvin's Influential Writing

In 1536, Calvin completed his first edition of *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Originally printed in Basel, the book laid out specifically the beliefs of the French Protestant movement. Calvin stated, in no uncertain terms, the movement's rejection of papal rule, the belief in justification by faith in Jesus Christ alone and his most controversial belief—that of predestination. Calvin continued to add to and refine *Institutes*, and many of his other more popular works. A final copy of *Institutes* was published in 1559—it had grown from 111 pages to an impressive 544 pages.

## Calvin and Geneva

In 1536, William Farel, Geneva's leading Reformer at the time, convinced Calvin to join him in Geneva to help further the cause of the Reformation. Although the Genevans did declare allegiance to Reform teachings shortly after Calvin's arrival, his stay was very controversial. The two men brought huge changes in very little time which perhaps was a bit too much for the citizens. After facing fierce opposition, Calvin & Farel were forced to leave in 1538.

## **Calvin's Marriage**

Upon leaving Geneva, Calvin went to Strasbourg, France, under the urging of Martin Bucer. Calvin's stay in Strasbourg was very productive. He preached to French refugees, taught at Bucer's school, finished his own post-graduate work, and wrote much to clarify his "Calvinistic" teachings. Calvin was encouraged by his friends to marry, and thus took the widowed Idelette von Bure as his bride in 1540. She brought two children into their marriage and served the poor and sick faithfully. Their only child died as an infant in 1542 and Idelette died in 1549.



## **Calvin Returns to Geneva**

In 1541, Calvin was called to return to Geneva. He was greeted with much fanfare. This time Geneva was ready for him. Shortly after his return, he established a church-run government in the city, fully supported by the Council. Calvin was not an easy leader. He expected a lot from his sheep and the rest of the town and imposed many restrictions on the citizens. Among those "forbidden things" were: dancing, theatre going, card playing, cursing, swearing, obscene songs, drunkenness, luxurious living and luxurious dressing. This strict moral code did not win him broad popularity, causing some to complain that they left the tyranny of one leader (the Pope) only to be subjected to the oppression of another.

## **Calvin's Accomplishments**

In 1559, Calvin established the University of Geneva—a grade school, high school and college all in one. His students hailed from around the continent and brought his teachings back to their homes in Scotland, Poland, the Netherlands, France, England, and Hungary. Calvin continued to write extensively and published numerous commentaries, tracts, Reformation documents and much more.

## **Calvin's Last Days**

Calvin worked hard—probably too hard for his own health. He often pushed himself to the point of exhaustion and beyond. His bout with malarial fever combined with his exhaustive lifestyle and frail overall health, led to an early demise. He preached his last sermon in February of 1564, spent his dying days with his very dear friends and associates and died peacefully on May 27, 1564 after years of much intense suffering. He was buried in a nearly unmarked grave that has since been lost. Calvin is remembered for his amazing contributions to forming the direction, heart and soul of what is today known as the Protestant faith.

## Patrick Hamilton (1504-1528)

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Patrick Hamilton was born in 1504 in Scotland and was made Abbot of Fern when he was only 13. He was attracted to Luther's writing while studying in Paris. He returned to Scotland and studied at St. Andrews and from 1526 he showed public sympathy to the reformist beliefs. He visited Wittenberg in 1527, meeting both Luther and Melanchthon. He also went to Marburg and its newly founded Protestant university. It was in Marburg that he wrote his only work "Loci Communes" (Patrick's Plea). At the end of 1527, he returned to Scotland. Alesius was tasked with changing Patrick's mind in relation to Reformation thought, but was converted in the process. Early in 1528, he was charged with heresy by Archbishop James Beaton. He was burnt at the stake on February 29, 1528 outside St. Salvators, which was part of the University of St. Andrews.

His last confession was, "as to my confession, I will not deny it for awe of your fire, for my confession and belief are in Christ Jesus. I will rather be content that my body burn in this fire for confession of my faith in Christ than my soul should burn in the fire of hell for denying Him". While the flames were bringing him protracted and excruciating agonies he cried out "How long O God shall darkness cover this kingdom? How long wilt Thou suffer this tyranny of men?"

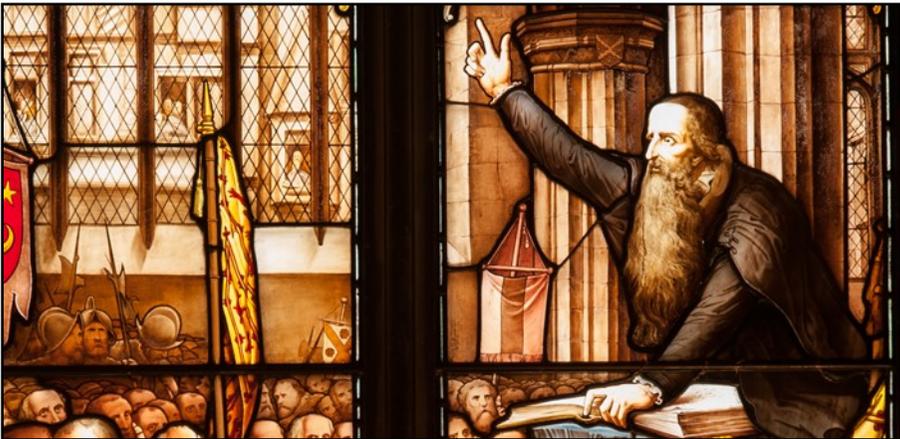


The letters PH are set in the roadway marking the place of this early Scottish martyr.

