

Munster as the New Jerusalem: Charisma, Fear, Location, and Circumstance

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For close to five centuries, rusty iron cages have been hanging on top of St. Lambert's Cathedral in Munster, Germany. They have not been touched or moved since their arrival on top of the church tower in 1535. Instead, the cages serve as a daily reminder to all that blatant disrespect for the state will not be tolerated by the government or the just God who watches over them.¹ The cages were the final home of leaders of the radical apocalyptic Anabaptist movement who established absolute control of Munster, Germany from 1533 to 1535. After confessing to crimes against the state and God, they were put inside the cages and burned to death. The cages were then hoisted high into the air, and placed atop the church overlooking the land of religious upheaval that changed the western world.

The whole of Western Europe became the political and religious hotbed of the sixteenth century, sparked by Martin Luther's posting of his ninety-five theses in 1517. The Reformation spread throughout Europe and beyond as each new follower added his or her own unique element of faith to Luther's attempt to reform the Roman Catholic Church. As religion was closely intertwined with politics, religious upheaval went hand in hand with political turmoil as well. The struggle no longer just involved the dominant Protestant versus Catholic fight, but as new Protestant sects developed, feuds for power and authority pitted Protestant sect against Protestant sect. As political lines became drawn on many different religious grounds, the fighting and new radical doctrines that were produced escalated fear in many of the people that the Biblical prediction of the end of the world was at hand. The upheaval of the sacred doctrine of the infallible

Catholic Church, thought to be the only Christian belief, frightened many who feared the wrath of God.

As more bloodshed occurred with new religious ideas abounding, the judgement of the Almighty seemed closer than ever. The city of Munster, located in the northwestern corner of the Holy Roman Empire next to the Netherlands, exemplified the political strife sweeping Western Europe. The bishop prince who was supposed to serve as the authority over the town resided outside its limits, leaving the town to struggle with issues of power and justification internally. The townspeople created divisions among themselves based on religious views, deeming those with the correct divine assessment of the present moment were the guardians and authors of law within the city. As religious and political strife intermixed with radical apocalyptic views from the Netherlands and surrounding areas of Wittenberg and Strassborg, a disunited town council opened the door for radical change. By the 1530s, Munster was ripe for the upheaval of all its traditional values concerning faith and government on a huge scale. As the council's newly appointed radical preacher divided the town, an outside millennialistic Anabaptist sect began sending disciples into Munster, preparing it for takeover as the New Jerusalem. Eventually besieged by the apocalyptic Melchoirite Anabaptists in 1533, the radical upheaval in Munster was the result of a culmination of social, political and geographical circumstance, and the charismatic leadership that brought about a society fueled by apocalyptic fervor and fear.

Munster was the head-city of a princely bishopric. The bishop prince, Franz von Waldeck, exerted little control in the city, living

well outside city bounds.² He did not receive much support from the town, as his perpetuation of restrictive trade policies alienated the influential town merchants.³ Without the bishop prince's interfering, Munster basically was free to run itself. It did so by means of a twenty-four-man council. "...Each year ten electors, directly elected by the full citizens, chose the twenty-four man council...in times of public discontent they could replace them."⁴ While the town's guildsmen were not council members, the United Guild exerted much influence on the council and in the town. Generally of the burgher class, the guildsmen used their power to rally the more aristocratic town council against the bishop prince.⁵

In the late 1520s, Bernard Rothmann, a Munster native, was financially supported by the town's guildsmen to attend theology school in Wittenberg, west of the town of Munster and the birthplace of the Reformation, and to travel to other Reformation cities. Rothmann was initially influenced by Luther's ideas which "greatly diminished the role of the priest as mediator between layman and God, thereby increasing the importance of the Bible and personal conscience in directing the layman's spiritual journey."⁶ Returning with other Reformation radical ideas, Rothmann preached his first Protestant sermon outside of St. Lambert's Cathedral in 1532.

The bishop prince, pressured by the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, had Rothmann removed, but the town guildsmen protected Rothmann.⁷ The guildsmen, of the upper-middle class, were attracted to the Protestant message. Unlike the Roman Catholic Church, the Protestant belief in salvation through faith instead of through works or a monetary donation was appealing to those trying to make a living. Protestant faith did not judge the guildsmen by class, which determined their ability to donate money or goods. Instead, they were able to keep their money and be assured of salvation through grace. Rothmann represented the guildsmen's defiance toward the Holy Roman Empire and its puppet, the Roman Catholic Church, while also proving to the bishop prince that his authority was no longer real in the town.

