the spirit of Calvinist heresy, to which they were not allowed to publicly profess, and that they were also enemies in heart to all of the pure teachers, expounding against them and hindering them wherever they could, even exciting the youth to this.

The attitude toward Andreae was also very bad in Leipzig and he complained (1578) that he had much hatred there and that his life was in danger. The Saxon theologians could not bear it that a foreign theologian had been called to check their purity of belief and to give them commands. His somewhat presumptuous and self-confident emergence added to this; because he later prided himself that everyone had to bow before him in Saxony.

After all the preachers in Saxony had been forced to commit themselves by their signature to the Book of Concord as the norm of belief, the Elector called the representatives to a Landtag in Torgau in February, 1579, and had the Book of Concord accepted and published as the law of the land. In 1580, it was then printed in Dresden in Latin and German. Before this, Andreae and Chemnitz had met once again in the Bergen Monastery (February, 1580) to alter somethings in the forward which had aroused offence. They fell into a dispute here, however, in which Chemnitz reproached Andreae for dealing too leniently with Duke Julius of Braunschweig. This prince, the actual originator of the Concordance and the special patron of Andreae, whom he had first called to this part of Germany to revise the church, who had pursued the Concordance with great zeal, had returned to the Catholic
religion in order to get his eldest son the bishopric Halberstadt. When the preachers Chemnitz and Kirchner made sincere arguments to him on account of this, they fell out of grace with him and Kirchner was dismissed. Loescher remarked to this, "the Prince had lost the gift of the Spirit, and in the end had damaged the Concordance more than assisted it."

Furthermore, Andreae and Chemnitz completely fell out with each other on this matter, in that Chemnitz renewed the rebukes against Andreae in a letter, against which the latter strongly defended himself. Because he had also been reproached for having expressed his opinion improperly to the Elector August, he directed to the latter a vindicating letter, whereupon he received a gracious answer from the Elector. The conversion of Duke Julius of Braunschweig to Catholicism served, moreover, as proof of how very much one drew nearer to the Catholic belief through the Book of Concord and how easy the change was made by again mislaying a supernatural power in the performance of religious observances themselves and by abolishing the free, unmediating relationship of man to God.

Unceasingly persistent was the collection of signatures in Saxony. Andreae moved around with Selnecker, the Leipzig Professor and Superintendent, and compelled all preachers and teachers to sign. To be sure he swore at the Colloquium at Herzberg 1578, that nobody had been forced to sign or had been dismissed or driven away, but the Elector promoted the signatures under all conditions and had those who refused expelled. So it came to be that many signed against their conscience in
order not to be separated from their offices and bread and, for that reason, Andreae can have only wanted to say by maintaining that nobody was dismissed that his efforts always went only towards accomplishing everything by friendly persuasion. But in the background stood the Elector's threat. Even some of the strict Lutheran clergymen of that time were not satisfied with the entire work either; so Heshus, at that time professor in Helmstaedt, took his signature back and in Magdeburg some theologians likewise refused to sign.

Especially, however, in Wittenberg it still could not be forgotten that everything that reminded one of Melanchthon should be abolished and, therefore, the resentment against this reaction and the originator of it continued to smoulder there. Calvinism still continued to proliferate there in secret and, in fact, a heretical writing was sent to the house of the Lutheran Professor Polycarp, who was introduced by Andreae in 1579. For that reason, Andreae had to travel there once again at the command of the Elector. When he held a serious sermon against the secret Calvinism, an uproar arose among the students.

In the Palatinate, the Elector Ludwig VI was leaning toward the Concordance and Andreae, who on this account moved to Heidelberg, succeeded in getting acceptance of the Book of Concord, whereas Count of the Palatinate, Johann Casimir, definitely refused and later, when he became the Elector in 1583, even introduced the Reformed divine service
again. It would take too long to cite all the individual trips, all the work and effort which Andreae had made in the performance of this work, to count up all the hostility and battles which he had gone through with the opponents, but, despite all of his efforts, he would not have succeeded at the work if the Elector August had not stood at his side with his authority and power. Because the latter, convinced that the true Lutheran teaching was represented by Andreae and that every deviation from this was a degradation and falsification of the true evangelical Christianity and that, therefore, that had to be preserved pure under all circumstances, as well as being tired of all the battles and animosity among the clergy, exerted all his influence and power to carrying out a general recognition of the Book of Concord. It was completely hidden from him that, in so doing, he completely nullified the principle of the Reformation, the freedom of conscience and the spiritual development in the acknowledgement of the evangelical truth, and that he laid the foundation of a rigid orthodoxy in Saxony, undermining which was considered a serious offence. Yet at the end of his government, a certain misgiving appears to have arisen in him about whether he did the right thing. For, when he had read the confession of faith composed by Kaspar Peucer, whom he wanted to force to give up his so-called Calvinistic views by means of life imprisonment, in which Peucer assured that he would abide by the teaching of Melanchthon, his father-in-law, Elector August said 18,
"I praise Dr. Peucer, he acts as is worthy of a righteous man, he remains firm and strong in his confession. What I shall believe and by what I shall set my mind at rest, I am entirely unclear, that God knows; because from day to day my clergymen concoct something new and mislead me from one error to another and involve me in constant doubt."

Such a religious battle was necessary, however, if a complete stagnation, as with the Catholics, was not to emerge with the Protestants as well; because the conscience rebels constantly against a formula of belief forced upon it. Indeed, a clear perception about this was not reached in that time. However, the Concordance did work momentarily to good in one respect; because peace was established in Saxony and the slander of the Catholics was stopped, which screamed incessantly that there would not be found among the Protestant theologians two or three who agreed in the doctrines.

Apart from these considerations, the entire work was, as has already been said, a very difficult one and was only able to be brought to a happy end through the forceful working strength of Andreae; because he had to make many great trips to the Electors, princes, and city authorities, to the different gatherings and colloquiums, which were held for this purpose, almost a span of five years (1575-80). To that end came the collection of signatures, the visitations, the outlining of new liturgy, the new arrangement of the Universities at Wittenberg, Leipzig, and Jena, in which August was also at that time administrator of the Ernestine lands.
In doing so, information had to be given to the preachers if they were in doubt over any sentence in the Formula. What enormous work, proclaims the biography of Andreae, the latter did not suffer. Truly enormous was his spiritual and bodily strength, admirable his patience, with which he was able to undergo such great hardships, to bear so many hard and unbroken strains, which were a requisite to the trips, Colloquiums, and disputations; because he travelled many thousands of miles almost always alone, accompanied only by his servant, and with this was the wonderful thing that on all his trips he never met anyone obstructing his way or preparing hardships for him.

V. Andreae's Meeting with Peucer

While Andreae lingered in Leipzig, he received from the Elector August the task (1576) to visit Kaspar Peucer, who had been brought to prison in Pleissenburg in order to convert even him, who till then had firmly resisted all attempts to bring him from his Calvinist ideas. He went there in the company of the Professor and Superintendent Selnecker and was introduced to Peucer by the Mayor Rauscher. Peucer had expressed the desire to receive Holy Communion, however, it had been pointed out to him that it could only be administered to him if he recognized the bodily presence of Christ in Communion, as it was taught by the Lutherans. Andreae, upon whose eloquence and gift for conversion the Elector set his complete trust, should now accomplish this. But Peucer, who saw in him the originator of all his misfortune,
and accused him, since he had found no agreement in Wittenberg for his "Brentian Dogma" of the Omnipresence, of starting to hate everyone, who had a different opinion, and of slandering them and proclaiming them heretics, and especially of inciting the Electoral Court against him. In no way did he let himself be influenced by Andreae and actually became very excited when Andreae tried to engage him in a discussion over the disputed points.

