

FAITH EVANGELICAL SEMINARY

*REFORMING AMERICA*

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**Abstract**

The Reformation affected not only the dominance of the Catholic Church, Europe, and orthodox theology, it also allowed for the founding of America. Without the Reformation in fact, America would not be what it is today. The view of human nature, , law, the role of government and the church, covenantal theology, oaths, and the like all played a role for America to be the country founded on the fruits of the Reformation. America is said to be that nation founded on the Reformation, so it is.

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The founding of America is complicated, but one thing that is not is the influence of religion on her founding. Let us be clear about something beyond the belief that America's founding was simply "religious," it would have been impossible without it. Not only impossible, but the type of government and documents that were produced by the pre-American zeitgeist are unique in history. Is it possible to believe that a theological system had an effect on the founding of the United States? The answer, according to John Eidsmoe, is "A great deal:"

Calvinism, like any theological system, encompasses both a world view and a view of human nature. The way one views the world and human nature will determine one's choice for effective government. As James Madison asked in Federalist No. 51, "What is government itself but the greatest of all reflections on human nature?"<sup>1</sup>

And it is this view of mankind's nature taken from the ideas of Luther and Calvin that paint the picture of the "total depravity of human nature -- that man is by nature sinful and unable to please God."<sup>2</sup> Another author makes the point that the political circumstances of Luther and Calvin seem to have become incorporated into fundamental beliefs of their theological systems.<sup>3</sup> Ergo, when the Puritans came to the New World "they brought with them not merely a religion, but a social vision, whose roots lay in a small town in modern-day Switzerland."<sup>4</sup> Sermons preached during the founding era smacked of Calvinism's understanding that government's role was republican in nature and made up of a religious base, as we see from this sermon preached in 1784:

This is the constitution of God—the immutable law of his kingdom, founded in the infinite perfection of his nature, so that unless God should change, that is, cease to be God, we cannot

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<sup>1</sup> John Eidsmoe, *Christianity and the Constitution: The Faith of Our Founding Fathers* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1987), 19.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Alister E. McGrath, *Reformation Thought: An Introduction*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 1999), 233.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

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be a happy, unless we are a virtuous people. In absolute governments, the principle of honor may in some measure supply the place of virtue, and there may be the shew of public happiness and grandeur, while the people are really in a state of slavery; but as virtue is the basis of republics, their existence depends upon it, and the moment that the people in general lose their virtue, and become venal and corrupt, they cease to be free. This shews of what importance it is to preserve public virtue under such a constitution as our's, and how much it becomes all who have any regard to the good of their country, and of posterity, and who wish the scenes of future happiness and grandeur, which present themselves to the imagination, may be realized to do every thing in their power, to promote that virtue upon which this depends. This is more especially the duty of rulers, as the end for which they are clothed with power is, that, that power may be employed for the good of the people -- to protect their lives and interests -- to make wise and salutary laws, for the regulation of their public affairs, to administer justice with impartiality, and to promote those virtuous sentiments and dispositions among the people, which are the surest foundation of their true happiness and glory. The benevolent design of the institution of civil government, the duty of rulers, and the benefits to be expected from their administration, are represented in Nebuchadnezzar's dream, under the beautiful and significant emblem of a tree, whose top reached to heaven, and its branches to the ends of the earth, and afforded both food and protection to the beasts of the field, and the fowls of the air....

The citizens of a free state should learn to think on a large scale. This would guard them against the designs of the selfish and interested. They should rise above that contracted spirit which centers all the views and pursuits of men in their own private separate interest, or that of the little circle with which they are immediately connected. They should consider themselves as members one of another, and the particular state to which they belong, a member of the great

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national body, composed of the United States, and upon this principle, study to promote the general good of the whole; in which also their own safety and happiness are involved. Instead of weakening they should do every thing in their power to strengthen the hands of rulers, and to support them in the exercise of lawful authority.

