

GHI 232 WESTERN CIVILIZATION III History of Protestantism)

Content and purpose:

GHI 232 is a study of the history of Protestantism from the Lutheran revolution of the sixteenth century to the present. Attention is given to the cultural, religious, and social history of Europe and America as the broader context. When you have finished this course, you will be able to recognize, define, and discuss the Lutheran Reformation, the Reformed movement, the left-wing reformers (the Anabaptists et al.), the Reformation in England, the Roman Catholic Counter Reformation, the rise and development of philosophical Rationalism, and the growth and progress of the Protestant-Evangelical movement in both Europe and America. You will gain topical knowledge of such things as the evolution and significance of Protestant soteriology, the effects of Protestant thought on "Americanism," and the issues which are now important to the Protestant-Evangelical mind. The major trends in Protestant thought will be isolated and discussed in survey form. This approach will equip you to approach theological studies on both the undergraduate and graduate levels. GHI 232 will also serve as a preparatory course for GHI 243 AMERICAN INTELLECTUAL HISTORY: THE RESTORATION MOVEMENT, but will not deal with the history of the Restoration Movement as such.

Text: Kenneth Scott Latourette, A History of Christianity, vol. 2: Reformation to the Present, A.D. 1500-1975 (revised edition). New York: Harper and Row, 1975, 867 pp.

Structure of the course:

GHI 232 consists of thirty-six (36) topical discussions with a reading assignment for each discussion. Two class days will be given to major examinations. The student should expect quizzes, announced and unannounced.

Grading standard:

50% Examination over major sections

25% Mid-term examination

25% Final examination

After the final grade has been computed in terms of the above standard, it is subject to adjustment of as much as 15% at the discretion of the teacher. This factor may reflect such considerations as classroom participation, attendance, attitude, degree of progress, completion of reading assignments on schedule, extra study projects, and written grammatical expertise. The student who does not regularly complete the reading assignment on schedule should not expect to pass this course.

Teacher: Dr. Roger Chambers

Supplementary Reading

General works (other than Latourette) available to the student in the CFBC library are:

Blackburn, W. M. History of the Christian Church

D'Aubigne, J. H. M. History of the Reformation

Bainton, R. The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century

Cairns, E. E. Christianity Through the Centuries

Fisher, G. P. History of the Christian Church

Grimm, H. The Reformation Era

Lindsay, M. L. A History of the Reformation 2 vols.

Mosheim, J. L. Ecclesiastical History, 3 vols

Meyer, C. S. The Church from Pentecost to the Present

Qualben, L. P. A History of the Christian Church

Schaff, P. History of the Christian Church, 8 vols.

Primary documents are available in Bettenson, Documents of the Christian Church.

Introduction: The Background of the Protestant Reformation

Reading: L. 685-702

I. Survey in retrospect

- A In the first 500 years of its existence, the Church conquered the Roman Empire.
 - 1. The Church was united with the Empire.
 - 2. The Church served the Empire.
 - 3. The Church survived the Empire.
- B. In the period 500-1500 ("middle ages"):
 - 1. The Roman Empire disappeared.
 - 2. The Germanic peoples laid the foundations of modern Europe
 - 3. The papacy rose as the greatest single power in Europe.

In 1302, Boniface VIII declared: "Furthermore, we declare, state, define, and pronounce, that it is altogether necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman Pontiff." This was the theory that was held by Gregory VII, Innocent III, and other significant popes.

- 4. In the 14th and 15th centuries, especially between 1450 and 1500, there arose new national powers. Secular princes began to gather power into their own hands, the ability of the papacy to enforce its claims diminished, and modern nations began to evolve. The ancient dream and concept of a united Christendom gradually died.

II. The new national powers

A France

1. The political situation

A strong monarchy had arisen which concentrated political power in its own hands. France was the first nation where the king was able to overcome the power of the nobles and become an absolute ruler.