Receiving the support of the Uberwasser nuns, who controlled St. Lambert's Cathedral, and the town council which was powerless against the burgher class's adamant approval of Rothmann, Rothmann successfully drove out all the Catholic pastors and supporters, replacing church officials with new pastors who held similar evangelical views.⁸ Rothmann began preaching radical theological sermons, claiming infant baptism and the belief of transubstantiation in communion were abominations to God.⁹ Appealing to the people, Rothmann "began to emphasize Christian stewardship and the duty of the Christian to use his possessions for the common good. This message had fallen on responsive ears in the adjoining territories, for crops had been poor and food was dear."¹⁰

The aristocratic town council preferred a more Conservative Lutheran view on baptism.¹¹ Given their social position, the idea of communal living threatened their power in the town. Trying to rein in authority, and adhere to the wishes of the bishop prince, the council held a public colloquy in August of 1533 with Herman Busche, a well-known student of Luther, plus local Catholic and Lutheran clergy. The council formally charged Rothmann with breaking the established order of the Holy Roman Empire, concerning infant baptism and the teachings on the body and blood of Christ.¹² Rothmann, however, was undaunted by the colloquy, which forced the clergy of the Catholic and Lutheran churches to form a quasi-alliance based on the tradition of infant baptism and transubstantiation in order to be a significant opposition to Rothmann and his growing supporters.¹³ The townspeople divided themselves, some clinging to the traditional beliefs of the Catholic and Lutheran faith and some embracing the new radical protestant doctrine preached by Rothmann. These divisions usually fell on class-lines as the burgher class saw Rothmann as their hero and the upper class saw him as the Anti-Christ. As divisions and debates mounted around him, Rothmann continued preaching in St. Lambert's Cathedral.

Following the colloquy, the entire twenty-four man council was replaced by fewer noblemen, and more heads of the United

Guild.¹⁴ With their support, Rothmann began preaching more fervently, stressing communal views along with his adamant adult baptism belief. Soon his reputation spread to the south, attracting the attention of the Melchiorite Anabaptists. Disciples of Melchior Hofmann and Jan Matthys visited Munster and began conversing with Rothmann. Upon seeing the political and religious strife around them in the town, the disciples were sure they were in God's chosen New Jerusalem, which had been promised to them almost a decade before by the father of their faith, Melchior Hofmann.

Melchior Hofmann became attracted to Lutheranism shortly after Luther posted his ninety-five theses. Believing it was his duty to spread Christ's message, Hofmann evangelized in the northern lands of the Holy Roman Empire and among the western borders of the Netherlands as a missionary. His sermons, however, began to question the church's view on infant baptism and the apocalypse. He started prophesizing about Christ's return and the elect, characteristically touchy subjects for Protestant and Catholic churches alike. In one of his recorded sermons, Hofmann states that God's elect shall "enter into the Holy [of Holies] and come to the Sabbath and the true rest completely naked and resigned to enter the bed of the Bridegroom where the righteous [re-] birth takes place and where one is instructed by God and the Word."¹⁵ Claiming to be a divine authority, his sermons gave the poor hope, as they took comfort in knowing they would have eternal rest in the afterlife. Obedience to Christ, therefore, was equated with obedience to Hofmann. The peasant class that clung to Hofman became more visible as Hofmann impressed upon his followers the importance of evangelizing. Their belief in being God's chosen elect gave them confidence to be loud in their beliefs. Obeying Hofmann and essentially Christ, the followers proclaimed their salvation message, regardless of their audience's social status or the place where they were evangelizing.

The radical ideas Hofmann proclaimed alarmed the Lutheran Church as well as local officials. Hofmann left the Lutheran faith and headed south, as the northern cities'

governments feared the nature of his "radical tendencies and chiliastic speculations."¹⁶ Heading south of Munster, in the town of Strasbourg, the Hofmann's radical adult baptism beliefs and millennialistic prophecies began attracting new attention. He acquired a group of followers, most notably women who claimed abilities as prophetesses. As one man's confession recorded of Hofmann's followers: "One of the prophetesses also prophesied – and that through a vision – that Melchior was Elijah," God's chosen apocalyptic prophet.¹⁷ Along with his re-baptism, or Anabaptist beliefs, Hofmann asserted his Divine power as the prophet Elijah and predicted the end of the world was at hand. As Hofmann quoted scripture showing the government persecution of Christians in the end times, his personal persecution by the town authorities for social disruption only confirmed the belief in his followers minds that they were living in the end times and that Hofmann was indeed God's chosen prophet.¹⁸ Fulfilling his prophecy, Strasbourg officials jailed Hofmann in 1533, where he remained until his death in 1543.