Government is necessary, and must be supported; and it ought to be a humiliating consideration that the necessity and expences of this divine institution, is founded in the corruption and vices of human nature; for if mankind were in a state of rectitude there would be no need of the sanctions of human laws to restrain them from vice or to oblige them to do what is right. They would be deterred from the former by a sense of its deformity, and led to practice the latter by a view of its intrinsic beauty. But in the present disordered state of our nature there would be no safety of life or property without the protection of law. A state of nature would be a state of continual war and carnage. The weak would be devoured by the strong, and every affront avenged with the death of the offender. Even under the best governments, we see the human passions often break through all the restraints of law in acts of violence and outrage! which shews what reason we have to be thankful to God for that excellent Constitution we live under, and how incumbent it is on every one who is a friend to the order, peace and happiness of society, or who even regards the safety of his own life and property, to support and maintain it....<sup>5</sup>

Why is Calvinism, more so than Lutheranism, key in the founding of the American experiment?

Alister McGrath already stated the “political circumstances of Luther and Calvin”<sup>6</sup> as influencing their respective theologies. He further points out that the former was friendly to a monarchical form of

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<sup>5</sup> Ellis Sandoz, ed., *Political Sermons of the American Founding Era: 1730-1805* (Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 1991), 805.

<sup>6</sup> McGrath, 233.

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government, the latter to a republican construct.<sup>7</sup> During the American beginning however, Lutheranism adapted well to republican principles vaulting the German reformers into the forefront of religio-political thought.<sup>8</sup> The Reformation was married to the idea of free speech and the press<sup>9</sup> as well as the understanding that the “reformation must go on in the state and society as much as in the church and in the home.”<sup>10</sup> Which were bulwarks of the American Ideal as well.

Another mention of this early reformation influence on the founding of America is mentioned in connection with John Locke and his Puritan influences. “Locke’s deeply Puritan pattern of sentiment... clearly emerged in... [his]... early works.”<sup>11</sup> (Later however, after being influenced by British legal philosopher and theologian Richard Hooker<sup>12</sup> as well as having some personal time with friend Robert Boyle, Locke became almost utilitarian in his later writings while professing to be a Christian in his personal life.<sup>13</sup>) The Reformation caused the Catholic Church to counter the reformers ideas with a slightly “reformed” *politick*. You see, “[w]hen any threatened institution is to blame and knows itself to blame, what soldiers call ‘initiative’ passes to its enemies.”<sup>14</sup> In other words, shift the blame. While orders were set up initially to reform a small part of the Church Universal, over time they were cast against the *enemies* the church felt it had in the reformers,<sup>15</sup> which ultimately led to the inquisitions.

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Mark A. Noll, *America’s God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press ), 71.

<sup>9</sup> John Witte, Jr., *The Reformation of Rights: Law, Religion, and Human Rights in Early Modern Calvinism* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 265-266.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 265 -- (paraphrasing Milton)

<sup>11</sup> W.M. Spellman, *John Locke and the Problem of Depravity* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1988), 62.

<sup>12</sup> David Barton, *Original Intent: The Courts, the Constitution, & Religion, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed.* (Aledo, TX: Wallbuilders Press, 2000), 219.

<sup>13</sup> M. Stanton Evans, *The Theme is Freedom: Religion, Politics, and the American Tradition* (Washington, DC: Regnery, 1994), 168.

<sup>14</sup> Hilaire Belloc, *How the Reformation Happened: Martin Luther* (Rockford, IL: Tan Books & Publishers, 1928), 138.

<sup>15</sup> Diarmaid MacCullough, *The Reformation: A History* (New York, NY: Penguin, 2004):

The papacy's new power was backed up by the recently founded religious organizations which also had a central focus. The Capuchin friars were a pioneering example actually before the Reformation had begun, but above all there was the Society of Jesus. From the 1560s the Society was ready to take on a leading role not merely in promoting the programme of the Council of Trent, but also in actively combating Protestantism. In the Jesuits' revised statement of their purpose in 1550, they added the idea of 'defence' to 'propagation of the faith'. The programme this implied was accelerated after Ignatius Loyola's assistant Jeronimo Nadal visited Germany in 1555: the degree to which Protestantism had taken over the German Church profoundly shocked Nadal, and convinced him that the Society must devote its talents to reversing the situation there. This