2. The religious situation

The Church was controlled by the crown. (The crown appointed candidates to high ecclesiastical office and controlled the flow of money.) Because Francis II controlled the Church, he had every reason to oppose the Reformation.

There was a small but influential coterie of humanists, which was concerned with going back to primary sources. Jacques d'Étaples, for example, taught justification by faith a generation before Luther

B. England

1. The political situation

As in France, power was gathered in the hands of a strong monarch. The War of the Roses had come to an end and Henry VIII had inherited a unified kingdom and he was determined to preserve it. Parliament met with some regularity, it contained the seeds of democracy, and perhaps helped save England from the kind of revolution suffered by France.

2. The religious situation

The Church controlled, largely, by the crown. Initially Henry VIII opposed the Reformation. Later he supports it to a measure, but for personal and national reasons.

There was, in England, a vast amount of religious discontent.

- a. The Lollard movement, an underground movement reflecting the teachings of John Wyclif
- b. Resentment of papal interference in the affairs of England. It was ecclesiastical imperialism against English nationalism. The Church was a foreign power.
- c. The corruption of the Church
 - (1) administrative
 - (2) moral
 - (3) doctrinal

Such doctrines as purgatory and indulgences seemed to many to be nothing more than a clever device for raising money.

A strong Humanist element opposed the corruption of the Church and undermined popular support for the Roman claims.

C. Spain

1. The political situation

This was the brief day of Spain's glory. She was the wonder of the age.

In 1469, four states had emerged: Aragon, Castile, Navarre, and Portugal. Ferdinand of Aragon had married Isabella of Castile, thus the two strongest Spanish states were united.

In 1492, The Muslims were driven from Granada, their last toehold on the Spanish peninsula. This was done by the armies of Ferdinand and Isabella, so Granada was added to their territory. The discovery of the new world, under the auspices of Spain, brought gold to Spain. This enabled Spain to become the wealthiest European power and to develop the strongest navy and army.



In 1615, Charles V came to the Spanish throne, and eventually came to rule not only Spain but Austria, the Netherlands, southern Italy, Sicily, and, in 1519, was elected as Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.

2. The religious situation

Spain was the great defender of international Roman Catholicism

Ferdinand and Isabella controlled the Church in their domains. A reformation had begun in Spain (administrative and moral, not administrative) in 1492, led by Cardinal Ximenes, and it was to become the model for universal Catholic reform movements.

The Spanish Inquisition was instituted to ferret out and punish heresy. It was controlled by the Spanish crown, not the Roman Pontiff, and was executed by Torquemada. It began to "test" Jews and Moslems who "converted" rather than face expulsion by the crown. Later it was used on Protestants.

Parenthetical comment:

Roman Catholic historians generally hold that the Protestant Reformation was unnecessary and was unnecessarily harsh because the Reformation had already begun in Spain and would have proceeded to reform the Church.

This cannot be defended for the following reasons:

1. The Spanish reformation was administrative and educational, it was not theological or doctrinal.
2. It was based on force and was, therefore, doomed to failure.
3. It has spent its force and was in decline when the Protestant reformation began. It was revived in the Counter Reformation only in response and reaction to the Protestant movement.

D. Germany The Holy Roman Empire)

1. The political situation

In contrast to Spain, France, and England, Germany was a loose federation of approximately 300 different state, some of which consisted of free cities. It was decentralized. Local rulers had complete power in their own domains. There were seven elector states which selected the emperor, who "reigned but did not rule." The Diet of the empire could not enforce its decisions and could not tax.