## John Knox (1514-1572)

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John Knox (1514-1572) was a Scottish clergyman, writer and leader of the Protestant Reformation. He is considered the founder of the Presbyterian denomination in Scotland. Knox is famous for his preaching: through it he instigated a religious revolution in Scotland, and when the Protestants became dejected in the struggle, his preaching rallied them to victory. Knox helped write the new confession of faith and the ecclesiastical order for the newly created reformed church, the Kirk. John Knox is known for his raw courage, tenacity, and for bringing the Christian Reformation to Scotland. Knox feared no one, even the Catholic Queens who sought his life. From humble beginnings, Knox rose to be a leader of the Scottish people who longed for deliverance from the tyranny of Rome. Of Knox's preaching, a follower said, "The voice of this man is able in one hour to put more life in us than 500 trumpets continually blistering in our ears." Knox dreamed big for God and for Scotland. His life is a chronicle of sacrifice for Christ's truth, for obedience and bravery. Scotland and millions of Presbyterians owe you more than they know. Under Knox's leadership, Scottish families were transformed, the Bible was widely read, politics influenced. John Knox sums it up best, when he says "I sought neither pre-eminence, glory, nor riches; my honor was that Christ Jesus should reign."



John Knox window in St. Giles Cathedral, Edinburgh

## Abraham Kuyper (1837-1920)

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Abraham Kuyper was a theologian, educator, businessman, and politician. He lived and articulated a concept that allows us to see that we can serve God faithfully in every area of life. It is called "sphere sovereignty."

Kuyper was born on October 29, 1837 in Maassluis in the Netherlands. He was raised in a Christian home and went to seminary where he received his Doctorate in Theology at age of 26. He was trained in the old-school liberalism which reduced the Christian faith to anthropology and reduced Jesus to teacher, brother and stressed the centrality of moral progress.

In 1863 he accepted a call to become minister for the Dutch Reformed Church for the town of Beesd. In the same year he married Johanna Hendrika Schaay. An elderly woman in his church heard him preach and suspected he was not a believer – at least teaching false doctrine. She arranged to meet him and introduced him to the gospel. He began to read Calvin and became a Calvinist. As a theologian, he started a seminary and a conservative denomination that broke w/ liberal Reformed church of Netherlands.

At the age of 35, while still a pastor, Kuyper became the editor of a Dutch political newspaper dominated by Protestants. At the age of 37, he was elected to Parliament. At age of 43 he founded the Free University of Amsterdam, which claimed the Bible as the foundation for knowledge in every area of life. He toiled here and in newspaper writing and in theological treatises for 20 years.

He ran for political office and succeeded as a member of parliament and eventually prime minister. At 64, he became the Prime Minister of Netherlands. At 68 he resumed life as a minister of state, writer and editor.

# Martin Luther (1483-1546)

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## Luther's early years

Martin Luther was born November 10, 1483 in Eisleben and baptized the very next day in the Church of St Peter and St Paul in Eisleben on St Martin's Day. When Martin was only 6 months old, the family moved to Mansfield. His father, Hans Luther, a successful copper miner and his mother Margarethe were very strict, but they were committed to giving their children a good education.

## Luther the school-boy

Martin Luther began attending the local school in Mansfield, at age 4, where he learnt the beliefs and practices of the Catholic Church, as well as music. This was all taught in Latin. When he was 14, he was sent to Cathedral school at Magdeburg. The teachers were members of the Brethren of the Common Life, who stressed Bible reading and living simply. At 15, he transferred to St. George's Latin School in Eisenach, staying with the



Cotta family (see illustration).

## Luther the student

Luther was sent to Erfurt University by his father Hans, who wanted the best university for his son. At that time it had approximately one thousand students and four colleges: Theology, Liberal Arts, Medicine and Law. He studied law, as his Father had wished, earning a liberal arts degree in 1502 and a Master's arts degree in February 1505. While he was there, he furthered his Latin studies and cultivated his love of music. He also continued his religious training, attending mass regularly and praying daily.

## Luther the monk

Luther entered the Erfurt Monastery on July 17 1505 and joined the Augustinian Order of Hermit. While he was there, he studied the Bible and teachings of the Catholic Church. He memorized much of both the New and the Old Testament, reading 10 Psalms a day. His reading led him to see God as a righteous judge and he became keenly aware of his own imperfection. He fulfilled the rigorous duties of a monk, but compulsively, in a desperate attempt to achieve forgiveness. Luther first had the opportunity to read a Bible in Latin in 1503. It was a rare book in those times and it so excited Luther that he came back to the library repeatedly to read it. "Oh that God would give me such a book for myself" he thought. While he was in hiding in the Wartburg Castle in 1521-22 he translated the New Testament from Latin--the language of scholars and clergy--into the German vernacular. In 1534 "The complete Bible of Martin Luther" was first printed at Wittenberg by Hans Lufft in 1534. It is said that Lufft sold over 100,000 copies of Luther's Bible in forty years.