Both antitheses came together here most strongly. Andreae, basing himself on the words of the Apostle Paul that "all perfection of divinity resided incarnate in Christ," maintained that the union of both natures in Christ was such a one, according to which the perfection of the entire divinity resided in the Body, that is in the Flesh of Christ, and was substantially therein. That inhabitance, however, he explained through the example of fire in an oven, which the stronger it was the more strongly it burned and the stronger its strength expanded outwards and the further it spread. So the divinity in the Body of Christ was more powerful in efficacy and strength than it had been in Moses, Elijah, John the Baptist, and other holy men, and through this and no other matter does Christ differ from all other people.

After this argument, Feucer flared up passionately and said, "Those are pure 'Restorian' heresies and abominable blasphemies. The Lord punish you, Satan, and shut your blasphemous mouth." Afterwards he asked the mayor Hauscher not to bring this man before him again.
Out of this hostile encounter of these two men, who were regarded as the representatives of both convictions, the animosity and hate, which was reciprocally pursued, came to an end in general and we must wonder at the perservance and zeal of Andreae that he was not intimidated by any opposition. Of course, he would not have succeeded if the Elector August had not lent him his worldly arm, as the latter himself said of Andreae in a letter \(^2\) "he had to support him in order for Andreae not to receive the wages of a prophet."

Moreover, Peucer, and with him the so-called Calvinists of that time, taught that Jesus Christ was the eternal and true Redeemer and Intercessor, true God and true man in two separate unblended natures, but in one inseperable person; thus, the human nature could not be adored in itself, as Andreae maintained. Also, Christ could not be physically present everywhere in Communion, as the Lutherans declared, but rather He had been raised into heaven and through the Holy Ghost He worked from there on man, who would have to soar up to Him in his prayers in the partaking of Holy Communion. It was actually an opposition of the soul and heart against the reason, as the Reformed Protestants later were reproached for their rational view. This opposition could only be settled through a higher unity, as Spener later attempted.

VI. Andreae's Departure from Saxony

After the Book of Concord had been printed in Leipzig (June, 1580), to which Luther's Catechism, the Wedding and Baptism booklets, and all the signatures of the clergy had
been added, Andreae made preparations for his return home. Beforehand, however, he had one more dispute with the theologians in the Palatinate who would not accept the wedding and Baptism booklets since they had other ceremonies. To be sure, Andreae sought to move them with a letter on the matter but he did not succeed and it was decided, in order to please the Palatines, to print the second edition of that book specially so that it could contain the booklets or not contain them as desired. Further, he was still contracted by the Elector to revise the Universities at Wittenberg and Jena once again with Chemnitz and Kirchner because the secret Calvinism still did not appear to be purged completely from these institutions. It proceeded especially caustically in Wittenberg where Andreae was sharply opposed when a public disputation of the person of Christ had been arranged.

The Elector August honored the great efforts of Andreae with the present of a Komplutensischen Bible with the following dedication: "August, Duke of Saxony etc., has made a present of this most Holy Bible in eternal remembrance of his gratitude to the highly-placed man outstanding in piety, scholarship, and virtue, Dr. Jacob Andreae, the very famous doctor of theology, who has re-established the godly teaching spoiled in these areas by thoughtless men since Luther's death and has deserved well of the church of Christ. In the year 1579." Under this, the Elector had written with his own hand the words: "Finally the good cause triumphs." On the 21st of December, 1580, Andreae left Saxony and returned home to Tuebingen with his family after he had spent
five years in northern Germany and one and a half years travelling alone. Adam reported briefly in his biography that the Elector had dismissed Andreae most graciously and knew nothing of a difference of opinions between the two; although, he added that his numerous enemies had accused him of having mixed together in chaos Christ and Baal, light and darkness, good and evil, or at least had wanted to. But Arnold maintains in his History of Heresies that the departure from the Elector had not run so smoothly. First of all, he had given offence in the composing of the new liturgy at Dresden by wanting to abolish the penance imposed by the church and he had complained that someone had wanted to incite the Elector against him. If Andreae really wanted to undertake changes, this could only concern antiquated customs, since as a serious theologian with a conscience he certainly did not think about abolishing the church penances himself; but the Court Preachers viewed this matter as belonging to themselves alone and therefore rejected every change or innovation from Andreae's side and on this account they may even have possibly turned to the Elector; however, this is only a conjecture since we know nothing more specific on the matter. Likewise, Arnold's assertion that at the end the Elector regretted the Concordance is to be received with great caution. That a transformation in the Elector's views eventually occurred does not lend itself to doubt; because, as has already been previously mentioned, he is said to have complained about being drawn here and there by the theologians. This is also
supported by the circumstance that he married a daughter of the Duke of Anhalt, who was most decidedly against the Formula of Concord, and he set Kaspar Peucer free without a change in his confession of faith as originally demanded, but the work itself he certainly never wanted to throw away and his dissatisfaction concerned itself only with the great expenses which he had had from it and which ran to 80,000 thalers, as Hagenbach ascertains. Therefore, he certainly did not speak well of Andreae and he finally wanted to get rid of him again.

Arnold explains specifically that in the *Leipziger Chronicle* in 1580 it said: "Because he had gone too far in his Reformation work, Dr. Andreae received on December 26 a leave of absence to return home again from the Councillor of the Exchequer by the order of Elector August," which he had not expected so suddenly and so requested to speak with the Elector personally. However, it remained nevertheless with this departure: "Dr. Jacob, move out forever and do not ever return unless you become required." Arnold noted therewith that even Hutter did not deny that he had disagreed with the Elector. According to another story\(^{25}\), the Elector called Andreae, in his coarse way of expression, a godless, untruthful priest of the devil and he supposedly said to Chemnitz that he would give four tons of gold that this imposter had not come into the land.

Even Peucer\(^{26}\), who admittedly was an opponent of Andreae, confirmed this allegation of a dispute between Andreae and the Elector himself in which the latter first of all referred to
the exchange of letters with Andreae and was astonished that he comprehended something offensive and evil in his letters; he also did not doubt that the men, who had been attacked by Andreae, would know how to answer for themselves if they were to get knowledge of this. As far as the Elector himself was concerned, Peucer continues that he was not able to remember that he had given him reason to attach little value to his favor or displeasure, since he supported Andreae in order that he not receive the rewards of a prophet. Further, he could not remember ever doing evil to him; on the other hand, he had been warned of various things by many witnesses that would now be too long to mention. Nonetheless, he had to recognize that he was accused of not admitting what he said in his poisoned conscience of other people in high and low classes. Such a thing was a piece of villainy and the Holy Ghost did not say such things but rather a haughty, presumptuous, untruthful priest of the devil. Even Loescher mentions that Andreae had written not only against Chemnitz but against the Elector as well, and on that account he had apologized to him and had received a gracious answer (April, 1580).

Andreae was definitely in an irritated mood in the last times he was in Saxony because he had not yet found that general recognition for which he had hoped having estimated too highly his merits over against the Saxon theologians. So then all sorts of friction and reciprocal denunciations may possibly have arisen in which the Elector was also involved, who now had to confess that he had almost let Andreae grow
over his head. Furthermore, Andreae supposedly had not been careful in regards to presents\textsuperscript{28} in that he was given many presents everywhere; he got 900 gold guilders and a golden chalice. In addition, he received his salary in Tuebingen as Chancellor and Professor during his entire absence. He was taken amiss over that; also, the Duke of Wuertemberg looked very disfavorably on his being absent from his office so long.

VII. Further Activities of Andreae.

The Doctrine of the Omnipresence of Christ.

Hardly had Andreae returned to Tuebingen when he was called twice to Count Wolfgang of Hohenlohe on church matters (1581). Not long afterwards (1583), he met with a severe domestic blow in that his spouse with whom he had happily lived thirty-seven years died. The loss affected him deeply. Since he could not do without a wife on account of his large family, he entered a second marriage after one and a half years and married the widow Regina Prenziger, who with her first husband had left her homeland on account of religion and had emigrated to Regensburg. She is depicted as a pious and virtuous woman.