2. The religious situation

A vast amount of religious dissatisfaction. There was no strong monarch to protect the people from unreasonable financial exactions

There was significant religious aspiration, religious hunger based on fear and longing for assurance of salvation. Great attention was given to indulgences, relics, pilgrimages, etc. In 1509 Frederick the Wise, Luther's prince, boasted that in the churches in his realm there were 5,005 relics. These were calculated to reduce the time in purgatory by 1443 years. The collection included:

- 1 tooth of St. Jerome
- 4 pieces of St. Chrysostom
- 6 pieces of St. Bernard
- 4 pieces of St. Augustine
- 4 hairs of the Virgin Mary
- 3 pieces of the cloke of the Virgin Mary
- 7 pieces of Mary's veil sprinkled with the blood of Jesus
- 1 piece of Jesus's swaddling clothes
- 13 pieces of His crib
- 1 wisp of straw from the manger
- 1 piece of gold brought by the wise men, and 3 of the myrrh
- 1 strand of Jesus's beard
- 1 nail driven into His hands
- 1 fragment of bread from the Last Supper
- 1 piece of the stone upon which Jesus stood to ascend into heaven
- 1 twig of Moses' burning bush

By 1520 the collection had grown to 19,013 relics.

E. Italy

1. The political situation

Italy was divided into a number of city-states. These were: the Kingdom of Naples, Duchy of Milan, Republic of Venice, Republic of Florence, Papal States of Rome (the Pope was both a religious and a civil ruler.). The Pope always wanted to expand his domains, and to do so he resorted to the poisoned cup, dagger, war, anathema, intrigue, etc.

2. The religious situation

The people laughed at much of the corruption of the Church and the attendant abuses.

The people generally took pride in the Renaissance popes, the "cultural progress," the beautiful architecture, and took a somewhat cynical attitude toward institutional religion. The populace liked the idea of other nations sending money to Rome, and the upper-class people frequently shared in the wealth.

The Ottoman Empire (Russia)

Suleiman the Magnificent ruled from 1520-1566. He was one of the strongest rulers in Europe. From the 8-13th centuries, Islam was culturally, militarily, and politically superior to Western Europe.

In 1521 Suleiman captured cities in Hungary and threatened to take Europe.

In 1526 Turkish forces defeated a divided Christendom in battle. Rome was sacked by the Turks. (Lutherans rejoiced in their victory.) Vienna was besieged by the Ottomans, and Luther called for Protestants to join in the defense of the city. Suleiman gave up the siege, but retained half of Hungary, later took all of it.

Eventually Suleiman became ruler over Egypt, North Africa, Asia Minor, Palestine, Syria, the Balkans, and Hungary. The Turkish navy ruled the Mediterranean.



Section Two: The Lutheran Reformation

Discussion #2 The Lutheran Reformation, 1517-1555, part #1

Reading: L. 703-707

Parentetical review: Latourette's inclusive generalizations

1. The Protestant and the Catholic Reformation were two phases of one movement. Both sought to cleanse the Church and to bring it to a closer approximation to the Christian ideal.
2. They differed as to the fashion in which this was to be accomplished.
 - a. The Catholic Reformation insisted that it be done within the existing framework. It included no changes in doctrine.
 - b. Protestants broke with the Church of Rome.
3. The geographic line of demarcation between those who adhered respectively to the Protestant and Catholic Reformation in part coincided with the boundaries of the Roman Empire. In the main, those lands which had been assimilated to Latin culture before the 16th century remained loyal to the Church of Rome.
4. The Protestant Reformation sprang chiefly from the lower social strata, the Catholic Reformation chiefly from the aristocracy.

I. The Life of Luther

See R. Bainton, Here I Stand

A. Home

1. Born 1483, age 34 in 1517.
2. His father was a peasant, became a man of some means, owned some mines, and served in city government.
3. Luther's home a very superstitious one; it was a superstitious age
4. Coarse language. Standard peasant language was coarse, given to colorful epithet (Luther could tell someone off when he chose to do so). Luther is often criticized for his language, but it must be remembered that was a coarse, mucky, smelly, vulgar age.
5. Drinking habits (A source of criticism)
Luther was proud of his ability to hold his beer. He had a mug with three rings which he called, respectively, the Ten Commandments, The Apostles' Creed, and the Lord's Prayer. He remarked, with some glee, that he could drain the mug all the way through the Lord's Prayer while his friend Agricola could not ~~get~~ past the Ten Commandments.