## **Martin Luther the Reformer**

The start of the Protestant Reformation is "officially" recognized as October 31 1517, when Luther posted the 95 Theses on the door of the Castle Church in Wittenberg. There is some debate, however, that this actually happened,



as the first account comes from Melancthon after Luther's death. He definitely sent a letter to his superiors in the Augustinian Order and included the 95 Theses as a basis for discussion. The reformation had been brewing across Europe for many years. Luther was fortunate to have a protector and supporter, Frederick the Wise. The invention of moveable type by Gutenberg, also meant that Luther's books, Bibles, pamphlets etc could be widely distributed.

## **Luther's Marriage**

Although Luther highly approved of marriage, he himself was a confirmed bachelor. One of his duties was to find suitable husbands for the 12 nuns who had escaped from the convent in Grimma. Katharina was the last and despite all his efforts refused to marry anyone but him! This was during the Peasant's War and the Pope and Charles V were still after him. However, On June 13, 1525, Luther (42) married Katie (26) in Wittenberg. The couple had 6 children and looked after several more. They kept a houseful of guests and were very happy. He commented that she was more precious than the kingdom of France and the riches of Venice and had many pet names for her, such as "My Lord Katie" and "My rib".

## **Luther's Death**

Luther passed away at about 3 o'clock in the afternoon on 18 February 1546. He had come to mediate a dispute between the Counts of Mansfield, but the journey from Wittenberg had weakened him. The funeral was held in St Andrew's Church the following day and Justus Jonas preached. A second funeral was held on the 20th, then his coffin was carried on a wagon to Wittenberg. He was laid to rest in the Castle Church in Wittenberg on 22 February 1546.

## George Wishart (1513-1546)

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George Wishart was born in 1513 in Scotland. He taught New Testament Greek as schoolmaster of Montrose until he was investigated for heresy in 1538. He escaped to England, but was soon brought up on charges once again for teaching heresy. In 1544, he traveled into Scotland, where he taught and preached. One of his followers was a young man by the name of John Knox. As Wishart went about from place to place denouncing the papacy, Knox and others grew in their resistance to the Church's dominance. In January 1545, the order of Cardinal David Beaton seized and arrested Wishart. He spent some time in the dungeons of Edinburgh Castle. Finally, Beaton had Wishart brought to St. Andrews where he was burned at the stake on March 1, 1545.



**George Wishart on His Way to Execution Administering the Sacrament for the First Time in Scotland after Protestant Reform** by James Drummond (1845) in the Dundee Art Galleries and Museums.

# Ulrich Zwingli (1484-1531)

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## Zwingli's Early Years

Zwingli was the third of eight boys and two girls born to the successful district official, Ulrich Zwingli, of the town of Wildhaus. Zwingli's uncle, Bartholomew, was pastor of Wildhaus until 1487 and subsequently became pastor and dean of Wesen on the Walensee. It was there that the younger Ulrich received his early education under his uncle's guidance. He was sent, at the age of ten, to Gregory Bunzli of Wesen who was studying at Basel and teaching in the school of St. Theodore.



## Zwingli's Higher Education

Zwingli was educated at the University of Vienna, Berne and the University of Basel. He studied under some of the greatest Humanists of Switzerland. He was highly educated in the classical studies of poetry, philosophy, music, astronomy, physics and the ancient classics, acquiring his B.A. degree in 1504 and Master of Arts in 1506 at the University of Basel. It was, amazingly, amongst his total emersion in humanism at university, that Zwingli met men who would plant seeds of reformation in his mind.

## His Early Ministry

In 1506 he was ordained into the priesthood in Glarus, where he began studying Erasmus—even going so far, it is said, to invite him for a visit (the invitation was declined). However, Erasmus' writings were part of what is to be credited with Zwingli's attention beginning to turn toward the reformation. In 1515, he moved to Einsiedeln, where he saw, up close, the evil inherent in certain practices from Rome such as the buying of indulgences. (Zwingli began preaching against and condemning them, several years before Luther, himself, did so.) He also strongly opposed the mercenary service, a practice that seemed especially to make the Roman church rich while killing young Swiss and leading others to a life of moral decay in the face of constant battle. Zwingli's reform teachings became quite popular and on January 1, 1519, he was appointed priest at Grossmünster in Zürich.

## Zwingli Gets Serious

Although the seeds of reform had already been planted and Zwingli was already preaching the beginnings of a reform platform, he had not yet given himself fully and completely to the Lord. For up to this time, he had some indiscretions in his behavior that he had not fully turned away from. But when the 1520 plague struck Zurich and destroyed nearly a third of its inhabitants, including Zwingli himself who had been faithfully ministering to the needs of his people, it appears as though he emerged from his near death experience a changed man.

## **Zwingli Takes a Stand**

After he fully recovered from the plague, Zwingli began earnestly fighting for strict obedience to the literal teachings of scripture. In Switzerland, reform was brought about by appeal to the magistrate of the city who called for a debate between Roman Catholic theologians and reformers. He who defended his position most effectively and almost always it was the reformers—who based their arguments solely on scripture, was awarded the right to make, or not make, the disputed reform. Zwingli won his first of many successful debates in 1523. Some of the changes brought about by his debates were: Lent was abandoned, clerical celibacy was declared unbiblical, churches were severed from the papacy, the mass was replaced...just a few among many changes that Zwingli and others in Switzerland brought about.