As for his writing activities at this time, first of all, after his return from Saxony he had his sermons which he had held there published. His six sermons, which had been held there about the disputed points, were considered rules of belief and had to be signed with the introduction of the Book of Concord. So then he developed his views in detail in a larger work by order of the Duke of Wuertemberg for the
refutation of the orthodox Consensus of the Reformed Protestants appearing at that time (1583-84). It was an apology to the Book of Concord. In it, it dealt with the Person of Christ, the union of the divine and human natures of Christ in one person, and with the true presence of the Body and Blood of Christ not only in Holy Communion but in the entire globe as well.

The omnipresence of the Body of Christ, he taught, was not a bodily or endemic presence through which it could be seen or touched like straw in a sack but rather it was a presence of the entire Christ, not only after the divinity but rather after the humanity He had taken on as well, so that he was truly present as God and undivided man everywhere in heaven and on earth, in every creation's mind visible and invisible, heavenly and earthly, yet in a heavenly, spiritual, supernatural manner inexplicable to human nature, and that He could see, act, hear, know everything according to His human nature and could administer and rule in person not in absence like the King of Spain did in the Indies. This view of the omnipresence of Christ, he asserted, he had derived first from the Holy Scriptures and further from the writings of the old Fathers of the church, of Luther, and of many others and had found them to be good. Consequently, he said those who want to give the appearance as if they agreed with us over the true and real presence of the entire Christ at Communion wanted to overlook how they, since Communion was being celebrated at more than 1,000 different places at one and the same
time, could accept Christ being present at all those places at the same time. Thus, they can adhere to Communion when they deny the omnipresence of Christ at all places or everywhere. And why they denied this they would have no reason, as Peter Martyr correctly said: "If one could prove that the Body of Christ was present at two or three places at the same time, he would not lose one more word about the omnipresence."

What scandal this so-called omnipresence doctrine, first explained in detail by Brenz (1560), stirred up not only among the Reformed Protestants but also among many Lutherans and to what battles it gave rise is well-known. Here only the words of Elector Johann Sigismund of Brandenburg may find a place which are found in his letter concerning this on March 28, 1614, to the elite of the classes in which he justifies his return to the Reformed religion. Namely, after he had asserted that he had succeeded in recognizing the truth through the lessons of the Holy Scriptures and the writings of the other party, he continues: "Since we previously were taught nothing other than that our Redeemer and Saviour Jesus Christ had an invisible Body, with which He could be at all places at the same time, we became aware that it would finally come to our losing the greatest comfort which we had obtained, the fact that Christ did take on to Himself our flesh (although without sin) and had suffered, died, risen up, and gone to heaven with it; because since Christ had such a Body that is invisible and everywhere He did not redeem our sinful flesh but rather only such a flesh that is invisible
and at all places at the same time, however, that kind of nature neither we nor any other people have. We became further aware that it would come through this doctrine that the supporters of it mixed heaven and earth together and no longer sought heaven up there but rather down here on earth, as their writings and books individually and collectively showed." Likewise, Count Johann Georg says in his writing of September 8, 1613, in which he retorted to the accusation of the Berlin preacher Gedicke that his brother, the Count Ernst, had taken Communion from a Reformed preacher, with regards to the doctrine of omnipresence that, though it may be cloaked, decorated, and veiled as it always would be, it was an entirely new doctrine not based in God's word and entirely unknown in the old Christian church. It said further in this writing, "also the substantial presence of Christ's Body in the bread of Communion and the oral partaking of it could neither be induced from the letters of the word Christ nor be verified by other examples out of the Scriptures."

Andreae, of course, spoke of the omnipresence of Christ after His resurrection and therefore of His glorified Body, but the Reformed Protestants maintained legitimately, on the other hand, that if He was still a real Body, as the Lutherans had to accept since they maintained a bodily partaking -- \textit{ore manducari}-- He necessarily would have to be limited by time and space and therefore could not be at all places at all times; if He, however, was no longer a real body, the doctrine on God-Man would be invalidated and no other
association with Him could take place than that which was intermediated by the Holy Ghost.

So Andreae took the trouble in vain to prove his teaching on the omnipresence and bodily partaking of the Body of Christ; because not only the Elector of Brandenburg felt himself repelled thusly by the Lutherans of that time, but the more distinguished heads among the theologians deserted as a consequence of this doctrine.

VIII. The Discussion at Moempelgard

In 1585, a significant number of French Reformed (Huguenots), namely nobility, had due to the persecution which had broken out again in France fled to Moempelgard (Montbéliard), the chief city of the dukedom of the same name, which had come under Wuertemberg after the extinction of their own counts (1395). Since these refugees were closed out of participating in Lutheran services and specifically from fellowship in communion, they turned to the owner of Moempelgard at that time, Friedrich of Wuertemberg, to instigate a discussion between the leaders of both religious sects in order to bring about an understanding of the two confessions if possible. The latter (Friedrich), who himself was less devoted to the Concordance, accepted this suggestion and, after he had obtained the permission of the Duke of Wuertemberg for it, he called from Tuebingen the theologians Jacob Andreae and Osiander while the Calvinists turned to Theodor Beza in Geneva, who, however, only reluctantly accepted the invitation after long hesitation, convinced of the fruitlessness of such discussions. He arrived in Moempelgard,
March 20, 1585, accompanied by several Swiss theologians, where the Wuertembergers, having already arrived on March 14, were met with. The latter had used the time to determine the subjects of the discussion. They were the teaching on Communion, on the Person of Christ, predestination, Baptism, and the reform of Catholic places of worship. Beza wanted to be informed of the negotiations in writing, in that he wanted to bring about as thorough as possible an investigation of the disputed points. But Andreae, practiced in disputing and trusting in the rightness of his case, declared himself decidedly against it. He was convinced firm as rock that only the Lutherans possessed the complete truth in the Formula of Concord and, therefore, to him it had nothing to do with a debate of the contemplative truth but rather much more with convincing his opponents of their errors. For that reason he explained to Beza he would not budge an inch from the teachings that he had confessed until then. He delivered to him at the first meeting a written statement of the Lutheran doctrine on Communion and requested him to set down a short development of the Reformed doctrine. In the following discussion (March 22), the principal contrast emerged so sharply that an agreement was unthinkable. Andreae stuck to the unmovable literal edition of the sacramental words, engaged in no syllogistical debate of the controversial points, and did not recognize the conclusions which his statement yielded.

It is not to be denied that Andreae, fully conscious of the great successes which he had had in Saxony and the great
distinctions there which in part had been due to him, dealt with the Calvinist theologians contemptuously at this meeting and did not refrain from invectives against the Reformed church. He had helped to suppress the Calvinists in Saxony; how should he have acted more moderately here against these heretics, as he considered them. He did not intend to offend the people with this, but rather it was his self-established conviction of the poison, which he believed was contained in the Calvinist teaching. But he did indeed offend these men, who stood in high esteem in Switzerland, especially so when, for example, he maintained that the Calvinists taught in principal nothing different about the Person of Christ than that of the Koran of the Turks. Eventually, Beza spoke his mind in detail about the doctrine of predestination, however, he was driven into a corner by Andreae when he maintained that there was only a certain number of those who will attain salvation with God, in that Andreae objected to him that if the grace of redemption was meant for all men according to the will of God, the individual man concerned for his spiritual welfare could only know for sure his standing in grace through the receiving of Baptism and participation in Communion.