It must be remembered, however, that the idea of linking abstention with Christian morality is a very recent, minority view. Luther was not a drunkard.

B. Education

Luther's father could afford to give him one of the best educations available.

1. University of Erfurt, B.A. degree at age 19, Masters at 22. He was thus enabled to teach.
2. His father intended for L. to study Law, and his heart was broken when Luther changed his mind.

C. Luther in the Monastery

1. Why? L. had a profound need for the assurance of salvation. The death of a close friend sobered him and caused him to dwell on his own death. He was caught in a storm and made a vow to St. Anne that he would enter a monastery if he survived. The way of the cowl was a common way to help one to work his way out of purgatory ahead of time.
2. In 1507 L. was ordained a priest (Not all monks became priests.).
3. The Augustinian monastery had the strictest discipline of all the orders in the early 16th century.
4. In 1508/1509, the head of his order chose him to return to the university and study for his doctorate. This indicates that his abilities were recognized early on.
5. In 1510, L. was sent on a mission to Rome with an older member of the order. This trip had a profound impact on L. A pilgrimage to Rome was a great source of assurance; much indulgence was attached to it.

Bainton, Here I Stand, pp: 47-51 (excerpts):



There were places in which these signal mercies were more accessible than in others. For no theological reason but in the interest of advertising, the Church associated the dispensing of the merits of the saints with visitation upon the relics of the saints. Popes frequently specified precisely how much benefit could be derived from viewing each holy bone.

Every relic of the saints in Halle, for example, was endowed by Pope Leo X with an indulgence for the reduction of purgatory by four thousand years. The greatest storehouse for such treasures was Rome. Here in the single crypt of St. Callistus forty popes were buried and 76,000 martyrs. Rome had a piece of Moses' burning bush and three hundred particles of the Holy Innocents. Rome had the portrait of Christ on the napkin of St. Veronica. Rome had the chains of St. Paul and the scissors with which Emperor Domitian clipped the hair of St. John. The walls of Rome near the Appian gate showed the white spots left by the stones which turned to snowballs when hurled by the mob against St. Peter before his time was come. A

church in Rome had the crucifix which leaned over to talk to St. Brigitta. Another had a coin paid to Judas for betraying our Lord. Its value had greatly increased, for now it was able to confer an indulgence of fourteen hundred years. The amount of indulgences to be obtained between the Lateran and St. Peter's was greater than that afforded by a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Still another church in Rome possessed the twelve-foot beam on which Judas hanged himself. This, however, was not strictly a relic, and doubt was permitted as to its authenticity. In front of the Lateran were the *Scala Sancta*, twenty-eight stairs, supposedly those which once stood in front of Pilate's palace. He who crawled up them on hands and knees, repeating a *Pater Noster* for each one, could thereby release a soul



from purgatory. Above all, Rome had the entire bodies of St. Peter and St. Paul. They had been divided to distribute the benefits among the churches. The heads were in the Lateran, and one half of the body of each had been deposited in their respective churches. No city on earth was so plentifully supplied with holy relics, and no city on earth was so richly endowed with spiritual indulgences as Holy Rome.

THE TRIP TO ROME

Luther felt himself to be highly privileged when an opportunity presented itself to make a trip to the Eternal City. A dispute had arisen in the Augustinian order calling for settlement by the pope. Two brothers were sent to the holy city to represent the chapter at Erfurt.

One of the brothers was Martin Luther. This was in the year 1510.

The trip to Rome is very revealing of the character of Martin Luther. What he saw, and what he did not care to see, throw light upon him. He was not interested in the art of the Renaissance. Of course, the great treasures were not yet visible. The piers of the new basilica of



St. Peter's had only just been laid, and the Sistine Chapel was not yet completed. But the frescoes of Pinturicchio were in view and might have awakened his admiration had he not been more interested in a painting of the Virgin Mary attributed to Luke the Evangelist than in all the Madonnas of the Renaissance. Again, the ruins of antiquity evoked no enthusiasm but served only to point the moral that the city founded on fratricide and stained with the blood of martyrs had been overthrown by divine justice like the Tower of Babel.