## **Zwingli and Luther**

Unfortunately, during this time of great victory for Zwingli and the Swiss reformers, a dispute with Luther and his German contemporaries curtailed any attempt at unifying the parties. The parties managed to agree on 15 points of essential reform doctrine. There was only one point of dispute between the camps. The dispute revolved around the understanding of the Lord's Supper. The Swiss did not agree with Luther's doctrine of consubstantiation; they viewed the act of honoring the Lord's Supper as a more symbolic act, not a literal changing of the substance of the elements.

## **Zwingli's Marriage and Children**

Another controversy surrounding Zwingli's life is his marriage to Anna Reinhard. Reportedly, Zwingli married Reinhard, a widow of high standing in the community, in a secret marriage in 1522. Zwingli kept his marriage a secret from all but his closest friends until he married her publicly on April 2, 1524. Regardless of this, theirs was seen as a good marriage which resulted in the birth of four children, adding to the three she brought into the marriage. Their names were Regula Zwingli, born July 13, 1524; Wilhelm Zwingli, born January 29, 1526; Huldreich Zwingli, born Jan. 6, 1528 and Anna Zwingli, born May 4, 1530.

## **Zwingli's Opposition & Death**

In 1529, the officials in Rome began a wide campaign to end Protestantism in Switzerland. Their efforts began with an attempt to instill a false sense of security by suing the Swiss for "peace." What in fact the Roman Catholic Church did was to buy themselves time to strengthen their troops for battle against the Swiss, as Zwingli suspected and warned against all along. In 1531, the Roman Catholic Church declared war against the Protestant Swiss in a sudden surprise attack. Zwingli joined the Swiss troops as chaplain. The Swiss lost decisively and Zwingli was killed at the battle of Kappel, his body defiled, on October 11, 1531.

## Additional Biographies

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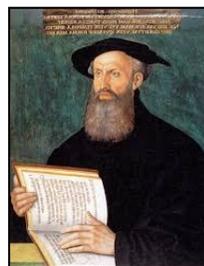
### Girolamo Aleandro (1480-1542)



Jerome Aleander was born near Venice and was one of the most learned men of his time. He held the office of librarian at the Vatican. He went to Germany as papal nuncio (representative) for the coronation of Charles V and was also present at the 1519 Diet of Worms where he headed the opposition against Luther, advocating the most extreme measures to repress the doctrines of the reformer. His conduct evoked the fiercest denunciations of Luther, but it also displeased more moderate men and especially Erasmus. The edict against the reformer, which was finally adopted by the emperor and the diet, was drawn up and proposed by Aleander.

### Heinrich Bullinger (1504-1575)

Bullinger was born in Bregarten, Switzerland. He was the son of a reformed-inded Roman Catholic priest and his common-law wife. He earned his Master of Liberal Arts degree from the University of Cologne at age 17. He is considered a “reformed humanist”, a Biblical scholar, a highly esteemed preacher, and a caring pastor. He often came to study with Zwingli at the Grossmünster and replaced Zwingli as pastor two weeks after his death in Kappel. Bullinger’s writings spread throughout Europe and many leading churchmen and leaders, including Calvin, sought his counsel.



### Andreas Bodenstein of Carlstadt (1480-1541)



As early as 1516, German reformer Carlstadt presented theses denying free will and asserting the doctrine of salvation by grace alone. In 1518 he supported Luther against the attacks of Johann Maier von Eck by maintaining the supremacy of Scripture and in 1519 he appeared with Luther against Eck in the public disputation at Leipzig. He soon became known as the most extreme of the Wittenberg reformers. During Luther's stay at the Wartburg Castle (1521-22), he became the leader at Wittenberg and began to put his radical beliefs into effect. He spoke out against the monastic vows, a special dress for clergy, the mass, and against images and pictures in the church. His extreme spiritualization of religion tended to undermine the importance of the church and the sacraments. Upon his return Luther accused Carlstadt of betrayal and restored the more orthodox practices. He went to Switzerland where he was embraced by the reformers there and he became professor of theology at University of Basel.

## Charles V (1500-1558)

On January 12, 1519 Holy Roman Emperor, Maximilian I died at age 60. The pope did not want his grandson, Charles I of Spain nor Francis I of France to succeed him and preferred one of the electors of Germany. The 7 electors favored Charles and at age 19, on June 28, 1519 he became the Holy Roman Emperor. In Spain he was Charles I but in the HRE he was Charles V. He was ruler of Burgundy, Luxemburg and the Netherlands at age 6. By age 19 he was Europe's most powerful ruler. At his coronation, October 23, 1520, overseen by the archbishop of Cologne, he pledged himself to the Catholic Church. Since the new emperor was preoccupied with wars Frederick remained the powerful man in Germany and he was not willing to surrender Luther. Charles wished to stop Luther and convened the Diet of Worms. Charles stepped down from office in 1556 and died 2 years later.

## Martin Chemnitz (1522–1586)



Chemnitz is regarded after Martin Luther as the most important theologian in the history of the Lutheran Church. Chemnitz combined a penetrating intellect and an almost encyclopedic knowledge of Scripture and the church fathers with a genuine love for the church. When various doctrinal disagreements broke out after Luther's death in 1546, Chemnitz determined to give himself fully to the restoration of unity in the Lutheran Church. He became the leading spirit and principal author of the 1577 Formula of Concord, which settled the

doctrinal disputes on the basis of the Scriptures and largely succeeded in restoring unity among Lutherans. Chemnitz also authored the four volume Examination of the Council of Trent (1565–1573), in which he rigorously subjected the teachings of this Roman Catholic Council to the judgment of Scripture and the ancient church fathers. The Examination became the definitive Lutheran answer to the Council of Trent, as well as a thorough exposition of the faith of the Augsburg Confession. A theologian and a churchman, Chemnitz was truly a gift of God to the Church.