After these negotiations had closed, Andreae accused Beza of having set only his sarcastic comments against the pure words of Scripture and admonished those present to be well aware of this false doctrine through which everything holy was made uncertain and Christ was separated from the sacraments. In fact, when Beza wanted to extend the hand of brotherhood upon his departure, he refused this brotherhood
by explaining he could only give him his hand as a sign of his general love of man towards him. Naturally, the participation of the French refugees in Communion with Lutheran preachers was only allowed under the condition that they would accept the Lutheran confession. Nevertheless, after the departure of Andreae, the count changed his mind again and allowed the participation of the Huguenots in Communion even without changing their confession of belief, indeed, he himself even participated in it with them.30

The entire discussion had only the one result, that it was mutually pledged to avoid the designations of sects and all bitterness in sermons and writings, otherwise the parties were only brought further apart, especially by the consequences with which they were connected.

At that time Andreae stood as the highly celebrated representative of the genuine Lutheran doctrine there, and this orthodox direction of the Reformation was at the same time embodied in him, as the founder of the Book of Concord, and, therefore, he was highly honored wherever he went by the Lutheran theologians. So he was also now praised as the victorious conqueror of Calvinism at Moerpelgard and letters were sent to Strassburg to the zealous Lutheran Marbach and to Wittenberg to Polykarp Leyser, in which Beza and his party were represented in the evilest light. The latter then turned to Andreae in writing with the request to oppose such slanderous reports, and since he did not cease in this, Beza himself wrote a report about that discussion and at the same time an
anonymous epistle aimed at the Dutch appeared in which was demonstrated that the discussion had come off to Andreae's disfavor. Now Andreae also saw it necessary to publish a detailed description of that discussion according to the minutes of the meeting, which his Tuebingen colleague and the Moempelgard Superintendent had recorded, to which was added a forward pledged in the name of Count Friedrich. In this writing naturally everything was described again to the disfavor of Beza and in addition Andreae had added his critical annotations on the margins. However, the not entirely correctly reported doctrine of predestination of Beza gave the most offense, and his opponents used this and accused him of spreading false doctrines. Specifically, the preacher Samuel Huber emerged at Burgdorf by Bern an enemy of Beza and a Lutheran-minded theologian. He maintained that Beza taught that Christ had not died for all men, the promises of the Gospel referred to individual chosen people, not to everyone; the majority of men would be condemned through the absolute decision of the Lord without any previous cause but only through the will of God, the basis of all things, finally no salvation was to be found in Baptism. The magistrate from Bern then saw cause, since such serious charges were raised against Beza, to call the most significant theologians of Switzerland to Bern to a conference with Huber (September 12, 1587). Here Beza and Musculus, who had accompanied him to Moempelgard, now explained that these teachings had been falsified in a deceitful and malicious manner by Andreae
and had not been maintained by Beza in this manner at all, specifically the latter had only said that Christ died solely for the chosen because the Father would let the merits of Christ come to good only for those; because in itself Christ's merit could have sufficed even for the atonement of the guilt of all men.

This accusation against Andreae was all the more serious since Count Heinrich had also attested to the truth of the relation in Andreae's book through a forward and his signature.

Although it cannot be doubted that Andreae never considered misrepresenting the teachings of Beza purposely, but rather that in the faulty recording of the minutes the oral description of Beza was not correctly written and reported, even Andreae himself was not in a position to comprehend completely this difficult teaching, so at the same time it is indeed easily understandable that he, with his conviction of the danger of Calvinist doctrine and with his hate and abhorrence for it, represented it as quite detestable, moreover, he portrayed individual dogmas in a false light so that, taken out of context, they had to appear above all things as extremely dangerous.

When it was comprehended in Wuertemberg that a written refutation of that charge would not help or accomplish much, the princes decided to send Andreae himself to Bern with a few worldly councillors in order to demonstrate personally the emptiness of that charge. This deputation came to Bern on September 4, 1588, and asked the mayor and magistrate for an audience, which was also readily granted. Whereupon, the
small council was called together and Andreae complained severely to them about the insult, which had been inflicted upon him and Count Heinrich, through a detailed speech and demanded satisfaction from the Helvetian (Swiss) theologians. Further, he maintained that those four articles censured by Huber were contained in the theses written by Beza and recognized and sanctioned by the signatures of the remaining theologians and that he was ready to present their signatures. Finally, he set forth that still many other not fewer absurd dogmas had been spread by the Calvinists.

whereupon, after still more negotiations, public as well as private, had taken place, Andreae suggested that in order to end the dispute and preserve the name of the Republic of Bern there appeared to be no better-suited means than if the Swiss and Wurttemberg theologians of both parties came together and compared the handwriting with the printed example; then it would easily show whether the accusations of the Swiss had been well-founded. The council approved of this suggestion and it was decided (September 7, 1588), to seek the consent of the princes in Germany and the support of the remaining Reformed cities in Switzerland. But it was the Bern theologians that, after the experiences which Beza had had at Moempelgard, considered the repetition of a conference with the eloquent Andreae emerging with great confidence as useless and dangerous in that they saw at the same time what powerful influence this man had achieved over the magistrate, and not being entirely pure in their consciences nor believing they could maintain
the accusations against him, they set every means in motion to prevent such a colloquium. Even Muskulus wrote to Grynaeus about it (September 26), "the Wuertemberg theologians would have left Bern highly honored even though they had not accomplished everything they desired, still it was not an uncompleted case either since it could be observed that the majority had been bewitched by Schmidelin (Andreae). One would expect the answer of his magistrate and he would not doubt that even the latter would advise that the fruitless and dangerous meeting would be prevented."

Meanwhile, a war had broken out between the city of Bern and the Duke of Savoy, and this war unrest caused the plan to call the theologians to be dropped entirely. However, Andreae at least had the compensation that the opportunity had been given to him to demonstrate his teachings in detail before the members of the magistrate distinguished by their wisdom, virtue, and piety, and to be able to express in a longer speech the differences with the Swiss, which admittedly had no further practical result. We only recognize that Andreae stood everywhere in high esteem and knew how to secure recognition through his appearance.

In addition, before his trip to Switzerland (September 1568), Andreae had been called to Noerdlingen by the magistrate there to settle a church matter and on his return trip became severely ill with a fever on April 29 in the village of Gechingen not far from Tuebingen, so that he had to remain lying there until May 11, suffering at the same time from
heart palpitations and cholic. Since he believed he was
dying from this sickness, he had the Rector and Senate
of the University of Tuebingen come to him and he explained
his confession of faith to them in order to combat the
calamity and gossip of his opponents. Finally, his health
was strengthened enough that he could go to the bath in Zell
in the Black Forest. When he returned from there, the
Magistrate of Regensburg called him there (October, 1587)
to settle the dispute of the preachers there about the tax.
On his return from there (January 26, 1588) he went to Ansbach
(Onolzbach), to where he had been called by Count Georg
Friedrich to check the correctness of belief of the clergyman
there, who was somewhat under suspicion, and set him right.
Specifically, the latter had published a writing in which he
sought to prove through false quotations of the works of
Andreae and other theologians that these agreed with him.
Since he, although convicted of his error, refused to desist
in his opinion—which was Calvinistic at any rate—he was
dismissed upon the advice of Andreae in order not to infect
others.

Andreae's last public negotiation was his participation
in the discussion at Baden (November, 1589). Already in 1557,
Count Karl had called him there to introduce the Reformation
in his land. When the court doctor Bistorius from Nied,
Upper Hesse, the son of a Lutheran superintendent in Hesse,
sought to introduce the Calvinist doctrine there at the court
and the theologians from Wuertemberg opposed this beginning,
a colloquium between Bistorius and Andreae was agreed upon at Baden. But this conference was suddenly broken up—we do not know from what causes—and Andreae returned to Tuebingen. That court doctor later became Catholic.