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The writings of these counter-reformers (spurred on by the reformation) were read as well by the founders and influencers of the American experiment. America was founded during the heyday of the Enlightenment. The “Enlightenment movement in America provided a political theory that complimented the Evangelical theology of Religious liberty.”<sup>16</sup> Locke was surely part of the enlightenment, but often his influences from the reformation and commitment to Christian theism are often overlooked, for instance, “His Letter Concerning Toleration presupposed a magistracy and community committed to a common Christianity.”<sup>17</sup> John Witte, Jr., continues:

State laws directed to the common good, he believed, would only “seldom” “appear unlawful to the conscience of a private person” and would only seldom run afoul of conventional Christian beliefs and practices. Catholics, Muslims, and other believers “who deliver themselves up to the service and protection of another prince” have no place in this community. Moreover, “those are not at all tolerated who deny the being of a God” -- for “promises, covenants, and oaths which are the bonds of human society, can have no hold upon an atheist.” Locke strengthened these qualifications even more in his theological writings -- arguing in his volumes, *The Reasonableness of Christianity*, *Essays on the Law of Nature*, and *Thoughts on Education for the cogeny of a simple biblical natural law* and endorsing in his several commentaries on St. Paul's epistles the utility of a moderate Christian republicanism.<sup>18</sup>

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represented a major change in direction for the Society, for confrontation with Protestants had not been part of its agenda in its earliest years. Nadal, who did much to remould the image of the Society after Ignatius's death, now came deliberately to promote the inaccurate idea that the Jesuits had been founded to combat the Reformation. The Jesuits thus moved from 'Catholic Reformation' to 'Counter-Reformation'. They were not always popular with the Popes whom they were pledged to defend, and with remarkable skill they defended themselves from the Council of Trent's efforts to subject regular clergy to the control of local bishops. In their eyes, the new era of Tridentine regulation applied to everyone but themselves, as it would restrict their freedom and flexibility in promoting the new era of Roman Catholicism that was now beginning. (p. 323)

<sup>16</sup> John Witte, Jr., *Religion and American Constitutional Experiment* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2005), 29.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 30.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 30-31.

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I only mention Locke because there is a often a misconception that Montisque and Locke were the major guiding forces for the American political philosophy when in reality men like these were influenced by a biblical worldview which was thrust into the forefront by the Reformation. A study by a couple of political scientists cited by historian David Barton goes a long way to show that even the translation of the Bible by the reformers made our union possible:

Where, then, did our Founding Fathers acquire the ideas that produced such longevity? Other nations certainly had access to what our Founders utilized, yet evidently chose not to.

From what sources did our Founders choose their ideas?

This question was asked by political science professors at the University

Category	1760s	1770s	1780s	1790s	1800-05	% of total
Bible	24%	44%	34%	29%	38%	34%
Enlightenment <sup>†</sup>	32%	18%	24%	21%	18%	22%
Whig <sup>††</sup>	10%	20%	19%	17%	15%	18%
Common-Law <sup>†††</sup>	12%	4%	9%	14%	20%	11%
Classical <sup>††††</sup>	8%	11%	10%	11%	2%	9%
Other	14%	3%	4%	8%	7%	6%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of citations	216	544	1,306	674	414	3,154

of Houston. They rightfully felt that they could determine the source of the Founders' ideas if they could collect writings from the Founding Era and see whom the Founders were quoting.

The researchers assembled 15,000 writings from the Founding Era—no small sample and searched those writings. That project spanned ten years; but at the end of that time, the researchers had isolated 3,154 direct quotes made by the Founders and had identified the source of those quotes.

The researchers discovered that Baron Charles de Montesquieu was the man quoted most often by the Founding Fathers, with 8.3 percent of the Founders' quotes being taken from his writings.

Sir William Blackstone was the second most-quoted individual with 7.9 percent of the Founders'



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quotes, and John Locke was third with 2.9 percent." Surprisingly, the researchers discovered that the Founders quoted directly out of the Bible 4 times more often than they quoted Montesquieu, 4 times more often than they quoted Blackstone, and 12 times more often than they quoted John Locke. Thirty-four percent of the Founders' quotes came directly out of the Bible. "

The study was even more impressive when the source of the ideas used by Montesquieu, Blackstone, and Locke were identified. Consider, for example, the source of Blackstone's ideas. Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws was first introduced in 1768, and for the next 100 years America's courts quoted Blackstone to settle disputes, to define words, and to examine procedure; Blackstone's Commentaries were the final word in the Supreme Court. So what was a significant source of Blackstone's ideas? Perhaps the best answer to that question can be given through the life of Charles Finney.