## Johann Maier von Eck (1486-1543)

Eck was a Theologian and defender of Catholicism who challenged Carlstadt to a debate from June 27 – July 4, 1519. From that date until July 27 he debated Luther whom he admitted was superior to him in memory and learning. The Leipzig theologians, however, declared Eck the winner. At one point Luther said, "I am sorry that the learned doctor (Eck) only dips into the Scripture as the water-spider into the water --- nay, that he seems to flee from it as the Devil from the Cross. I prefer, with all deference to the Fathers, the authority of the Scripture, which I herewith recommend to the arbiters of our cause."



Eck, who had a drinking problem, delighted in taking the papal bull personally to Luther in 1520 but he never made it to Wittenberg. He was harassed while en route as he posted copies of the bull in various cities. In Erfurt the people ripped it down. He decided it was unsafe to take it to Wittenberg but rather sent it to the rector threatening closing of the university if they did not conform. Eck was also at the Diet of Worms where he led the interrogation against Luther along with Aleander and called for Luther's punishment.

### **Desiderius Erasmus Rotodamus (1466 or 1469-1536)**



Erasmus was a Dutch humanist, scholar, priest, satirist and theologian, and the intellectual of his day. He has been called the crowning glory of the Christian humanists. He, like Luther, objected to the abuses of the church but he wanted to reform it from within. He saw the value of man and searched for honor, fame and wealth. Luther searched for peace of mind, salvation from sin and the reform of abuses. Erasmus defended Luther at first and had a great influence on Elector Frederick. His most famous work was "In Praise of Folly".

Elector Frederick once asked him what he thought of Luther. Erasmus sought first to not answer the question, screwed up his mouth, bit his lip and

remained silent. The Elector put his gaze on Erasmus meaning he wanted a reply. Erasmus, not knowing how to get out of the situation said, "Luther has committed 2 great faults; he has attacked the crown of the pope and the bellies of the monks." The elector smiled so the learned man continued, "The cause of all this dispute is the hatred of the monks toward learning, and the fear they have of seeing their tyranny destroyed. What weapons are they using against Luther?-clamor, cabals, hatred and libels. The more virtuous a man is, and the greater his attachment to the gospel, the less he is opposed to Luther. The severity of the bull has aroused the indignation of all good men, and no one can recognize in it the gentleness of a vicar of Christ. Two only, out of all the universities, have condemned Luther; and they have only condemned him, not proven him wrong. The world is searching for evangelical truth, lets us beware of setting up a blamable opposition."

### **Elector Frederick the Wise (1463-1525)**

Frederick III of Ernestine Saxony, commonly known as Frederick the Wise, became the first patron of the Protestant Reformation due to his defense of Luther during the early days of the Wittenberg reforms. He was the pope's candidate for Holy Roman Emperor in 1519 but he helped secure the election of Charles V. The pope never wanted to offend him and thus was careful with how he handled Luther. The emperor was getting old (Maximilian) and wanted his son King



Charles of Spain and Naples to take his place. The pope needed Frederick's support to prevent this happening. The pope also needed soldiers to fight against the invading Turks and Frederick was willing to help him. His castle contained over 19,000 holy relics including a portion of Moses' bush, parts of the manger, the cross and some of Mary's milk. He pressed the need of reform, was intrigued by Luther and protected him, even kidnapping him after the Diet of Worms. Frederick had much more power over the Roman church leaders than most of the other princes. Frederick always remained a Catholic but felt Luther had many significant points and saw Luther's movement as something that could help him break from the yoke of the papacy. Many of the princes sided with Luther because they felt the church had too much influence in the politics and the church was forever getting money from their people that could have gone to them. Frederick died in 1525 and is buried in Wittenberg.

### **Elector John Frederick (1503-1554)**

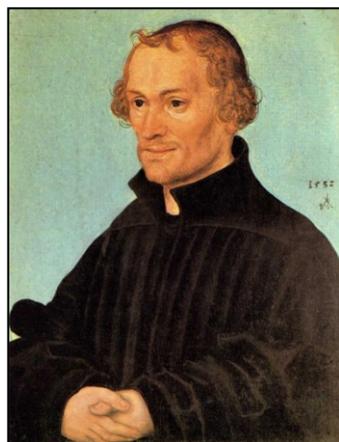


In 1532, John Frederick succeeded his father as elector. In the beginning he reigned with his half-brother, John Ernest, but in 1542 became sole ruler. He had been schooled by George Spalatin, his father's chaplain and friend and supporter of Martin Luther. Consequently the new elector was a follower of the teaching of Luther. He was the leader of the Schmalkaldic League of Protestants formed in 1530 to protect the Reformation. Along with Philip of Hesse he was an outspoken supporter of Luther and all the reformers. He fought in the Schmalkaldic War of 1546-47 and lost to Charles and the Pope's forces. When he died in 1554 he was

buried near his father in Wittenberg.

