10-1-1939

Balthasar Hubmaier

James Hardwood Barnett III

Follow this and additional works at: http://scholarship.richmond.edu/honors-theses

Recommended Citation

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Student Research at UR Scholarship Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in Honors Theses by an authorized administrator of UR Scholarship Repository. For more information, please contact scholarshiprepository@richmond.edu.
BALTHASAR HUBMAIER

Jas. H. Barnett, Ill
December 18, 1939
History 101 d
Balthasar Hubmaier stands as one of the great unknowns of the Reformation. Only in the Baptist annals is he treated to any extent. Perhaps the reason lies in the fact that the Anabaptists were very much in the minority throughout the Reformation. They never had even a city which might be called Baptist, much less a nation. To be sure a great number of them lived at Waldshut for a while and then at Nikolsburg under the protection of some Moravian lords. But this happy state did not last long. Perchance, it is because of this that C.J.H. Hayes in his *Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe* dwells only for a paragraph on the Anabaptist to whom he does not give justice.

There are many things uncertain about Hubmaier's life and teachings, even the spelling of his name. There are no fewer than twenty spellings, including Hubmar, Huebmar, Huebmaier, Huebmer, Hubmejer, Hubemor, Hubmor, Huebmor, Hubbmaier, Hubmoyer, Hubbmaier, etc. besides such forms as Hilcmorus and Isubmarus.


The spelling of the Christian name narrows down to the two forms, Balthasar as above, and Balthazar. Dr. Armitage and the anonymous author of *Baptist Martyrs* present the name Balthazr Hubmeyer, while Vedder and Prof. A. H. Newman give it as Balthasar Hubmaier. The latter would seem to be correct, for Vedder has made an extensive study of Hubmaier's life. Although Hubmaier himself on several occasions spelled his name as Huebmor and although there is no record of his having spelled his name much differently (sometimes he left out the "e")
none of his authors ever consider his spelling. Perhaps they know best.

Though his biographers disagree on many points, the following facts are generally agreed upon. He was born in the village of Friedburg, near Augsburg, about 1480 or 1481. His family was of the lower class, but not peasants. He obtained his education while young at the Latin school of Augsburg. From there he went to the University of Freiburg. Here he came under the influence of Dr. Eck. After receiving his master's degree, he and Eck went to the University of Ingolstadt where he was made Doctor in Theology. He soon was called to Regensburg, now Ratisbon, as chief preacher in the cathedral. From here he went to Waldshut at about the same time that he became interested in the Reformation. He returned to Ratisbon, but not for long. Again he was back in Waldshut. About this time Hubmaier had fully broken with the old faith, as shown by his participation in a disputation at Zurich. At the church in Waldshut he began his reform. This raised much comment and agitation. He soon had to leave Waldshut and took up residence for a time at Schaffhausen. Soon he was back in Waldshut again. However he had to withdraw from there once more, this time to Zurich. There he was thrown in prison by Zwingli, and later forced to recant. He was finally set free to go to Nikolsburg. There he gathered around him a great number of Anabaptists. In 1527 the Austrian authorities seized him and his wife. After a long imprisonment he was burned at the stake in 1528. Three days later his wife was cast into the Danube to drown.

11

Nothing definite is known about Hubmaier's early life except what has been mentioned above. Of his family the only thing that can be concluded is that they were of peasant origin, but that they had risen above that class. The name Hubmaier means Hubel which is provincial
for Hugel, which in turn means "the farmer on the hill." Vedder believes they were either tenant farmers or of the artisan or small merchant class. The fact that they lived in a town would imply that they could give Hubmaier a better than average education. But in that day, contrary to belief, it was not difficult to obtain an education, since the Catholic Church was always on the lookout for promising young men for the clergy. Hubmaier's parents probably died before he came of age. This may be inferred, since Hubmaier never visited them later in life or even referred to them in his writings. 

*Ibid., p. 25.*

While at the Latin school at Augsburg, he made excellent grades and was probably singled out as a boy of promise. It was for this that he may have obtained a scholarship. He matriculated at the University of Freiburg in 1503 when he was past twenty. There he came under the influence of John Meyer or Dr. Eck who was younger than he, but farther advanced. He also met John Eaber who was a fellow student. However it was with Dr. Eck he associated the most and under him excelled in dialectics.