IX. Andreae's last years. His family relationships and his theological significance.

As soon as Andreae had returned to Tuebingen, he set about dealing with the theme of the church which was to have been dealt with in the suspended disputation in a detailed and clear written statement. He chose the dialogue form in which he had a Jesuit and a Lutheran discussing with one another under the circumspection of a neutral figure eager for the truth. He pursued this work with such zeal that he said he wished he could write not merely with his hands but with his feet as well and that it was as if someone were standing behind him who forced him to hurry. Every day he wrote several pages full, which he sent to Professor Heerbrand as his task of the evening to read through. He completed the entire work in two weeks and on the day he became sick he gave the finishing touch to it. He felt that his life would soon come to an end and in his last years of life he said several times he would not live much longer, he was weary of life, he desired to leave this world and be with Christ, which would be much better. Also, he said earlier yet: "As soon as the renovation of the church, the decoration with the organ and the trombone and the clock on the church tower is finished, I will die."

On December 18, 1589, he became seriously ill. He got a severe head cold combined with coughing. It was the
beginning of an inflammation of the lungs. Nevertheless, he went with some other men, who were superintendents with him, to the hostel (contubericium) at twelve o'clock to revise the accounts of the deacons which he used to do with great carefulness in order to care also for the needy students as best as possible. He remained there without taking consideration for his condition, although his colleagues advised against it, until evening when the revision had been completed. When he had returned home, his condition worsened and he had Professor Heerbrand come. The latter showed up immediately and Andreae told him that he did not know what end his illness would take, but he did know that his opponents would spread many things about him after his death. He had called him, therefore, to give witness before him about his beliefs and his doctrines, with which he (Heerbrand) could attest to the truth after Andreae's death. Heerbrand remained with until eleven o'clock in the night, when the doctors came as well as the preacher Sigward in Tuebinæn.

The condition of Andreae grew increasingly worse; it hurt him on the right side in the area of the lower floating rib and the coughing was accompanied with very severe stiches in the side. For not only the outer and inner skin of the ribs was inflamed, but the lungs themselves were affected as well, and he had a strong vomit of foul, sticky mucous during the entire time of his sickness. Nevertheless, since no fantasies had come forth, the doctors had hope at the beginning that the illness could pass over. But his strength declined
day by day, and since he no longer had the strength to vomit the foul glutinous mucous, it was apparent to the eye that hope for improvement was no longer at hand. This condition lasted twenty-one days, during which time the sick man endured the torment and severe stitches in the side with great patience and perseverance.

When Andreae noticed from the diminishing of his strength that the end of his life was drawing near, he had the Rector, the three deacons, and some preachers come to him after the early service on the Feast of the Presentation of Christ (Epiphany, January 6) one day before his end and said the following to them: "You remember, approximately three years ago when I was also very sick, how I shared with you my confession of faith and my doctrines and asked you and others present at that time to be my witnesses since my enemies could disseminate that I had died from some sort of horrible manner of death since I not only have not been a member of their church but have fought against them the strongest as well. This confession of faith I still now hold firmly to and I have the firm conviction that that teaching which I have defended in the school and the church in work and writing is true and from God revealed, which I also want to defend before the judgement seat of Christ from His words (Scriptures) with an unbroken courage. As affirmation of my firm belief in this I want to take Communion in the presence of all of you."

"I commend to the Rector and Senate my faithful spouse and my obedient children; so that you support them with your
advice and assistance when they need your help. And because I am also a man and subject to human weaknesses, from which it could easily happen that I have offended either the entire academic Senate or one or the other from this group in word or action, I ask for forgiveness. But of most interest to me was maintaining the pure doctrine, the good customs, and good breeding, which you will continue to maintain most strongly. Because it is something very great when a young man who is sent here on account of his studies is ruined through neglect of his good breeding. Finally, I want very much to ask you Barnbueler, my pupil, if I should not recover from this illness to say farewell to my noble prince in my name and to ask his highness to continue, as up till now, to be a gracious and charitable Lord to my faithful spouse and my obedient children."

Whereupon, when he had made his confession out loud before the gathering and had revealed the absolution and the preacher had given him Holy Communion, he prayed and thanked God fervently for sending His Son, for the revelation of the divine word, for the gift of the true faith, and for similar blessings. Whereupon the Rector declared his and the Senate's good disposition towards him and Barnbueler promised to fulfill his task to the Duke faithfully, at which time each individual approached giving Andreae his hand and once again saying farewell among tears.

The next night the sick man spent in part sitting in an easy chair, in part lying in bed in order to sleep. His sons took turns watching over him until daylight came and the
strength began to disappear. At five o'clock, the preacher and the doctors were called and found him sitting sleepily in the easy chair. When Dr. Moegling asked him about his state of health, he answered in German: "Unseperated from God." When it struck six o'clock, he asked what hour it was and when he was told that it was the sixth hour, he said: "My hour will soon approach." Toward six-thirty, he got up from his chair himself and walked back and forth several times in the room; with this the two doctors departed since they believed that the hour of death was not yet so near, saying that they would come back at twelve o'clock; meanwhile, however, they wanted to prepare some medicine in the apothecary. At seven o'clock, he went back to bed and said to the preacher who sat next to him on a bench: "My dear pastor, it has to be that we depart, since there is no other way." The preacher answered: "This art of dying piously, sir, you have taught throughout your other forty-four years, now the time is coming where you shall practice it yourself." When the ill man answered: "We have to join ourselves with another one, who stands by us", the clergyman replied: "We have Christ, who fights with and for us, with whom we win the victory." Whereupon the former remarked: "In the letter to the Romans it is written: 'We conquer in all these things through that one, who has loved us.' " Still other consoling passages of the Scriptures of this context were quoted by the clergyman, during which Andreae always made passing comments especially emphasizing and affirming the completeness of his faith in
Christ, that he lived in his Lord and would die in his Lord.

They were interrupted in this discussion by the visit of a respectable and pious widow, Agnes Megetzer, whom the ill man, after he had taken off his night cap and given her his hand, thanked for her many demonstrations of sympathy and support during his illness with the prayer that God, the Remunerator of all good deeds, might remunerate her in this and the future life. When after this he expressed his wish to speak once more with Osiander, a riding messenger was sent to the cloister school Bebenhausen an hour away from Tuebingen, but his death occurred before his arrival.

When in the meantime the preacher staying with him asked him whether he wanted to persist in the doctrines which he had taught throughout forty-four years, he answered so that all present could hear: "Yes, I want to die in this confession," and he also said these words to the preacher: "Into your hands, Lord, I commend my spirit."

As his strength continued to disappear, his son John, who was also a preacher and stood at his bedside, spoke the words of the Apostle in his ear: "I have fought a good battle, I have kept my faith, henceforth the crown of righteousness is conferred to me," and asked him whether he believed that this crown of righteousness was also bestowed on him. Whereupon he opened his eyes and said, drawing his breath, "Yes!" Afterwards, he spoke no more but rather prayed quietly for himself, and so among prayers and quiet meditations, like a sleeping person, he breathed his last breath on January 7,
1590, early between eight and nine o'clock, after he had lived sixty-one years, nine months, thirteen days and six hours, having been a preacher for almost forty-four years and chancellor of the University at Tuebingen for twenty-eight years.

His burial was very solemn. Eight clergymen carried him out on their shoulders. He was buried in the Collegiate church or cathedral, at which he had served thirty-four years first as deacon then as prior, on January 8, among a numerous gathering of all classes. Osiander gave the eulogy. It appeared also in print as well as the songs sung with it.

After his death, the rumor was spread from the pulpit by the Catholic clergy in the neighborhood that before his death Andreae had recanted his entire teaching, which he had made known through word and writing, and had declared it to be false. Also a letter was spread around, in which his foes did not hesitate to maintain that before his death he anxiously asked his people to fetch a Jesuit to give him Communion. As the former refused him this, he was thrown into confusion and died that way.