Hofmann's followers were assured more than ever that their beloved prophet was indeed God's chosen and the end times were upon them. As Hofmann languished in jail, however, the group began to wonder who would take new leadership. A baker influenced by Hofmann in the Netherlands, Jan Matthys claimed God revealed to him that he was the biblical prophet Enoch, the prophet the Bible claims to follow Elijah. A tall man with a great black beard, Matthys's appearance was very intimidating.¹⁹ As rumors that challenged Matthys's claim became known, one former follower recorded: "When John Matthys learned of this, he carried on with much emotion and terrifying alarm, and with great and desperate curses cast all into hell and to the devils to eternity who would not hear his voice and would not recognize him and accept him as the true Enoch."²⁰ Fearful of God's wrath and Matthys's violent temper, his followers rose in number in an effort to honor God. With Hofmann in jail, Matthys was left to carry out the work of establishing the New Jerusalem. Figuring Strasbourg was not the chosen site, Matthys looked north to Munster where a radical pastor's reputation and the

town's lack of central authority had been rumored.

Matthys sent scouts throughout Germany to report on places ripe for evangelical conversion.²¹ Munster, with its lack of princely authority, newly appointed town council, and approval of the radical teachings of Bernard Rothmann, became the obvious chosen for a communal society based on Old Testament law to be set up. Matthys entered into a relationship with Rothmann, indoctrinating him with even more radical beliefs and encouraging him to be a part of God's divine plan by setting up Munster as the site of the New Jerusalem. The Melchiorite Anabaptists started moving into Munster, eventually taking the town over in early 1534. So-called prophets or preachers left Munster in an effort to find more followers who would hear prophesy and see signs in Munster, preparing the way for Christ to establish his new kingdom on earth.²²

The preachers that were sent out gained much attention in the surrounding areas, causing concern to officials who feared revolt. As officials caught one preacher, he confessed: "Also Knipperdollinck who is of the right spirit, had heard wonderful things from heaven and he called out: better yourselves, better yourselves than the King of Zion will come and rebuild Jerusalem; and many more who also had the spirit have called out the same and called for penitence."²³ The Anabaptists also sent out a letter to friends whom they thought would be willing to join them. Using fear, they claimed they were the chosen city of the New Jerusalem and that no one should "neglect to come unless he wishes to tempt God."²⁴ Few came to Munster to join the Anabaptists, but many left, fearful of what was to come.

Matthys established authority by using Old Testament Law. Communal-style living was installed, as everyone surrendered their goods to be evenly distributed amongst the followers. Daily Matthys prophesized, giving credence to his claim as Enoch as he "sat quietly, clapped his hands, nodded with his head, and groaned greatly as if he were about to die."²⁵ In military fashion, Matthys sent out men to patrol the city gates, to ward off Lutheran and Catholic fighters attempting to re-capture the town. Making a

show of himself, Matthys would daily ride to the city walls, complete with armor and musket in hand, "like a wild man out of his senses."²⁶ Matthys's luck eventually wore off, as the combined Lutheran and Catholic fighters led by Munster's bishop prince eventually captured him and brutally killed him.

...And he was so violent that even his enemies for their part were terrified of him...they were so incensed that they did not just kill him like other people but hacked and chopped him into little pieces, so that his brethren had to carry him in a basket when the tumult was over.²⁷

His head was put on top of a long pike, which was thrust into the ground outside the city as a warning of what was to come if the gates were not let open.

After Matthys's somewhat heroic death, one of Hofmann's original followers, Jan Van Leyden, emerged as God's new chosen figure. Leyden established a new dictatorship style government, proclaiming himself the King of Munster. He wore a gold crown and purple robe and set up a throne in the town's center where he was attended by fashionably dressed courtiers and his fifteen wives. From there he passed out judgment, establishing martial law as the divine voice of God. As one follower later confessed, God instructed Leyden that everyone should be baptized to cleanse the town and those who would not convert would be punished.²⁸ During Leyden's rule, many executions took place, most of which were done purely for example's sake. "He showed little confidence toward his subjects and through his secret and public informers he kept them from entering into secret arrangements."²⁹ Leyden's elaborate lifestyle overwhelmed the people who were tired, hungry and living in fear. Christ's return seemed far away, as keeping themselves alive became the more prominent goal.