Hubmaier's studies at Freiburg were interrupted for financial reasons, so he went to Schaffhausen to teach. Records of this city give us information that "Balthasar Hubmer" was a temporary resident here in 1507. He again resumed his studies at Freiburg after that interruption. He received his master's degree in 1511. The fact that it was seven years between his matriculation and his graduation with a master's degree would imply that there was a year spent away from the university. Some of his enemies accuse him of stealing gowns while he was at Freiburg; it shows that he must have been like all college students, not letting his studies interfere with his fun. That surely
must have just been an escapade, for there is nothing in Hubmaier's character that would point in any possible way to theft.\footnote{Tbid., pp.30-31.}

Hubmaier received his master's degree in 1511 and, according to custom, this degree permitted him to teach philosophy. He soon joined the faculty at Freiburg, but only for a short while. His friend, Dr. Eck, had a quarrel with the university concerning the latter's salary. Hubmaier defended his friend a little too forcefully than caution would have allowed. Both left the university; whether they were asked to resign or not is not known. Eck was soon appointed professor at the University of Ingolstadt. Through his influence Hubmaier also obtained a position there. He rose quickly to a responsible position. By 1515, four years after his graduation at Freiburg, he was made vice-rector of the university. From there his fame spread quickly to Regensburg, or Ratisbon as it is called today. He was asked to preach at the cathedral here.

Hubmaier when he had graduated, was advised to take up medicine, for, he was a brilliant student; however he decided to devote himself to theology. Soon after his arrival at Ingolstadt he was made Doctor of Theology. Because of his eloquence he was also made the university preacher.

His decision to leave Ingolstadt was the most important one in his life. He left the overshadowing influence of Eck, who remained Catholic the rest of his life and who disputed against Luther several times. If he had not taken this step, he would probably have remained a teacher the rest of his life. At Ratisbon, a much more important and industrial city than Ingolstadt, he threw himself at once into his work. This work which he undertook so readily stands as the only blot on his record.

When he arrived in 1516, he found an anti-Jewish movement
which he took up. The Jews lived in a separate quarter which was surrounded by a wall. During the persecution they dared not leave their quarter in which there were enough cellars and secret passages to satisfy any mystery novel writer. The Jews finally appealed to the Emperor. The first appeal did no good; however the second one brought the message that the people of Regensburg must not molest the Jews further. Hubmaier was forced to pledge that he would show more moderation in the future, but he promised the city that he would keep up his efforts to expell the Jews. He said that the Church would free him from his oath! As soon as Emperor Maximillian had died in 1519, the Jewish quarter was razed and their synagogue turned into a church.

The fame of this church as a miracle renderer soon spread over the neighboring country. Hubmaier became the first chaplain of this chapel which was dedicated to Maria Formosa. At first he encouraged the superstition of miracles. Laborers and workers in the fields would pick up their tools and follow the pilgrims as they passed by. Everybody came from all walks of life to pray before the statue there. Hubmaier finally saw the evils involved and strove to prevent them. This raised no little agitation against him.

It is probably for this that Hubmaier decided to leave Regensburg. Some writers say that he had become interested in the Reformation and left to find more suitable grounds for reform, since Ratisbon was a strong Catholic city. Whether he left for the latter reason or not, no one knows, but it is known that he had not published or spoken of any reform and that he had not broken with Eck.

He left Regensburg, as he did Ingolstadt, with the respect of the people, as shown by the gift of forty gulden which he received from the city.

In 1521 he accepted the pastorate at Waldshut which is just over the Swiss border in Austria. Some writers cannot understand
how the choice fell on Hubmaier (Vedder). It would seem indeed simple; Hubmaier's fame perhaps spread to Waldshut which is not far away, and he was received readily.

For two years he outwardly conformed to the faith, although there must have been some inward change since he had begun to read the scriptures a great deal, and he must have read both sides of the disputation between Eck and Luther. He had not made the breach when he visited Basel, Switzerland in June 1522, but the visit must have influenced his views considerably. At Basel he met Busch, Erasmus, and the latter he conferred with concerning certain phases of the Catholic faith. Hubmaier was not impressed with Erasmus; he spoke of him as "speaking freely but writing cautiously." He also found in Switzerland the churchmen and the nuns marrying, the monasteries being emptied, in fact everything characteristic of the Reformation. Soon after he returned to Waldshut, to be exact in November, he went back to Ratisbon at the request of some of his friends there; however he did not resign his Waldshut pastorate.