Andreae had two kinds of enemies during the course of his entire efficacy, specifically the Catholics and the Reformed Protestants or the Calvinists as they were called at that time. He had fought against both of these church parties throughout his entire life with the sacrifice of all his strength and he was well aware that they would summon up everything after his death to dishonor his name. Therefore, before his decease he had quite intentionally expressed his
confession of faith publicly before his colleagues in order to prevent false rumors, which, as he foresaw, would be spread after his death. The awkward and absurd lies, which the Catholic clergymen sought to spread, could find acceptance at the most with the uninformed Catholic people, however, they show the powerful hate which Andreae had drawn from their side in his activity as reformer.

It was a different case with the Reformed; these were also his severe enemies since he had fought against them life and death; however, they set to work more slyly, not only opposing his doctrine but seeking to attribute to him all manner of character weaknesses as well. There has certainly not been any clergyman of that time more harshly slandered and defamed. Therefore, the greatest care is required with the reports about him from the Reformed side in order not to receive a false judgement about this remarkable man. But even his friends and supporters have harmed him by exceeding in all measures in praise and comparing him almost to the apostles, naming him an ingenious, highly enlightened theologian, a second Elijah, who would drive away the secret Calvinists as the priests of Baal. Likewise, they praised the Book of Concord, for the writing of which he had the chief credit, as inspired by the Holy Ghost; it was itself the truth. On the other hand, his opponents accused him of lust for power and pride and said he wanted to establish a new papacy; even greed and avarice were attributed to him since he had accepted many gifts from the princes. He further had supposedly boasted that in Saxony everyone had to bow before him for a long time.
Even with the introduction of the Book of Concord, everything had not run as smoothly as he himself had boasted; because too little had been left to the clergymen to ponder quietly and whoever had refused to sign would be dismissed and expelled from the country. In fact, even with his followers he was not able to get along. Specifically, Chytraeus is said to have complained, when he had met with him at the Bergen cloister, that nothing had been approved of by Andreae that he had said, done, or written. Likewise, he is said to have finally fallen out with Chemnitz.

However, to do justice to Andreae, one has to bear in mind that he had fought with endless difficulties in Saxony—for those accusations came from there—where the Melanchthonish teaching and interpretation still had deep roots in the hearts of many theologians and scholars, even if publicly prohibited, and where Andreae was considered a foreign and unauthorized intruder; also, that everyone was on the lookout there from all sides to discover weaknesses and errors in him. When he wanted to carry through his work with the evil will which he found here he often had to behave ruthlessly and he could easily fall into conflict with his best friends and incur evil gossip.

Naturally, the Book of Concord also found severe opposition with many theologians and, apart from the Reformed Protestants (Calvinists) decidedly rejecting it, even the Lutherans themselves disapproved of some things in the work. So Heshus in Braunschweig took his signature back again and Ricius in
Wittenberg confessed he had committed a great sin by his signature. Many contradictions were attributed to the book as in the doctrine of the free will, of justification, etc. However, the damnation of all of those who believed differently, which had been expressed in the book, gave great offense.

It is interesting to examine the judgement of two princes of that time concerning Cndreae and his work, even if it cannot be conclusive since both were devoted to the Reformed confession of belief. Count Wilhelm of Hesse, a resolute opponent of the Book of Concord, is said to have said: "Andreae only wants to make a name for himself, he is the man who can make everything crooked straight and everyone looks on him as the German pope." In a letter of his to the Elector of Saxony from the year 1580, it says of Jacob Andreae: "We have not omitted anything, including our councillors and theologians, in disputing Dr. Jacobum Andreae. But what a sly and quick man he is; he writes and strives on this subject day and night so he can distort all objectiones sua argutiiis (accusations with his sophistry) to such an extent that it is amazing. Particularly, however, he has the idiosyncrasy of wanting to have everything that he asks categoricam responsionem (answered with yes or no), like whether one believed that Christ's natural body could be in two places so that the sacrament would be received at the same time uno momento (in one moment). Whoever does not answer him with yes on that, or whoever wants to distinguish a difference and answer questions with questions, he is not one of his men rather he soon calls him a Calvinist, who is not worth disputing with."
Johann Sigismund of Brandenburg expressed similarly in his letter to the classes, which had made complaints on account of his conversion to the Reformed church, about Andreae and the Book of Concord (March 28, 1614). Specifically, he says at the end of it: "However, it is even more a matter of common knowledge and conscience how it came to pass with the Formula concordiae, how through this the ambitious priest Jacob Andreae introduced a Primatum and Lutheran papacy over the church and congregations of God, though he did not attempt to promote solely the glory of God, how the Elector August of Saxony himself complained that he was evilly deceived by the priest through the establishment of the Formula of Concord, how it sufficiently proves by both to be a Concordia discors between friends and enemies, how the originator, the author, and the supporters of it fought and quareled over this dear rival idea, the formulam concordiae (the good, fat parishes, the mass of golden drinking goblets, the velvet slippers, the glory and riches of the world) as the real Fratres Cadmaei, and are still arguing today.

The doctor Kaspar Peucer, whose discussion with Andreae has already been described above, was the most embittered with Andreae. He attributed to him his entire misfortune and called him the messenger of Brenz in Stuttgart and the apostle of the omnipresence, who had sought to have the Wittenberg Grundsekt suspected as Calvinistic and hated not only at the courts of the princes but also by like-minded theologians from the sect of Flacius and who finally convinced the Elector by perpetual provocations and threats to attack with violent
measures all the supporters of Wittenberg school. He called him, therefore, a god-forsaken person. In another place he says: The beginnings of all these sorrows— he means the persecution of Melanchthon's students— originate from the apostle of omnipresence, Jacob Andreae, who, since he found no agreement for his blasphemous Brentian Dogma in our academy (Wittenberg), began to hate, persecute, slander us all, declare us heretics, to incite the courts and the women of the Saxon court against us and against me especially, whom he used to call the head and leader of the opposite opinion, that is the truth. This caused our prince to be incited against us through the constant letters from Saxony (dukedom where the spirit of Flacianism prevailed at that time)." Similarly, he says in another place: Andreae has inflamed the court at Dresden against me with stern letters, especially through the Queen of Denmark, the mother of the Electress Anna, who had her spouse drive me from the court and separate me from the school."

That Peucer expressed himself very sharply against his chief opponent is certainly to be forgiven due to his unfortunate situation in that he had to languish ten years in prison at Pleissenburg because he would not confess to the doctrine of omnipresence but rather held true to the teaching of Melanchthon. But it is beyond all doubt that Andreae set all switches in motions to render innocuous that highly influential man who was spiritually far superior to him should his work have gone another way in Saxony. Yes, he himself did not shrink from the most extreme severity because
he was of the opinion that if the authorities put robbers to death, who had taken physical life from only a few, they would have to execute with greater right those who killed thousands of souls with their poison. Likewise, when the scholar David Pareus published a Bible in Heidelberg (according to Luther's translation), which he provided with annotations, he called the publication of this a devilish piece of villainy that should rightly be punished by a Christian magistrate with the hangmen, however, the falsified Bible should be burned in the fire.

If we bear in mind that at that time the ruling party always proceeded with violent means against the downtrodden, as even Peucer and later Nicolaus Krell were guided by this way of thinking, we can throw no stones at Andreae; the Protestants of that time believed, however, as did the Catholics, to be rendering a service to God when they purged heretics. They had long forgotten in their fanaticism what Luther had said, "he would be reformed and converted only through the word."