Neither the Rome of the Renaissance nor the Rome of antiquity interested Luther so much as the Rome of the saints. The business of the order would not be too time-consuming to prevent taking advantage of the unusual opportunities to save his soul. Luther's mood was that of a pilgrim who at the first sight of the Eternal City cried, "Hail, holy Rome!" He would seek to appropriate for himself and his relatives all the enormous spiritual benefits available only there. He had but a month in which to do it. The time was strenuously spent. He must of course perform the daily devotions of the Augustinian cloister in which he was lodged, but there remained sufficient hours to enable him to say the general confession, to celebrate mass at sacred shrines, to visit the catacombs and the basilicas, to venerate the bones, the shrines, and every holy relic.

Disillusionments of various sorts set in at once. Some of them were irrelevant to his immediate problem but were concomitants in his total distress. On making his general confession he was dismayed by the incompetence of the confessor. The abysmal ignorance, frivolity, and levity of the Italian priests stupefied him. They could rattle through six or seven masses while he was saying one. And when he was only at the Gospel, they had finished and would say to him, "*Passa! Passa!*"—"Get a move on!" The same sort of thing Luther could have discovered in Germany if he had emerged from the cloister to visit mass priests, whose assignment it was to repeat a specified number of masses a day, not for communicants but in behalf of the dead. Such a practice lent itself to irreverence. Some of the Italian clergy, however, were flippantly unbelieving and would address the sacrament saying, "Bread art thou and bread thou wilt remain, and wine art thou and wine thou wilt remain." To a devout believer from the unsophisticated Northland such disclosures were truly shocking. They need not have made him despondent in regard to the validity of his own quest because the Church had long taught that the efficacy of the sacraments did not depend on the character of the ministrants.

By a like token the stories that came to Luther's ears of the immorality of the Roman clergy should not logically have undermined his faith in the capacity of Holy Rome to confer spiritual benefits. At the same time he was horrified to hear that if there were a hell Rome was built upon it. He need not have been a scandalmonger to know that the district of ill fame was frequented by ecclesiastics. He heard there were those who considered themselves virtuous because they confined themselves to women. The unsavory memory of Pope Alexander VI was still a stench. Catholic historians recognize candidly the scandal of the Renaissance popes, and the Catholic Reformation was as greatly concerned as the Protestant to eradicate such abuses.

Yet all these sorry disclosures did not shatter Luther's confidence in the genuine goodness of the faithful. The question was whether they had any superfluous merit which could be conveyed to him or to his family, and whether the merit was so attached to sacred places that visits would confer benefit. This was the point at which doubt overtook him. He was climbing Pilate's stairs on hands and knees repeating a *Pater Noster* for each one and kissing each step for good measure in the hope of delivering a soul from purgatory. Luther regretted that his own father and mother were not yet dead and in purgatory so that he might confer on them so signal a favor. Failing that, he had resolved to release Grandpa Heine. The stairs were climbed, the *Pater Nosters* were repeated, the steps were kissed. At the top Luther raised himself and exclaimed, not as legend would have it, "The just shall live by faith!"—he was not yet that far advanced. What he said was, "Who knows whether it is so?"

That was the truly disconcerting doubt. The priests might be guilty of levity and the popes of lechery—all this would not matter so long as the Church had valid means of grace. But if crawling up the very stairs on which Christ stood and repeating all the prescribed prayers would be of no avail, then another of the great grounds of hope had proved to be illusory. Luther commented that he had gone to Rome with onions and had returned with garlic.

6. In 1512, Luther became a professor at Wittenburg. He soon became one of the more popular teachers in Europe. Frederick the Wise, Luther's prince in Saxony, was proud of his university and of his professor. Luther attracted students from all over.
7. In 1515, L. became head over a number of monasteries. He served also as the preacher of the church at Wittenburg. He was popular and led a very busy life.