Hubmaier probably had already made up his mind about turning the Catholic Church when he returned to Ratisbon, since he did not stay there more than five months. He must have thought that Waldshut presented a more hopeful future in reform than the staunch Catholic town of Regensburg.

The next month after his return he visited Zurich and formed a close friendship with Zwingli. Zwingli, too, was just beginning on his career as a reformist. Both agreed then that the Bible did not warrant infant baptism. Zwingli "conceded to him that children should not be baptised before they are instructed in the faith." At first Hubmaier

---


and Zwingli appeared to be in complete accord.

Hubmaier's first out-in-out breach occurred when he took part
in a religious disputation at Zurich in October 1523. He sided with the more radical element which demanded more reforms from Zwingli. The questions were concerning the use of images and mass. Everybody agreed that images were contrary to the Bible. Zwingli admitted that the eucharist only represented Christ's sacrifice, but he argued moderation at all times. One may see and should keep in mind that Zwingli and Hubmaier did not differ to any great extent in their views. The only difference lay in that Hubmaier was more progressive.

As a result Hubmaier returned to Waldshut full of new ideas and enthusiasm for carrying them out. He drew up a list of his convictions, which will be discussed later. He then proceeded to make radical changes in the church services, such as substituting German for Latin. Later on he married the daughter of a burgher, Elizabeth Huglin. This was a very fortunate step, for she was a fine woman who stayed with him through many trials.

'T was not long before opposition arose to his reforms. Although the townspeople were behind him, most of the clergy and the Austrian authorities protested. A representative from the Emperor came to ask the city to expel or deliver him up. The mayor and the council of the city defended Hubmaier and refused to give him up. The Austrian government finally demanded that he be expelled within a month or force would be used. 'T is no wonder that the government attempted to get rid of him, for he was preaching against what they believed with all their heart. Also there was rumors of a peasant revolt, and Hubmaier could have been connected with that very easily. Professor Pfleiderer attributes to Hubmaier the authorship of the state paper which the peasants had drawn up in their revolt of 1525-26 in the Black Forest. 'T is believed that Hubmaier aided the peasants at Waldshut morally at least.'

---

Hubmaier decided that it would be best if he should leave the city for the time being. Accordingly he set out for Schaffhausen in the fall of 1524. Nevertheless Austria demanded of Schaffhausen the surrender of Hubmaier. The city was undecided and rather unwilling to give up Hubmaier. During this time of insecurity Hubmaier wrote his controversia tract, "Concerning Heretics and Those Who Burn Them." Also there he challenged Zck to a disputation on some evangelical proposition. Hubmaier thinking it was safer in Waldshut returned there about the first of November. Austria then increased her vehemence against that small town, because the danger of a revolt on the part of the peasants was more imminent. They also wished to suppress this before any other towns might follow suit. Austria menaced the little town with troops. It was then that many Swiss sympathisers rushed to the aid of the threatened town. In that way the troops were forced to retire for a time.

Newman says that 12000 troops were massed to occupy Waldshut before Hubmaier even came back and that only the timely intervention of Swiss troops (6000 it is said) sent from Zurich prevented the occupation. He also tells of Hubmaier's working in the front lines with the soldiers after his return.

Whether the former or latter view is correct, it is true that the Austrian troops were held at bay and into the winter. During this time a certain William Reublin had come to Waldshut from Switzerland. Reublin convinced Hubmaier that Anabaptism and his (Hubmaier's) faith coincided. Hubmaier with sixty others (some say one hundred) were baptised. On Easter day Hubmaier himself baptised three hundred men from the town. He used an old milk pail with water from a well.

Soon conditions in Waldshut got worse. There was formed a Catholic party which wished to surrender Hubmaier. His Swiss friends and soldiers longed to go home; Austria began to center her fire on Waldshut.
Hubmaier decided that this condition could not last; he must leave. So with his wife and his Swiss followers who had remained in Waldshut he crossed the Rhine, intending to go to Basel and then to Strasburg. However the danger of arrest caused him to go to Zurich. This was a fatal step.