Andreae came in closer contact, as we have seen, with the Swiss theologians, especially Theodor Beza, and the latter, also a strong opponent of Andreae's, expressed himself in a letter to Count Wilhelm of Hesse, who wanted to make the attempt again (1574) to unite the different members of Protestantism through a discussion, and called upon him to take part in the following manner concerning him: "Jacob Andreae is offering a discussion without notaries and I will never
avoid rendering an account of all my words and writings; but what use is to be expected from another meeting with those people I certainly cannot comprehend because I know only all too well it stands not only with the will but also with the conscience of that man as well. What Andreae said with regard to the notary can only be suspicious in the highest degree to me because it is known for sure that the same man did not shrink from falsifying his own files at the discussion at Maulbrunn." Beza further wrote in a letter to Count Ludwig of Witgenstein (April 28, 1586): "I can, however, confirm it in truth that I have heard nothing from Andreae's mouth that had not been entirely usual and had been opposed a thousand times by our people."

Andreae certainly strove with sincere intention for the welfare of the church but, since he set after his goal with great determination and restless zeal, it could not fail that his numerous opponents themselves imputed to him all sorts of immature motives. It is certainly not to be concluded from this that he should intentionally have falsified the minutes, which he also might not like because they easily gave occasion to dispute and suspicions. At the most he may have described something in it to his favor or may not have understood everything in the heat of the discussion. Likewise, he was certainly far from abject avarice or even false ambition, faults which were attributed to him because similar base motives were always suspected behind his great zeal; for even his enemies could not deny him that he belonged to the most
hand, he was mild in consolation and the comforting of the dejected and oppressed. He held his lectures at the University conscientiously when he was at home, which, of course, was not too often the case because they were interrupted frequently by his many trips and his long absence in Saxony so that even the Duke of Wurttemberg was very indignant about it and requested him to administer to his office.

He read mainly about practical theology in which he had great experience; likewise, he arranged disputations at the University very frequently in which the most difficult and mysterious theological problems would be discussed, such as the Person of Christ, the union of both natures in one person, the communication of characteristics (communicatio idiomatum), which was an especially favorite theme at that time, about the doctrine of predestination, the original sin, and mainly about almost all disputed theological issues of that time. In so doing, he pointed out the origin and indefensibility of the errors, and thereby developed such a zeal that he usually used whole days on it or even more, which was criticized as an overabundant diligence even by his colleagues.39

As already has been said, Andreae chiefly developed an astounding working power and activity because not only did he not shun excitement and work in his office but he was not intimidated by any troublesomeness either and no burden bowed him down. He maintained thereby a very widespread correspondence not only with his friends but rather also with men of all classes about serious questions. And not only did one
often turn to him in writing but he gave advice orally as well and not a day passed on which he did not write down something with great speed and great success. He was always ready to advise and help everyone and not a day passed when several did not come to him seeking his advice. He stood in great regard with the princes and they always gave him their goodwill; likewise, he was pleasant in discussions, his zeal inflamed and he was filled with deep pain only when he heard that others had become wavering in their belief or had slandered him.

Andreae was twice married and had eighteen children by first wife, that is nine sons and nine daughters of whom nine children survived him. His son Johannes became city preacher in Herrenberg; later, he became abbot at Koenigsbronn in Wuertemberg. Johannes' son was Valentin Andreae, who distinguished himself as a fruitful writer and faithful minister in the Thirty Years War and died June 27, 1650, as Prelate to Stuttgart. Although Andreae was often separated from his family, still he conducted a strict upbringing and raised his children well in that he did not let fatherly admonitions be missing even from a distance.

Andreae wrote much, even had the majority of his sermons printed; his six sermons which he had held in Dresden were added to the books which the clergy in Saxony had to sign by the acceptance of the Book of Concord as norm of belief.

If we ask about the significance which Jacob Andreae takes in the development of Protestantism, we certainly have to, in order to be fair to him, separate that standpoint
which he himself took in the great jumble of parties from the consequences which emerged only in later years from his efficacy. Andreae was, as we have already seen, a very gifted, knowledgeable, and extremely active theologian of his time; he was filled with glowing zeal for the propagation of the truth, as he had recognized it, and it certainly will not be easy to find another theologian who had accomplished such great things in this. Undisputed remains his fame, which he obtained through the spreading of the Reformation in Catholic regions and in the establishment of new Protestant congregations in Württemberg and Baden; here he worked with great success and he spared no effort and work.

His theological significance appears differently if we keep an eye on the results of his reforming activities in lands already Protestant. Also here he wanted to establish only good. And it was not ambition and avarice, as he was accused of, that drove him to take the endless trouble and difficulties which waited for him here but rather simply and purely it was the striving to purify the Protestant church, which in his opinion was infected with the poison of Calvinism and was no longer in a position to care for the true spiritual welfare of its members, from this infection and to re-establish the supposedly true Lutheranism, as it appeared to him in reaction to Melanchthon. But even if he was filled deeply by Christian sincerity, he still did not have that intelligence which was necessary to recognize and evaluate the actual principle of Protestantism, namely the free movement of the Spirit, the freedom of the conscience not only in thought, because that
even the Catholics could not prevent, but rather in public life, in one word--tolerance--which consists in keeping distant every forcible act regarding those believing otherwise, and, as Luther explained, only the word of persuasion should work, a spiritual battle free of every physical and worldly or hierarchal interference. Without this free movement, without this freedom of conscience and knowledge, Protestantism sinks again into Catholicism and Luther's great work has been in vain. The theologians' mistake has always been that they declared as ruined those beliefs deviating in some way from their own opinion and considered salvation in danger by this. So they become inquisitors and are Catholics again in other garments.

Andreae became a fanatic in that he wanted to urge his orthodoxy on all people and declared everyone to be a heretic who did not agree with him. In this he avoided no means, no forcible methods, and he agreed in this matter with Calvin, whom, however, he hated very much. However, he was a child of his times; because even Elector August wanted to have no servant about him, who did not agree completely in belief with him and demanded that all his subjects should confess the same formula of belief.

It is certainly to be noted here now that a slandering of Christian dogma in general by the opponents was not involved here but rather individual dogmas written in certain formulas, and by no means the refusal of these dogmas but rather of every other meaning written in certain formulas was
considered as slander of Christianity and persecution of Protestantism. So, supported by the worldly arm, a rigid orthodoxy originated and Andreae set up as his task to found and establish this. So the conscience of the individual and the freedom of thought were again united and every progress was obstructed for a long time in theology, where the Book of Concord was concerned.

The question would be whether Andreae nevertheless deserved the many defamations which were constantly heaped on his work. Here it must be said now categorically that even this step of development of Protestantism had its full justification because in spiritual development progress can only come to a higher step if the preceding step has reached its complete development. The orthodoxy, to which not only the Lutherans but the Calvinists as well had succumbed at that time and in which the theologians, as if locked in a circle without exit, exerted themselves to discover ever more exact and strict formulas, had to appear first in its entire naked rigidity and one-sidedness before it could be recognized as a false direction of Protestant theology and be overcome through a higher point of view. The intellectual activity of the theologians had to be completely exhausted and had to reach full recognition of its poverty and correctness before the religion of heart and soul could pave a new way, without Andreae no Spener could come, without the Book of Concord no Pietism. So Andreae, without wanting to, essentially contributed to Protestantism so it could later develop itself to a higher level of development. The Book of
Concord was, therefore, a necessary product of that time and it was false only in wanting to portray its content as the only correct representation of true Christianity for all time and wanting to put the conscience into fetters forever through this. By this means originated that dulling of the spirit in those countries where one sought to force this and only through violent battles could these fetters be sprung. Spener had to flee from Saxony for this reason since he opposed that rigid orthodoxy there.