Charles Finney is known as a famous revivalist, minister, and preacher from one of America's greatest revivals: the Second Great Awakening in the early 1800s. Finney, in his autobiography, spoke of how he received his call to the ministry. He explained that—having determined to become a lawyer -- he, like all other law students at the time, commenced the study of Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws. Finney observed that Blackstone's Commentaries not only provided the laws, it also provided the Biblical concepts on which those laws were based. Finney explained that in the process of studying Blackstone's, he read so much of the Bible that he became a Christian and received his call to the ministry." Finney's personal life story clearly identifies a major source of Blackstone's ideas for law.

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So while 34 percent of the Founders' quotes came directly out of the Bible, many of their quotes were taken from men—like Blackstone—who had used the Bible to arrive at their own conclusions.<sup>19</sup> (Figure 1<sup>20</sup>)

Even the idea of social contract and the implementing of such a contract is applied by Calvin [pre-Lockian]:

The theory of social contract is generally traced to seventeenth-century philosophers such as John Locke and Thomas Hobbes. But a century earlier, Calvin had asked the entire people of Geneva to accept the confession of faith and to take an oath to obey the Ten Commandments, as well as to swear loyalty to the city. People were summoned in groups by the police to participate in the covenant.<sup>21</sup>

Again, without the like of Calvin, Wycliff, Luther, and others, the Bible that so stirred the political thought of our founders and whom they read in turn, America would not be here today. This public understanding of many of the precepts of the Bible caused Luther, and subsequently Calvin, to “maintain that all believers shared in the priesthood, in opposition to the Catholic understanding of the priesthood as a separate class unto itself.”<sup>22</sup> This harkens back to the idea of the religious body-politic already stated by Calvin and Locke. Calvin inserted the sovereignty of God in all areas of the believer’s life, not just theology or the church.<sup>23</sup> He taught that Christians are to engage the world;<sup>24</sup> Calvin went

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<sup>19</sup> David Barton, *America’s Godly Heritage* (Aledo, TX: Wallbuilders Press, 1993), 9-10.

<sup>20</sup> David Barton (2000), 226.

<sup>21</sup> Harold J. Berman, *Law and Revolution: The Formation of the Western Legal Tradition* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), 564-565. The author mentions a book as well on page 565:

See J. T. McNeill, *The History and Character of Calvinism* (New York, 1957), p. 142. See also Chapters 2 and 12 of this study, where the theory of social contract is traced to the Papal Revolution and the formation of cities as sworn communes.

<sup>22</sup> W. Andrew Hoffercker, *Revolutions in Worldviews: Understanding the Flow of Western Thought* (Phillipsburg, NJ: P & R, 2007), 233.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid*, 235.

<sup>24</sup> Timothy George, *Theology of the Reformers* (Nashville, TN: Broadman & Holman, 1988), 244.

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even further and taught that our prayers should include not just the godly but the ungodly as well.<sup>25</sup> As the common person read both the book of Romans and Calvin's works, he began to understand that "this was not simply a debate about sin, but about the nature of man, and about what kind of authority men must acknowledge in their dealings with one another."<sup>26</sup>

Not only did the Protestants take the lead throughout Europe as being "disobedient," which led to the colonization of the New World, but "Calvin had his own 'republic' at Geneva, to which English Puritans such as Thomas Cartwright looked for inspiration."<sup>27</sup> One must keep in perspective that it was not just Puritans that populated the Americas, and it is this fact indeed that caused consternation between the states which led to the First Amendment:

Religion was fundamental to the colonists; and though they worshipped the same God, there was plenty of bickering. Indeed, the Religious Society of Friends, or Quakers, raised the ire of many colonists. The Puritans, who thought they had purged their worship of the Church of England's ritual and "superstition," were still too formalistic for the Quakers. Decades before William Penn settled Pennsylvania in the 1680s, Quakers living in Rhode Island traveled to Massachusetts to rouse its benighted inhabitants from their dogmatic slumber and awaken them to the aridity of their faith. Quakers disrupted Puritan church services, heckled ministers, and even walked naked up and down the church aisles. The Friends were banned repeatedly from Massachusetts.