Hubmaier did not realize fully what changes had taken place in Zwingli's policies. A radical group in Zurich with which Hubmaier was in accord began to demand more changes. Zwingli followed a middle-of-the-road policy with the support of the town. Although Zwingli had at first been against infant baptism, he later decided to continue it at Zurich, since it was too revolutionary. Zwingli was correct in following his conservative path; he reformed slowly and prudently.

Hubmaier was one of those who went ahead and demanded more reforms; only in this was he opposed to Zwingli. Hubmaier did not realize the danger of coming to Zurich, because he and Zwingli used to be fast friends. However they had had a sharp exchange of books aimed at each other, but Hubmaier was not aware of the danger of going to that town. He did realize that there was some risk, as shown by the fact that he had hid himself at the home of one of his friends there. Vedder says it was an Anabaptist preacher, Henry Alberti, who took him to an inn, called the Green Shield. Newman contends that it was a widow, recently baptised by Alberti. Nevertheless Hubmaier was detected after a few days and imprisoned along with three other prominent Anabaptist leaders, Grebel, Manz, and Blaurock.

A little while before Hubmaier had challenged Zwingli to a debate on baptism, so the debate was then carried out. Zwingli declared that he had "rendered him mute as a fish." He later modified this statement. Hubmaier, too, claimed the victory. It would seem that Hubmaier was slightly the victor, for he brought the facts that Zwingli had before agreed that infant baptism was not mentioned in the Bible.
There are three conflicting views from this point. Vedder contends that no violence was used and that Hubmaier declared that he would accept the validity of infant baptism. Newman argues that Hubmaier was in very bad health and was at the mercy of Zwingli. He also says that Zwingli browbeat him into agreeing to recant. The author of Baptist Martyrs tells of torture on the rack and at last a promise of recantation.

For further discussion see Newman, pp 141-143.

Nevertheless from now on views coincide. Hubmaier was to appear before the people of Zurich to give a public recantation. At first he swayed to and fro, hardly able to speak after being sick. With a quivering voice he began in the usual form, but as he got into the speech he spoke with more vigor. All of a sudden his words boomed out a denunciation of infant baptism. Zwingli quickly interrupted him and hurried him off to prison. He was kept there on bread and water till he should recant. While kept in prison it is certain that torture on the rack was applied. Finally a semi-recantation was extracted from him which allowed him to be free from the torture. Zwingli then permitted Hubmaier to be set free under surveillance. This was one kind act among the horrible deeds of Zwingli. Austria had demanded Hubmaier from Zurich; however the council refused. Then Zwingli was kind enough to allow Hubmaier to stay there protected from the Austrian authorities and other Swiss enemies until he could escape.

Finally he was able to go to Constance where he preached a few sermons. One can see that he did not let his recantation interfere with his faith in the future. From there he reached Augsburg where he met and converted Hans (or John) Doetzk. From Augsburg he journeyed to Nikolsburg in Moravia.

Moravia in that day was a haven for the persecuted. It is peculiar that in that country in the period of intolerance people of different sects were able to live side by side peacefully. This is
why Hubmaier chose Nikolsburg as the place for his work. After Hubmaier set himself up at Nikolsburg, Anabaptists from all over Germany came there. The conditions were ideal. The land was not settled to any great extent, beside it was very fertile and afforded opportunity for great improvements.

When Hubmaier reached the promised land, he was received kindly by Oswald Glaidt, a man who entertained the same views as Hubmaier. It was not long before Hubmaier had converted Glaidt and Hans Spitalmier, the chief evangelical preacher of the time. He also changed Martin Goschel's faith. The Anabaptists were very fortunate in bringing around to their faith Leonard and Hans of Lichtenstien, the lords of the domain in which Nikolsburg was situated. Many other nobleman in that section were inclined to evangelical views and Hubmaier dedicated much of his writing to them.

At Nikolsburg, Hubmaier condensed the work of a lifetime in a little more than a year. He published seventeen pamphlets and tracts. While there six thousand persons were converted by baptism. Nevertheless Hubmaier's life was not easy. There had come to Nikolsburg a man named Hans Hut who had been imprisoned for refusing to have his baby baptised. After his release he journeyed to Nurnburg, where he was baptised by John Denck. Hut appeared at Nikolsburg near the end of 1526.