Accusations were further made against Andreae that he had by his activity limited the development of Protestantism through the suppression of Calvinism. But even in this we can easily be unfair to him. Indeed, it cannot be denied that Lutheranism, as it was conceived by Andreae and his followers, was in many respects a one-sided conception of Christianity, but it had taken deep roots in the people and conformed in general with the standpoint of the national image of that time. On the other hand, the so-called Calvinism under which name the efforts of the Humanists, the students of Melanchthon, were grouped, was considered a foreign growth through which the true Christianity, as it was known in Saxony for example, was defiled. The people had to be elevated to a higher cultural level before an understanding of it could be expected. Nothing was accomplished here with force, the people, yes even a greater part of the clergyman rebelled against it as if one wanted to take from him his faith and referred with disgust to all attempts to use force. Think only of the unrest, which developed in Saxony when the chancellor Krell
made the attempt to abolish exorcism. Therefore, Andreae actually did nothing more than that he set the religious life existing in the consciousness of the people in specific formulas in order to establish a certain unity in the teaching as this really existed in the masses already.

Finally, the party hate and strife concerning the disputed dogmas had developed to such a high degree among the theologians and had taken on such a repugnant form that this quarrelsomeness exerted a highly damaging reaction on the moral condition of the congregations and that, through the fact that the clergymen were either violently forced from their positions or were directing their entire attention to the quarreling, a great barbarism and brutality developed in the people as it then emerged in the Thirty Years War. For what effect must it have exerted on the people when the clergymen, who should shine as moral models before their congregations, overwhelmed each other with the crudest slanders and mutually deprived themselves everlasting happiness? If the pulpit was used to damn the opponents and represent them to the congregation as the greatest heretics, then it could not fail that also the people were drawn into this severe party movement and that it came to raw, fanatical outbreaks of rage and bloody persecutions.

In vain, the princes admonished for peace and forbade the publication of new polemics, they even saw it necessary to exile the quarrelling theologians from their lands; but peace did not come; the existing religious writings such as the Augsburg Confession, the Apology etc. were not enough
in their generality to bring to a certain end the disputed points. So it was decided then to set up a new formula of belief which should apply to all and would be proclaimed as law of the land.

One man belonged to the realization of this work, combining a tireless working strength and devotion with basic theological knowledge and practical eloquence to this task. Andreae possessed all of these characteristics in a high degree and, therefore, the majority of princes and free cities in northern Germany also gave him unconditional trust so that he succeeded in bringing about the Concordance in a period of approximately four years with the help of the aforementioned and in union with other trustworthy theologians of his conviction and re-established quiet and peace in the Protestant church as far as those belonging to the Lutheran conviction. In this is his merit unsurpassed and he specifically has constantly been highly celebrated in Saxony as the restorer and organizer of the confused church relations. His work was immediately blessed and brought peace and quiet in the Protestant church and we must look back with great respect on a man who under the most difficult relations and under the greatest animosity was in the position to accomplish such a work.

So through the active participation of Jacob Andreae, the souls deeply moved by theological disputes were again brought to a certain peace in a great part of Protestant Germany with the introduction of the Book of Concord and, therefore, because everyone now knew exactly to what he would have to hold in
doubtful cases in matters of belief, this book was so highly valued that it was called in Saxony "the eyeball", and in the Mark Brandenburg when it appeared as it should be taken from the citizens of the Mark by the conversion of the Elector Johann Sigismund to the Reformed church (1614) all classes opposing it were set in motion just as if Christianity itself should be taken from them by this. But the hate against the Reformed Protestants and the opposition between them and the Lutherans, who had accepted the Book of Concord as a rule of belief, was driven by this to a momentous height as cannot be denied and intensified in that the Lutherans decidedly rejected every churchly fellowship with the Reformed Protestants, on the other hand, the latter recognized with much pain that every reconciliation and every union against the common enemy had been made impossible.

History teaches how fateful this religious division of the Protestants in Germany has become for the subsequent time, and it can be maintained very well that the deep degradation and political weaknesses in Germany have been brought about to a large part through this. Because instead of having opposed with united powers the newly awakened Catholicism, strengthened by the Jesuit Order, the Protestants, split in parties and by this also politically weakened, opposed their enemies powerlessly, who, aimed at the one purpose of leading the faithless members back to their church fellowship, understood well how to use that division and to increase in strength. The Reformed urged concord and offered the Lutherans their
hand of brotherhood in vain in that at the same time they pointed to consequences which this separation would have for both parties and declared it to be a vain illusion if the Lutherans believed they would be spared by their common enemy the Jesuits; the latter dismissed all of these warnings and prophecies with distrust, which during the Thirty Years War were fulfilled all too well.

However, it would be foolish to say Jacob Andreae acted wrongly in all of this as one may well find the same comments in the polemics of the Reformed Protestants; he merely gave expression to that which already lay in the soul of that time and it did not lay entirely with him, as we have seen, if the entire Protestant Germany was not united in one religious fellowship; but rather it was the old national mistake of the German nation in which the separatist movement always grew forth rapidly with increased strength after a momentary political or religious impetus toward unity.

The theologians who emerged after Luther as the spokesmen among the Protestants still had no idea of the power of the re-awakened Catholicism, after it had recovered again from the blow that Luther had dealt to it, and entirely absorbed in their own still partly entangled relations they did not see the danger which approached from there. And so it also went with Andreae, who held the danger which threatened through the spreading of the Calvinists' doctrines for far greater than that danger which could bring the attacks that were spread in the Catholic lands against all Protestants with great
cleverness and circumspection. This false zeal against the teachings of the Reformed and the mistaking of the real danger, which was being spread by the Catholics, had the effect that the work of Jacob Andreæ became one-sided and did not bring that grace which it could have brought with a correct recognition and foresight of the relations of the times. But, who would criticize Andreæ, who at least brought a large portion of northern Germany to unity and through this still stands much higher than the majority of other Lutheran theologians of that time who knew how to appreciate the circumstances of the time even less.
Footnotes

1 Instead of the words "quod Corpus et sanguis Christi vere adsint et distribuantur", he wrote "quod cum pane et vino vere exhibeantur corpus et sanguis Christi."

2 Adam says in his biography: "Regulas grammaticus utriusque linguae -- mediocrere addidicit." which probably means that he assimilated from philology only as much as he hoped to use as a theologian.

3 "Undecunque hic pullus progrediatur, certum ego guidem habeo a Schnepfio exclusum formatumve."

4 Filiam Johannis Entringensis bei Adam.

5 Herzog's Encyclopedia, under Jacob Andreae.

6 Loescher, Hist. mot. Part III, p.139.

7 Heppe in The Life of Theodor Beza, p.151, says of him: "Jacob Andreae achieved the later too sad fame."


9 Adami vitae etc.


11 Arnold, History of Heresy, Part II, Book 15, Chapter 17.


13 Loescher, Hist. mot. III, p.245.

14 Agreeing on the teaching on original sin and free will was very difficult. Loescher, Hist. mot III, p.254.

15 Three Electors, 20 imperial princes, 24 counts, 4 dynasties, 35 imperial cities, and approximately 8,000 preachers and teachers.


18 Hist. carc., p.772.

19 Adam, vitae etc.

20 Hist. carc., p.265, p.481.

21 Hist. carc., p.760.

22 Loescher, Hist. mot. III, p.301.
Footnotes

23 Tandem bona causa triumphat. Augustus dux Saxoniae, Elector. Adami vitae etc.

24 Part II, Book 16, Chapter 19.

25 Arnold, see above.

26 Hist. caro., p.759.

27 Hist. mot. III, p.299.


29 A detailed account of this discussion is found in Beza's Life of Heppe, 1861.

30 Heppe, Life of Beza, p.288.

31 The work appeared in Tuebingen in 1587 under the title: Acta Colloqui Montis Bellizartensis, quod habitum est anno Christi 1586... otei clarrissimos viros D. Jacob Andreae praepositaum etc. cancellarium Acad. Tueb. et Theod. Bezam."


33 Hist. caro., p.465.

34 Ibid., p.765, hominem sceleraturn.


36 Hist. caro., p.318.

37 Hagenbach, Church History IV, pp.283, 334.

38 Heppe, Life of Beza, p.266.

39 Adami vitae etc.