This mutual antagonism contributed in a peculiar way to the development of American liberty: Each denomination and colony was vigilant against interference in its internal affairs by

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 244-245.

<sup>26</sup> Anthony Esolen, *The Politically Incorrect Guide to Western Civilization* (Washington, DC: Regnery, 2008), 206.

<sup>27</sup> M. Stanton Evans, *The Theme is Freedom* (Washington, DC: Regnery, 1994), 174.

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others. The differences the colonies created the presumption that each should mind its own business, and so should any potential central government.<sup>28</sup>

While disagreements broke out between the colonists, there still existed a community of believers that still bonded on the ultimate issues, rising above the state. This is exactly what the Communists tried to do, destroy any *community* that had an identity separate from the state, as Natan Sharansky so aptly pointed out:

So they [the KGB] set out to cut off each person from every possible attachment. The individual would then stand alone against the awesome power of the state. Religious associations were considered especially dangerous because they are especially binding. People develop a strong sense of commitment when they share a religious faith.<sup>29</sup>

The founders knew well this community, and this sense of community gave birth to our country.

Religion, then, can be defined as...

... more than a belief or set of beliefs, even about some divinity. Religion presupposes a community of worshipers and a being (or beings) worshiped. Its normal mode of operation includes beliefs, prayers, rituals, and priests or holy men. This conception of religion covers all the examples the founders knew -- the religions of the Bible, of pagan antiquity, of the Orient, and of primitive man. And when the generation of the founders and framers thought about exercising a religion freely, this, and this alone, is what they had in mind. Thus, deism was a philosophic belief about God, but not a religion. Nor would the premium placed on morality by

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<sup>28</sup> Thomas J. Woods, Jr., *The Politically Incorrect Guide to American History* (Washington, DC: Regnery, 2004), 2-3.

<sup>29</sup> *Defending Identity: Its Indispensable Role In Protecting Democracy* (New York, NY: Public Affairs, 2008), 35.

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the Ethical Culture Society have sufficed to qualify it as a religion. In short, the founders did not identify the free exercise of religion with the free exercise of thought or moral endeavor.<sup>30</sup>

Again, what the reformation did is create a new identity between believers and their faith.<sup>31</sup> Not only that, but allowed the application of Mosaic Law to the new Republic:

Calvin suggested that we make diverse laws “with regard to the condition of times, place, and nation...” And commented, “[h]ow malicious and hateful toward public welfare would a man be who is offended by such diversity. . . ?” Calvin says that we should do what Moses did: honor God's basic intention in "the condition of times, place and nation" in which we live.<sup>32</sup>

In fact, natural law was an integral part of Calvinism, infecting the lives of this protestant denomination more so than others. The working model of and subsequent adaption of this layering is evident by this commentary by John Witte:

Calvinists insisted that each local polity be an overtly Christian commonwealth that adhered to the general principles of natural law and that translated them into detailed new positive laws... public morality... crime and tort.... Calvinists emphasized more fully than other Protestants the educational use of the natural and positive law. Lutherans stressed the "civil" and "theological" uses of the natural law – the need for law to deter sinners from their sinful excesses and to drive them to repentance. Calvinists emphasized the educational use of the natural law as well – the need to teach persons both the letter and the spirit of the law, both the civil morality of common human duty and the spiritual morality of special Christian aspiration. While Lutheran

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<sup>30</sup> David Lowenthal, *No Liberty for License: the Forgotten Logic of the First Amendment* (Dallas, TX: Spence Publishing, 1997), 199.

<sup>31</sup> Calvin, like Luther “maintained that all believers shared in the priesthood, in opposition to the Catholic understanding of the priesthood as a separate class unto itself,” Hoffecker, 233.

<sup>32</sup> Paul Marshall, *God and the Constitution: Christianity and American Politics* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002), 94-95.