Hut was opposed to magistracy and the use of the sword. He drew to himself many of the preachers, including Glaidt and some say Goschel. A great many prominent leaders were carried off by his fanatical preaching. Before Hans Hut came there was already a small group of fanatical Anabaptist lead by "One eyed Jacob" Widemann. They believed in community of goods (Communism) and non-resistance (prohibited use of the sword). They called taxes "blood money." Widemann joined parties. Hubmaier saw that the sect was being divided, so he tried to make those who had been carried away by Hut's teachings (Hut forecast the end of the world) but nothing happened) see the foolishness of it all. Many of Hut's followers sold all their belongings and gathered together on the day he
forecast. Spitalmaier was the only prominent man to stand by Hubmaier; however, many others returned as soon as they saw where Hut was leading them.

Finally the lords of Lichtenstien who remained faithful to Hubmaier intervened. They held a hearing in their castle. By then most of the preachers joined Hubmaier again. After the discussion Hut was imprisoned immediately by the lords, probably with the consent of Hubmaier. This caused much comment in the city, so Hubmaier had ease the people with a logical oration. The preachers stood by Hubmaier and finally everybody was satisfied. Hut escaped from the castle only to be killed after returning to Augsburg. Widemann was not imprisoned and in the future divided the party, since Hubmaier was taken away to Vienna by the authorities.

In the meantime the royal/which had always been weak had been further reduced in a war with the Turks. Louis II of Bohemia had allowed the princes to rule as they wished for a good while. The princes or lords as Leonard and John of Lichtenstien were actually the rulers of their domain. However the diet chose Archduke Ferdinand of Austria as king. He was the same man who had demanded Hubmaier from Waldshut. Ferdinand who was much stronger than Louis II, demanded the extradition of Hubmaier from the lords of Lichtenstien. The lords complied by bringing him to Vienna.

Many people have speculated as to the readiness with which these lords gave up their spiritual leader. Vedder suggests that Hubmaier was arrested on the charge of sedition and then was convicted for heresy. Then, of course, it would have been very difficult for the lords to have refused. It may be inferred that the lords would not have so quickly given up Hubmaier if he were charged with heresy at first. They were just as guilty of heresy as Hubmaier and they probably thought they were fortunate in escaping a similar charge.
Hubmaier was confined in a castle near Vienna, which some as Greifaenstien which belonged to the Lichtenstien family. Here he was not put in a cell and was in friendly hands very likely. In hope of being saved, he requested of his old school friend, John Faber, an interview. Faber came and they talked for several days. Hubmaier yielded on all points except those of baptism and the eucharist; he probably expected leniency. Besides this partial recantation, records show that he promised a full renunciation. However he never delivered it; he probably had in mind staving off the date of his death.

It is true that Hubmaier was not heroic and steadfast to the end. He was not able to stand physical punishment. However we should not hold this against him too heavily, for torture on the rack has its own ways of making one say other than what he believes.

The officials must have not deemed Hubmaier's partial recantation enough, since he still clung to the fundamental doctrines of Anabaptism. Hubmaier was brought to Vienna on the third of March 1528 to be tried. Vedder says that during the prosecution Hubmaier was tortured on the rack and possibly by other means. He was condemned to die on the tenth of March. On this date he was led down the street to the place of execution. There with a great multitude watching, gunpowder was rubbed over his body and beard and the torch was applied. Three days afterwards his wife who remained more steadfast than he was drowned in the Danube.

Hubmaier officially broke with the old faith in October, 1525 when he took part in the second disputation of Zurich. As soon as he returned to Waldshut, he began a program of reform. He had probably been weighing the steps of reform in his mind for a great while before the break. He had begun the evangelical type of preaching at Waldshut before the disputation, but he didn't begin the actual reform till
His first step was to present to the church eighteen articles of religion. Some of his outstanding topics are included in the following:

1. Faith alone makes us just before God.
2. His faith cannot remain dead, but must manifest itself toward God in thanksgiving, toward out fellowmen in works of brotherly love. Thereby are all ceremonials destroyed, tapers, psalms, holy water.
3. Only those works are good which God has commanded. Thereby fall fish, flesh, cowls, plates.
4. The mass is no sacrifice, but a memorial to the death of Christ.
5. The memorial should be preached in the mother tongue to believe.
6. Images are good for nothing.
7. Just as every Christian should believe and be baptized for himself, so it is his privilege to judge from the scriptures if the bread and wine are rightly given him by the pastor.
8. It is better to explain the single verse of a psalm in the vernacular of the people than to sing five whole psalms in language not understood.
9. It is the duty of church members to provide for the minister.
10. Purgatory will not be found.
11. To forbid priests to marry and wink at their carnal lewdness is to release Barabbas and put Christ to death.
12. Whosoever does not earn his bread by the sweat of his brow is in condemnation.