D. Religious experience

1. Luther drove his confessor crazy in search of assurance. In the Augustinian concept of absolution, one gained grace through acts of contrition. This process tapped the accumulated merit of Jesus, Mary, and the saints. Added to this was the merit gained from one's own repentance and good works. Luther, however, could never do enough. He would later write: "If ever a monk were saved by monkery, I was that monk."
2. His confessor, Staupitz, set him to teaching in order to take his mind off his problem. Gradually, primarily through the study of the Psalms and the Book of Romans, Luther came around to the idea of justification by faith.

Parenthetical consideration:

Augustinian concept of Justification: To be made or to become just in one's own person.

The biblical concept of Justification: To be declared just and treated as just in the mind of God, based on the work of Christ outside of a person.

These are Luther's own words:

I greatly longed to understand Paul's Epistle to the Romans and nothing stood in the way but that one expression, "the justice of God," because I took it to mean that justice whereby God is just and deals justly in punishing the unjust. My situation was that, although an impeccable monk, I stood before God as a sinner troubled in conscience, and I had no confidence that my merit would assuage him. Therefore I did not love a just and angry God, but rather hated and murmured against him. Yet I clung to the dear Paul and had a great yearning to know what he meant.

Night and day I pondered until I saw the connection between the justice of God and the statement that "the just shall live by his faith." Then I grasped that the justice of God is that righteousness by which through grace and sheer mercy God justifies us through faith. Thereupon I felt myself to be reborn and to have gone through open doors into paradise. The whole of Scripture took on a new meaning, and whereas before the "justice of God" had filled me with hate, now it became to me inexpressibly sweet in greater love. This passage of Paul became to me a gate to heaven. . . .

If you have a true faith that Christ is your Saviour, then at once you have a gracious God, for faith leads you in and opens up God's heart and will, that you should see pure grace and overflowing love. This it is to behold God in faith that you should look upon his fatherly, friendly heart, in which there is no anger nor ungraciousness. He who sees God as angry does not see him rightly but looks only on a curtain, as if a dark cloud had been drawn across his face.

3. This experience made Luther a reformer, although he had no intention of breaking with the Roman Church. This concept of Justification became the heart of the Reformation. It did not represent a fundamental change in the concepts of God, man, or grace. It was a change in the conception of the means or vehicle of grace. Grace (infused moral force) was seen to be available directly and freely in response to faith, rather than available only through the Roman sacramental system and acts of absolution. Luther continued to view faith as an infused moral capacity.

Discussion #3 The Lutheran Reformation, 1517-1555, part #2

Reading: L. 707-716; Addendum A The Sale of Indulgences by Tetzel; Addendum B The Ninety-Five Theses

II. The Ninety-Five Theses, 1517

- A. This was the event often marked as the beginning of the Reformation.
- B. The occasion: the sale of indulgences by Tetzel

Parentetical review: The Theory of the Indulgence

Indulgence = the remission of the penalty (vs. guilt) of sin; i.e., temporal vs. eternal penalty. In Roman Catholic dogma, the indulgence called for 1) contrition, 2) confession, and, 3) contribution. In Roman Catholic practice and popular teaching, the indulgence was often offered as forgiveness of guilt, and often presented in such a way that with sufficient contribution, contrition and confession might be minimized or waived completely. Indulgence was also often presented as permission for future sins, although this is not stated in Roman dogma.

The indulgence here on earth replaced time in Purgatory.

The papacy found that it was a convenient and efficient way to raise money.

The pope wanted money to build St. Peter's cathedral in Rome. Albert of Brandenburg wanted to purchase multiple ecclesiastical offices. Pope Leo X said that he could borrow the money from the Fuggers, pay cash to the pope, and they take over the sale of indulgences for St. Peter's, and deduct enough money to pay himself back. Tetzel was commissioned to sell the indulgences (for which he received a fee).