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followers of Philip Melanchthon (1497-1560) had included this educational use of the natural law in their theology, Calvinists made it an integral part of their politics as well. They further insisted that not only the natural law of God but also the positive law of the state could achieve these three civil, theological, and educational uses.

Calvinists also emphasized more fully than other Protestants the legal role of the church in a Christian commonwealth. Lutherans, after the first two generations, left law largely to the Christian magistrate. Anabaptists gave the church a strong legal role, but only for voluntary members of the ascetically withdrawn Christian community. By contrast, Calvinists, from the start, drew local church officials directly into the enforcement of law for the entire Christian commonwealth and for all citizens, regardless of their church affiliation.<sup>33</sup>

This adherence and teaching of natural law littered the seventeenth century with a hundred or so social covenants like that of the Magna Carta.<sup>34</sup> Calvin's basis, in fact, for a contractual basis for a Christian commonwealth was an application of New Testament and Old Testament agreements between God and man, which had a huge impact on the course of the evolving Reformation:

Luther had focused on the New Testament, speaking of a covenant of Grace which superseded the Old Law and affected anyone who received baptism in the name of Christ. Calvin laid the basis for a quite different doctrine when he treated Christ's promises in the New Testament as a reaffirmation of the Old Law, which he in turn represented as a series of formal agreements originally made necessary by Adam's first disobedience (Niesel, 1956, pp. 92-100). This idea forms a major theme of Book II of the *Institutes*, on the consequences of

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<sup>33</sup> John Witte, Jr. and Frank S. Alexander, eds., *Christianity and Law: An Introduction* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 23-24.

<sup>34</sup> John Witte, Jr., *The Reformation of Rights: Law, Religion, and Human Rights in Early Modern Calvinism* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 297.

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the Fall, in which the religious development of mankind is measured by a sequence of *foedera*, the first of which was concluded between God and Adam, while the later agreements were ratified by Noah, Abraham and especially Moses, and finally renewed through Christ's sacrifice. Since Calvin believed, moreover, that in each case the essence of the covenant consisted of an agreement to obey the Ten Commandments, he went on to teach that it must be possible at any time for a group of godly men formally to reaffirm their contractual relationship with God. The outcome in practice was the peculiarly Calvinist concept of the covenanting community, the prototype of which was established in 1537, when all the citizens of Geneva were asked to swear an oath binding them to abide by the Ten Commandments.,

The idea that every godly individual can become a signatory of a covenant with God makes no appearance in Ponet's *Short Treatise*. But it supplied Goodman with a second argument in favour of popular revolution in his book on *Superior Powers*, and it enabled Knox - in spite of his basic adherence to the Lutheran theory of inferior magistrates - to supplement this essentially anti-populist argument with a violent demand for popular revolution, a demand which he first voiced at the end of his *Appellation* to the nobility, and immediately repeated in his direct appeal to the people in his *Letter Addressed to the Commonalty of Scotland*.<sup>35</sup>

These humble beginnings of the Reformation steamrolled through parts of Europe and eventually came to rest in the Americas. In fact, some of America's greatest leaders, "men such as John Adams, James Wilson, and James Madison... each of whom played a major role in shaping American constitutional law

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<sup>35</sup> Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought: The Age of Reformation*, vol. 2 (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 236.

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at its formation, were men of strong Protestant Christian convictions.”<sup>36</sup> This emphasis cannot be made enough, and here I only offer a chicken scratch of the idea that because of the Reformation the American Revolution was possible. I can sit here at a desk and “pen” a paper unfettered mainly because of some monks and theologians 500-years ago. Let Freedom (spiritual and political) ring! I just pray that we can once again become what Geneva at one time was. Creating opponents from playing card manufacturers like Calvin did due to the “austere morality in the city.”<sup>37</sup> Vegas watch out?

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<sup>36</sup> Harold J. Berman, *Law and Revolution II: The Impact of the Protestant Reformations on the Western Legal Tradition* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 14.

<sup>37</sup> Hans J. Hillerbrand, *The Reformation: A Narrative History Related by Contemporary Observances and Participants* (New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1964), 172.



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