Hubmaier proceeded to put into effect all of the above. He held the Eucharist in German, and told the people that it was only a memorial to the death of Christ. He banished all pictures and images and the like from the church. He permitted the people to eat meat on Fridays. He himself married.

In April 1525, Hubmaier along with some others were baptised from a bucket. Hubmaier and the other preachers of the day used affusion as
their method; however the practice in that day of well-instructed Anabaptist was immersion, but this was seldom done. The process followed by Hubmaier was to have the candidate kneel and then to pour water on him. As one may have observed above, Hubmaier was completely at variance with Rome on infant baptism. Hubmaier's own words concerning baptism are as follows:

"Water baptism is an external and public testimony of the inward baptism of the spirit set forth by receiving water. Publicly and orally he vows to God, by the strength of God the father, Son, and Holy Spirit that he will henceforth believe and live according to the divine word."

Hans Hut and Jacob Widemann gave Hubmaier the chance to express his views concerning free will magistracy and communism. He says that the will of the body and of the soul are not free, but the will of the spirit is free.

Hubmaier believed fully in the magistracy. He defends those who take part in civil duties. In truth he is opposed to Hut's anarchic program. He contends that the sword should be used against disorder and sin. In On the Sword he states that men should bear the sword for the protection of the innocent. He defends the magistrates as appointed to carry out God's word. He states that the sword is to be used for the administration of justice. In his last passage he begs that every man be subject to the magistrat and power. One may draw from this that Hubmaier also believed in democratic government with taxes, if needed.

A large number of Anabaptist were in favor of community of goods in other words communism. Some charge Hubmaier with confirming with this but in this they are entirely wrong. The only kind of community of goods that he was in favor of was that the Christian should hold his own property subject to the needs of the brotherhood. Hubmaier strived in every way he could to draw the people away from Hut's fanatic teachings in which Hut foretold the end of the world. One may see that Hubmaier
followed the same principles as the Baptist of today.

All of Hubmaier's views came from the Scriptures and were warranted by them. He held that the Bible was the authority for everything, and that any Christian could interpret the word without priests. All of his views and principles may be narrowed down to the fact that the Scriptures were supreme.

Hubmaier's enemies accuse him on two counts; namely, his persecution of the Jews at Ratisbon and his weak character. However in that day persecution of the Jews was not deemed as terrible as it is today. Then it was considered proper for all good church-goers to take part in such movements. Newman states that Hubmaier entered the agitation for the expulsion of the Jews in the spirit of the times. Therefore before condemning Hubmaier, one should bring to his mind that nearly all Christians considered it proper and even expected their ministers to persecute the Jews.

Many Hubmaier for his weakness in torture. However few are the people who stand up under the rack. Hubmaier was not gifted with physical strength and fortitude. Both at Zurich and Vienna he recanted partially when confronted with torture. One must put himself in the place of Hubmaier before he censures him too sharply, for the rack is very persuasive.

After one has looked over the heroes of the Reformation, one sees Hubmaier as a shining light. Calvin burned Servetus besides persecuting many heretics. Luther and Zwingli both have reputations for being inconsistent. Luther before the Peasants' War supported the cause of the poor and underprivileged. Later he reversed and condemned them as "faithless, treacherous, lying, disobedient, boobies and rascals."

Zwingli, having agreed that infant baptism was not warranted by the Scriptures, later persecuted and killed everybody in the surrounding territory who professed Anabaptism.
Balthasar Hubmaier presents an interesting study for anyone who enjoys reading about the Reformation. His views were simple, straightforward, understandable, and logical. He believed wholeheartedly in his statement, "The truth is immortal." Long after him will live his immortal words which show his eternal search for knowledge:

"For I may err: I am a man; but a heretic I cannot be.
I wish from my heart to be instructed, and I will promise gratefully to confess my error."
Bibliography

Armitage


On my honor as a gentleman, I have neither given nor received aid on this theme.

Jas, H. Barnett, ill.