### **Philip Melancthon (1497-1560)**

Born Philip Schwartzerd, (German: Schwartzerd; Greek: Melancthon) he was a collaborator with Luther, the first systematic theologian of the reformation and an influential designer of educational systems. He was younger than Luther, shy, mild mannered and yet had Luther's respect and devotion. In many ways he tempered Luther. He entered University of Heidelberg and studied philosophy at the age of 13. He received his B.A. at age 14, and his PhD at age 17. After receiving his master's degree (1516) he studied theology. He began to see true Christianity different from the established church. He gained a professorship at Wittenberg, met Luther, whom he referred to as his spiritual father. Melancthon was present at the disputation at Leipzig (1519) as a spectator but greatly influenced the discussion with comments and suggestions. He



married Katharina, the mayor's daughter. The Augsburg Confession of 1530 was largely his work. Even here Luther felt Melanchthon should have taken a firmer position. It has been said that while Luther scattered sparks among the people, Melanchthon by his humanistic studies won the sympathy of educated people and scholars for the reformation. Their relationship at the end was slightly strained because of theological points of view. Upon Luther's death Melanchthon said: "Dead is the horseman and chariot of Israel who ruled the Church in this last age of the world!" He died in 1560 and is buried next to Luther.

### **Carl von Miltitz (1490-1529)**

Miltitz was a Saxon nobleman, relative of Frederick and special representative of the pope sent to Frederick to present him the "golden rose." This was awarded to a Christian ruler once a year and had been blessed by the pope. Luther and Miltitz met for 2 days. Luther agreed to stop complaining about indulgences if the church would stop complaining about him. Miltitz agreed to write a favorable letter to the pope asking him to have a German bishop examine Luther's writings and point out any errors. Miltitz reported his findings to the pope who wrote a friendly letter to Luther and said he was pleased that Luther was willing to recant. Miltitz had undoubtedly misunderstood Luther. On October 9, 1519 Miltitz was again sent to Luther. The meeting accomplished nothing.

### **Popes**

During Luther's lifetime there were 10 popes. When he began to attract attention the list looked like this: Julius II 1503-1513; Leo X 1513-1521; Hadrian VI 1521-1523; Clement VI 1523-1534; Paul III 1534-1549.

### **George Spalatin (1484-1545)**



Spalatin was a court chaplain and secretary to Elector Frederick. He stood by the elector as a confidential advisor. Spalatin met Luther in Wittenberg. Spalatin never saw himself as a theologian and was greatly influenced by Luther. He interpreted Luther's writings and sermon to Elector Frederick and had a great influence on the elector's son.

### **Johann von Staupitz (1460-1524)**

Staupitz studied at the universities in Leipzig and Cologne and served on the faculty at Cologne. In 1503 he was called by Frederick the Wise to serve as dean of the theological faculty at the newly founded University of Wittenberg. There he encouraged Luther to attain a doctorate in theology and appointed Luther as his successor to professor of Bible. During Luther's early struggles to understand God's grace, it was Staupitz who counseled Luther to focus on Christ and not on himself.



### **Johann Tetzel (1465-1519)**



Tetzel was a Dominican preacher who sold indulgences. He supposedly developed the refrain: “As soon as a coin in the coffer ring/a soul from purgatory springs.” He was a gifted preacher and by 1517 he was the chief commissioner of indulgences in Germany. Tetzel would send an advance team to the region where he wanted to sell 2-3 weeks before his arrival to announce that he would be coming. Upon his arrival he would have a large crowd and preach on hell; terrorizing the crowds. He then moved to the

church and preached on purgatory with words such as “Do you not hear the cries of your dead fathers and mothers? Can’t you hear them calling, ‘Rescue me, rescue me?’” Then he would preach a sermon on heaven. By this time people were ready to buy indulgences for themselves and their loved ones. Sometimes people would pay up to \$2,000. He died in Leipzig after battling accusations of immorality and embezzlement. Luther despised him.

### **Katharina von Bora (1499-1552)**

Katharina was placed in a convent when still a child and became a nun in 1515. In April 1523 she and eight other nuns were rescued from the convent and brought to Wittenberg. There Martin Luther helped return some to their former homes and placed the rest in good families. Katharina and Martin were married on June 13, 1525. Their marriage was a happy one and blessed with six children. Katharina skillfully managed the Luther household, which always seemed to grow because of his generous hospitality. After Luther's death in 1546, Katharina remained in Wittenberg but lived much of the time in poverty. She died in an accident while traveling with her children to Torgau in order to escape the plague.