Life inside Munster under Leyden's rule was a lot less glorious than what had been imagined by the chosen inhabitants of God's New Jerusalem. Under supposed communal living, much inequality existed when Leyden and his elite dressed as royal monarchs and maintained elaborate lifestyles. Baptisms still took place daily, as the Anabaptists became intolerant of all

others within their city walls. Polygamy became widespread, with Leyden himself taking some fifteen wives, including Matthys's former wife. Fear still drove the people despite their military losses and shortage of food.³⁰ The scarcity of food became a real problem for the thirteen hundred men and six thousand women, plus the numerous children.³¹ As one captured prisoner noted in a letter, the white was being scraped off the wall and mixed with water so children thought they would be drinking milk.³² One Munster inhabitant also stated that the lack of meat caused almost all the cats and dogs to be eaten plus several horses.³³ Some people left the city, gladly sent out by those remaining, so as to save food for themselves. Those remaining grew sickly pale with bloated stomachs. Their strength to keep out the besieging forces dwindled daily as not even fear could motivate them to fight for their New Jerusalem.

Jan van Leyden did not inspire his new "subjects" to fight for the New Jerusalem as he appeared less concerned with establishing God's kingdom and more enamored with enhancing his own personal authority as Munster's king. Leyden left the protection of the town up to his carefully monitored forces. By Leyden's command, the men were not allowed to communicate with each other. The men's weakness and lack of back-up forces made it difficult to keep the attacking forces out. The men guarding the gates eventually gave out to the combined Lutheran and Catholic forces, led by the bishop prince, pressing to relieve the town of the Anabaptist dominion. After a year of control, the besieging forces overcame the chiliastic group in late 1535. A short fight took place within city limits after the besieging forces finally got through the city gate. Most men were killed in the fighting or taken as prisoners. Women and children were generally released, eventually receiving pardons from the church for their involvement. Leyden and the other leaders were hunted down and captured, where they were then subject to much questioning and torture. On 22 January 1536, Leyden faced execution.³⁴ Before his death, Leyden confessed his crimes and asked God to have mercy on his soul for the atrocities he had committed. Leyden, along with other town leaders, were

placed in large cages immediately following the removal of their tongues by means of hot metal prongs. The cages were then set on fire as Leyden and the others were burned to death, perhaps as a foretaste of what was awaiting them after death. The cages, with the dead remains, were hoisted high on top the tower of St. Lambert's Cathedral, a reminder to all of the obedience and respect expected by the state and God. What once served as Munster's introduction to the radical chiliastic Anabaptist theology would be forever remembered as the final resting-place for a man whose devoted followers gave everything they had for the build-up of what they thought was the New Jerusalem.

While it is easy for an observer to call the followers of the apocalyptic claims in Munster crazy, the reappearing of the New Jerusalem scenario throughout history proves the actions are not so deviant after all. It is more logical to conclude that the abnormal circumstances heralding an end-time fear is a not such an abnormal part of human nature. Humans striving to fill a spiritual void in their lives, in this case Christians, wish to enjoy the benefits of paradise in the afterlife. The leaders of these cults claim authority from God and are "often able to assure the potential converts that they can all be saved – which means a promise of everlasting salvation and tranquility to the potential devotee."³⁵ As Hofmann, Matthys and Leyden proclaimed, re-baptism and obedience were necessary to ensure salvation. Believers' adherence to only these demands ensured their place in the afterlife by demonstrating commitment and perseverance in the faith.

Max Weber, a well-noted sociologist and scholar on the Reformation, explains the heated follower-to-leader relationship as extreme devotion.³⁶ Because charismatic leaders emerge out of emotionally charged situations, followers do not hold the leaders to the same standards they would normally hold for each other. Followers assume special authority is granted to their charismatic leader due to the circumstances. Charismatic leaders are confirming a belief already in the minds of their followers. For example, Matthys's emergence as a leader fit into a divine plan in the minds of his

followers. Already convinced they were living in the end times thanks to Hofmann, Matthys seemed like the natural and prophesied new leader to follow.

Van Leyden, like Matthys before him, once again fit into the natural and divine plan established by Matthys and Hofmann in their followers' minds. His authority was more extreme, but accepted as followers wished to show obedience to God, represented by Leyden on earth. Hofmann's stricter communal and polygamous society was viewed as necessary to prepare the town for Christ's return. It was also seen, originally, as a better way of life.