## Fun Facts about the Netherlands

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- Netherlands and Holland are not synonymous. Holland is largely the western coastal region of the Netherlands, comprising of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Haarlem, Leiden and the Hague.
- At his accession at age 46, King Wilhelm-Alexander was Europe's youngest monarch. Using the name "W. A. van Buren", one of the least-known titles of the House of Orange-Nassau, he ran the New York City Marathon in 1992.
- The Dutch are the world experts on keeping back water from the sea and rivers turning Netherlands into an Atlantis. The US government turned to the Dutch for help during the hurricane Katrina disaster.
- 70% of the world's bacon and 75% of the world's flower bulb production comes from the Netherlands.
- Schiphol Airport is actually 4.5 m below sea level.
- It has more than 4,000 km of navigable canals, rivers and lakes.
- About 2/3 of Netherlands is vulnerable to flooding with 25 percent below sea level and 50 percent less than 1m above sea level.
- 86% of the population speak English as a second language.
- Although the colors of the Dutch National flag are Red, white and Blue as per the royal decree by Queen Wilhelmina in 1937, a orange pennant is flown as a sign of allegiance of the Dutch people to the House of Orange to accompany the national flag.
- Wooden shoes or clogs or "Klompfen" have been popular in the Netherlands for about 700 years as industrial footwear worn by farmers, fishermen, factory workers, artisans and others to protect their feet from injury and keep them dry.
- The Dutch have been making cheese since 400 AD. Cheese markets where farmers' cheeses have been weighed, tasted and prices for the past 300 years still exist in Woerden and Gouda.
- It has the highest population density in Europe with 487 inhabitants per km<sup>2</sup>.
- The *Wilhelmus* is the oldest national anthem in the world: Both the words and music date from the 16th century, and in it the Dutch king speaks of his German blood and describes his loyalty to the Spanish crown.
- The Netherlands is home to more bikes than people. There are around 18 million bikes in the country, including the clever (if not so elegant) *bakfiets* which combine a bike and a wheelbarrow.
- CDs, DVDs and Blu-Ray were invented in the Netherlands by Philips, a major Dutch company, in a joint project with Sony, in their headquarters in Eindhoven.
- The Netherlands is a largely secular country: up to 40 percent of Dutch say they have no religion, compared to 30 percent who are Catholic (the largest religious group) and 20 percent who are Protestant.

## Fun Facts about Germany

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- Germany is the most populous European country (apart from Russia), with a population of 82 million.
- Germany's land area was over 50% larger during the Second Reich (1871-1918) and included most of present-day Poland and parts of Lithuania.
- The German language was once the lingua franca of central, eastern and northern Europe, and remains the language with the most native speakers in Europe.
- About a quarter of all American citizens claim at least partial German ancestry.
- Classical music has been widely dominated by German-speaking composers. A few famous ones born on the present territory of Germany include Bach, Händel, Beethoven, Schumann, Mendelssohn, Brahms, Wagner and R. Strauss.
- The Germans can be credited for the discovery of insulin, the invention of the clarinet, the pocket watch, the automated calculator, the light bulb, television (partly), paraffin, petrol/gasoline & Diesel engines, the automobile (as well as the engine, differential gear and other important devices), the motorcycle, the jet engine, the LCD screen and the Walkman.
- There are 1,300 beer breweries in Germany, making some 5,000 kinds of beer. German people are the world's second biggest beer drinkers after the Czechs.
- In 2005 Germany produced approximately 35% of the world's wind energy. There are over 20,000 wind turbines off the coast of northern Germany, the largest of which reach 200 meters in height.
- Germans are among the most avid recyclers. According to a BBC survey, Germany had the third highest recycling rate (48% of waste recycled), only just surpassed by its Swiss and Austrian neighbors.
- The Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation was founded by Charlemagne in Aachen in 800 C.E. It lasted over a thousand years, until 1806, when Napoleon dissolved it (mostly because he saw himself as the heir of Charlemagne, the new Emperor of the Occident).
- The University of Marburg (Philipps-Universität Marburg), in Hesse, was founded in 1527 as the world's first Protestant university.
- Germany has had quite a few capitals in its turbulent history, notably (in chronological order) : Aachen (from 794), Regensburg (seat of the *Reichstag* from 1663 to 1806), Frankfurt-am-Main (site of the election and coronation of German emperors between 1152 and 1792, seat of the *Bundestag* of the German Confederation from 1815 to 1871), Nuremberg (seat of the Imperial Diet between 1356 and 1543, and official residence of numerous Kings of Germany), Berlin (from 1871 to 1945, and from 1990 to present), and Bonn (from 1949 to 1990 - West Germany only).
- As of 2006, Germany had the highest corporate tax rate in Europe, close to 40%.
- The biggest train station in Europe opened in Berlin in 2006.

## Fun Facts about France

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- France is the world's most popular tourist destination, with over 80 million annual visitors.
- France is the largest country in the EU, and known as 'the hexagon' – with an area of 551,000 sq km it's almost a fifth of the EU's total area, and due to its six-sided shape France is sometimes referred to as *l'hexagone*. About a quarter is covered by forest.
- Louis XIX was the king of France for just 20 minutes, the shortest ever reign. He ascended to the French throne in July 1830 after his father Charles X abdicated, and abdicated himself 20 minutes later in favour of his nephew, the Duke of Bordeaux.
- *Liberté, égalité, fraternité* meaning 'liberty, equality and fraternity' (or brotherhood) is the national motto of France – it first appeared around the time of the Revolution (1789–1799), and was written into the constitutions of 1946 and 1958. Today you'll see it on coins, postage stamps and government logos often alongside 'Marianne' who symbolises the 'triumph of the Republic'. The legal system in France is still largely based on the principles set down in Napoleon Bonaparte's Code Civil after the revolution, in the 1800s.
- The French Army was the first to use camouflage in 1915 (World War I) – the word *camouflage* came from the French verb 'to make up for the stage'. Guns and vehicles were painted by artists called *camofleurs*.
- France was the first country in the world to ban supermarkets from throwing away or destroying unsold food. Since February 2016, shops must donate wastage to food banks or charities.
- A French woman was the world's oldest ever human. She lived to an incredible 122 years and 164 days, according to the Guinness Book of World Records. Jeanne Louise Calment was born on 21 February 1875 and died on 4 August 1997. She lived through the opening of the Eiffel Tower in 1889, two World Wars and the development of television, the modern motor car and aeroplanes.
- The Louvre Museum in Paris was the most visited museum in the world in 2014 – with an amazing 9.3 million visitors, it received almost the same amount of people as the population of Sweden.
- The world's greatest cycle race, the Tour de France, has been around for more than 100 years – with the first event held on 1 July 1903. Every July, cyclists race some 3,200km (2,000 miles) primarily around France in a series of stages over 23 days, with the fastest cyclist at each stage wearing the famous yellow jersey.
- It is against the law to carry live snails on a high-speed train in France without their own tickets– in fact, any domesticated animal under 5kg must be a paying passenger in France.