Following the horrors of the Black Plague in 1529 along with the deficiency of crops and widespread famine thereafter, the middle class and poor were willing to leave the hierarchical rule of the state and church who were not helping them get back on their feet. Unable to find association and morality in the mainstream, the people of Munster turned to the radical leaders who accepted them.³⁷

The people of Munster believed they were living in the New Jerusalem because everything predicted to them came true. When Hofmann predicted the government persecution of Christians, as when Strasbourg authorities jailed him for public disruption, it only validated in his followers' minds that the end times had begun. Even outrageous claims helped confirm the authority of the leaders involved, as the idea that a merciful God had saved them as promised overshadowed doubt that the original prediction was false. Rothmann predicted the world's end on Easter of 1533. "When nothing happened, Rothmann took solace in the example of Jonah, whose prophecy of Nineveh's destruction was prevented by a merciful God."³⁸ As is Rothmann's case, even when charismatic leaders' claims turn out to be false, they are able to use the untruth to further their authority.

Fear was also a tool used by the leaders to exert authority and control. Of most concern to the people was the idea of what could happen to them if the New Jerusalem claims were genuine and they turned their back on it. Hofmann in his sermons wrote that Christ will divorce his bridegroom if she is disobedient to him, ending all fellowship and communion with her.³⁹ Once

again, the fear of eternal damnation in hell outweighed the idea that the New Jerusalem claims were a mere hoax. Matthys's violent manner, which scared his enemies into chopping him into little pieces to make sure of his death, evoked fear in his followers. Also his tall, dark appearance added legitimacy to his claim as God's prophet. Leyden used the same violent manner, shouting judgment down from a gilded throne. His royal appearance also added weight to his claim as the King of Munster.

Although many of the tactics are planned by the leader, most of the circumstances surrounding them, which help give validity to their claims, just happen to occur at the right place and time. The political and religious upheaval in Munster in the early 1530s had no relation to the sermons of Melchior Hofmann. The enthusiasm inspiring the upheavals had its roots in something that happened over a century before. Through a twisted chain of events, however, they became related as charismatic leaders inspired disgruntled peasants to mobilize.

Much of the psychological reasoning, which allowed for the siege of Munster to take place, occurred long before the Melchiorite Anabaptists started gaining the public's attention. The Black Death that swept Europe in the mid-fourteenth century was still vivid in the memories of most of the population, who never truly settled their fears with death. Crop failures in the early part of the sixteenth century heightened the sense of insecurity among the lower classes. Also, religious tensions were spawned by the questioning of the Catholic Church, perhaps the one stable element in the population's life, by Martin Luther in 1517. The peasants revolted in 1524 against their monastic landowners without the support of the Lutherans. Believing social freedom was a part of their newfound freedom from the Catholic Church, many were ready to engage in a new way of life. The charismatic leadership allowed for the dissatisfied people to unite, unfortunately with the high price of mass death. Peasants seeking social justice and eternal salvation ultimately were forced to live under the arbitrary rule of Jan van Leyden with a low chance of survival. Many wishing to do the will

of God within the city walls were killed by Leyden's troops for example's sake. Eventually everyone was forced to alter their communal ways of living as Lutheran and Catholic forces hung the Munsterites' celebrated king and other leaders' charred remains in cages from a church.

When tourists visit Munster, they are sure to see the cages high above St. Lambert's Cathedral and hear the story of how they reached their final destination. Stories of Munster, the Branch Davidians, Solar Temple members, or any other millennialistic group in our society are hastily judged and dismissed as some sort of psychotic phenomena. The frequent re-occurrences of these groups, however, present a problem for the hurried write-off most of these groups receive. Judgement is quickly passed on groups

like those in Munster because of their unconventional ways. It is quite obvious, measures were taken too far during Munster's siege by the leaders and followers of the group. Tolerance by the state of the apocalyptic Anabaptists could have proved less destructive.⁴⁰ A better method for dealing with groups such as the Anabaptists in Munster is needed to ensure the burned cages or the more recently burned compounds, do not reoccur. Until then, the cages high on St. Lambert's Cathedral should remind the everyday gazer of the respect demanded by the State and God, but also that a more tolerant way of dealing with the unconventional groups in our society might prevent the kind of destruction the cages represent.

Endnotes

¹ Johnathon D. Grieser, "A Tale of Two Convents: Nuns and Anabaptists in Munster, 1533-1535," *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 26 (spring 1995): 45.

² George Williams, *The Radical Reformation* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1962), 364.

³ Irvin Buckwalter Horst, *The Radical Brethren: Anabaptism and the English Reformation to 1558* (Nieuwkoop, Netherlands: N.V. Drukkerij Trio, 1972), 67.

⁴ James M. Strayer, *The German Peasants' War and Anabaptist Community of Goods* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), 125.

⁵ Grieser, "A Tale of Two Convents," 46.

⁶ Tal Howard, "Charisma and History: The Case of Munster, Westphalia 1534-1535," *Essays in History*, vol. 35, 1993 [journal online] (University of Virginia: Corcoran Department of History); available from <http://etext.virginia.edu/journals/EH/EH35/howard1.html>; accessed 9 February 2000, 49.

⁷ George Williams, *The Radical Reformation* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1962), 364.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 365.

⁹ Donald J. Ziegler, ed., "Introduction to the 'Munster Colloquy, 1535,'" in *Great Debates of the Reformation*, (New York: Random House, 1969), 110.

¹⁰ Williams, *The Radical Reformation*, 367-368.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 367.

¹² "Abschrift eines grundlichengesprechs, so tho Munster twyschen etlinchen gelerten und den predicanten dasulvest gehalten etlicher twyspennger ler halven, anno domini M.C. XXXIII in Augusto," in Ziegler, 112.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 115.

¹⁴ Strayer, *The German Peasants' War*, 125.

¹⁵ Melchior Hoffman, "The Ordinance of God," in *Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers*, eds. George H. Williams and Angel M. Mergal (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1957), 191.

¹⁶ Chiliastic is another word for millennialistic; derived from the Greek word for kilo, which means one-thousand. The Bible often speaks of Christ's thousand-year reign on Earth where He will establish the New Jerusalem. Abraham Friesen, "Present at the Inception: Menno Simons and the Beginnings of Dutch Anabaptism," *Mennonite Historical Bulletin*, (April 1996): 8.

¹⁷ Obbe Philips, "A Confession," *Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers*, Williams and Mergal, 212.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 209-10.

¹⁹ "Meister Heinrich Gresbeck's Bericht," *The Reformation in Its Own Words*, ed. Hans J. Hillerbrand (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1964), 235.

²⁰ Philips, "A Confession," 214.

²¹ Howard, "Charisma and History," [journal online], 51.

²² "A Letter to the Duke of Cleves, March 1534," in *The German Reformation*, Katherine Leach, ed. John Wroughton (London: Macmillan Education Ltd., 1991), 69.

²³ Jacob von Osnabruck, "From the Confession of Jacob von Osnabruck," in Leach, 70.

²⁴ O. Harting, "De Munsterische Furie," in Hillerbrand, 253.

²⁵ "Meister Heinrich Gresbeck's Berichte," in Hillerbrand, 255.

²⁶ Philips, "A Confession," 221.

- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, 222.
- ²⁸ Dyonisius of Diest, "From the Confession of Dyonisius of Diest," In *The German Reformation*, Katherine Leach, ed. John Wroughton (London: Macmillan Education Ltd., 1991), 71.
- ²⁹ "Neue Zeitung," In Hillerbrand, 261.
- ³⁰ Horst, *The Radical Brethren*, 70.
- ³¹ The population count is not certain. This number was sent out of Munster in a letter from one of the Anabaptist inhabitants. H. Graes, "Statement," In Hillerbrand, 263.
- ³² Justinian von Holtzhausen, "Letter," In Hillerbrand, 263.
- ³³ This information was printed in a newspaper article following the capture of Munster by the besieging forces. The story tells the first hand account of a soldier that entered the city as a disciple, but was in reality an informer for the besieging forces. The Munster story was popular news in the sixteenth century, appearing in many broadsides. "Neue Zeitung," In Hillerbrand, 262.
- ³⁴ Horst, *The Radical Brethren*, 72.
- ³⁵ Andrew J. Pavlos, *The Cult Experience* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982), 120-121.
- ³⁶ Howard, *Charisma and History*, [journal online], 52.
- ³⁷ Gerald Pankhurst, "The End is Near," Lecture Notes, Wittenberg University, 2 December 1999.
- ³⁸ Grieser, "A Tale of Two Convents," 41.
- ³⁹ Hoffman, "The Ordinance of God," 196.
- ⁴⁰ Pankhurst, "The End is Near."

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