# Fun Facts about Switzerland

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- Switzerland has 26 cantons, the federal states of the Swiss confederation. They vary greatly in size, population and character: the canton of Geneva comprises just one city; the canton of Uri is entirely mountains and valleys; the population of the Zurich canton is over a million while the people of Appenzell Inner-Rhodes would fit into a football stadium.
- Women did not gain the vote at federal level until 1971 – and they are still underrepresented in political life.
- Swiss women are among the oldest in Europe when they have their first child – at an average of 30.4 years old.
- Swiss consumption of chocolates per capita is the highest in the world. They have invented techniques like conching and tempering to help them produce world-class chocolates.
- Switzerland has four national languages – including French, German, Italian and Rhaeto-Romantsch. The latter has Latin roots.
- Switzerland was the birthplace of Le Corbusier – born Charles-Edouard Jeanneret, one of the most influential architects of the 20th century.
- There are 208 mountains over 3,000m high – with 24 of them over 4,000m. The highest is Monte Rosa (*Dufourspitze*) at 4,634m, situated on the Swiss/Italian border.
- Half of the luxury watches produced in the world come from Switzerland. Brands like Tissot, TAG Heuer, Rolex, Patek Philippe and Longines are all Swiss.
- There are more banks in the Switzerland than dentists.
- Switzerland is one of the two countries in the world to have a square flag. The other is Vatican City.
- Switzerland has enough underground bunker capacity that it can hide its entire population in case of a nuclear war.
- A giant three-legged chair in Geneva, Switzerland is dedicated to the opposition of using land mines. It is known as “The Broken Chair.”
- The very first Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to Jean Henri Dunant, a Swiss, in 1901. He is the founder of the International Committee of the Red Cross.
- The famous equation  $E=MC^2$  was devised by Albert Einstein in 1905, while he was in Switzerland.



## Fun Facts about Scotland

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- Skara Brae, on the island of Orkney, is the most complete Neolithic village in Europe. It is also the oldest building in Britain, dating from 3100 BCE.
- Scotland was an independent country until 1603. Then the king of Scotland became king of England (not the other way round), but the two countries didn't merge their governments until 1707, to form the Kingdom of Great Britain.
- The Bank of Scotland, founded in 1695, is the oldest surviving bank in the UK. It was also the first bank in Europe to print its own banknotes, a function it still performs today.
- Edinburgh was the first city in the world with its own fire brigade, in 1824.
- The Scottish Parliament has been reconvened on July 1, 1999 for the first time after nearly 300 years of interruption. It had been dissolved when the Act of Union was signed in 1707.
- The modern game of golf originated in Scotland in the 15th century. First mentioned as 'gowf' in 1457, golf was originally played on a course of 22 holes. It was first reduced to 18 holes at the Royal and Ancient Golf Club of St Andrews in 1764, and other courses followed suit. St Andrews is dubbed the "home of golf" and exercises legislative authority over the game worldwide (except in the United States and Mexico).
- Scotland is reputed for its whisky, known outside Scotland as Scotch Whisky. What few people know is that whisky was invented in China, and was first distilled by monks in Ireland in the early 15th century before reaching Scotland 100 years later.
- Shortbread is Scotland's most famous biscuit.
- Scottish dishes are well-known for their weird names, like Forfar Bridie (a meat pastry), Collops (escalope), Crappit heid (fish dish), Finnan haddie (haddock fish), Arbroath Smokie (smoked haddock), Cullen Skink (haddock soup), Partan bree (seafood dish), Mince and tatties (minced meat and potatoes) and so on.
- Inverness-shire, Scotland's largest county, is home to Britain's highest peak, Ben Nevis (1,343 m / 4,406 ft), Britain's deepest lake, Loch Morar (310 m / 1,017 ft), and Britain's second longest and second deepest lake, the famous Loch Ness.
- Scottish surnames are divided in two main categories : Gaelic names (typically starting with "Mac-" or "Mc-") and Germanic names (e.g. Barclay, Blair, Brown, Cumming, Hamilton, Hope, Howard, Hunter, Livingstone, Park, Stewart...).
- Scotland has only 5 million inhabitants, about 8.5% of the UK's population.
- About 5 million Americans reported Scottish ancestry. The highest concentration of people of Scottish descent are found in New England and in the North-West. Among major cities with Scottish names we find Houston, Dallas and Knoxville in the USA, Calgary and Hamilton in Canada, and Brisbane and Perth in Australia. There are over 40 locations around the world named Albany, derived from Alba (Gaelic for Scotland) and the title of Duke of Albany, 34 named Aberdeen and 22 called Dundee.

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