- 2. See Addendum A. The Sale of Indulgences by Tetzel
- 3. The preaching of Tetzel

Bainton, *Here I Stand*, pp. 77-79:

The proclamation of this indulgence was entrusted to the Dominican Tetzel, an experienced vendor. As he approached a town, he was met by the dignitaries, who then entered with him in solemn procession. A cross bearing the papal arms preceded him, and the pope's bull of indulgence was borne aloft on a gold-embroidered velvet cushion. The cross was solemnly planted in the market place, and the sermon began.



HAWKING INDULGENCES

So much money is going into the coffers of the vendor that new coins have to be minted on the spot.



THE VENDOR

Listen now, God and St. Peter call you. Consider the salvation of your souls and those of your loved ones departed. You priest, you noble, you merchant, you virgin, you matron, you youth, you old man, enter now into your church, which is the Church of St. Peter. Visit the most holy cross erected before you and ever imploring you. Have you considered that you are lashed in a furious tempest amid the temptations and dangers of the world, and that you do not know whether you can reach the haven, not of your mortal body, but of your immortal soul? Consider that all who are contrite and have con-

fessed and made contribution will receive complete remission of all their sins. Listen to the voices of your dear dead relatives and friends, beseeching you and saying, "Pity us, pity us. We are in dire torment from which you can redeem us for a pittance." Do you not wish to? Open your ears. Hear the father saying to his son, the mother to her daughter, "We bore you, nourished you, brought you up, left you our fortunes, and you are so cruel and hard that now you are not willing for so little to set us free. Will you let us lie here in flames? will you delay our promised glory?"

Remember that you are able to release them, for

As soon as the coin in the coffer rings,
The soul from purgatory springs.

Will you not then for a quarter of a florin receive these letters of indulgence through which you are able to lead a divine and immortal soul into the fatherland of paradise?

Such harangues were not being delivered in Wittenberg because of the prohibition of Frederick the Wise, but Tetzel was just over the border, not too far away for Luther's parishioners to make the journey and return with the pardons. They even reported Tetzel to have said that papal indulgences could absolve a man who had violated the Mother of God, and that the cross emblazoned with the papal arms set up by the indulgence sellers was equal to the cross of Christ. A cartoon published somewhat later by one of Luther's followers showed the cross in the center empty of all save the nail holes and the crown of thorns. More prominent beside it stood the papal arms with the balls of the Medici, while in the foreground the vendor hawked his wares.

- C. In opposition to the sale of indulgences by Tetzel, in October of 1517 Luther wrote out the Ninety-Five Theses and tacked them to the church door at Wittenburg. (The doors served as the bulletin-board of the university, and this was standard academic procedure.) The Thesis were originally written in Latin and could not be read by the common man. Luther, however, had in mind more than academic debate. He distributed the Thesis later among the people in the vernacular. (See facsimile.)
1. The content. See Addendum B, The Ninety-Five Theses
 2. The two basic ideas embraced in the Ninety-Five Theses:
 - a. The Church has the right to exercise ecclesiastical discipline and exact penalty, but in this life only (temporal). The Church does not have the authority to exact spiritual penalties beyond the grave.
 - b. Repentance and faith are sufficient for the remission of sins.
 3. Luther was concerned that his people were being led to pay for the corrupt office of Albert of Brandenburg and that they were being taught to think of forgiveness in monetary terms.

III. The effect of the Ninety-Five Theses

A. On the people of Germany

The Theses were widely read and the sale of indulgences dropped off drastically. If this had not happened, little or nothing would probably have come of the whole business.

B. On the leaders of the Church

Because of the loss of income, champions for the Roman cause were aroused. Professor Eck of Ingelstadt, a former friend and fellow student of Luther, put himself forward to defend the system of indulgences. Since Eck defended the practice solely on the ground of authority, Luther was forced to examine the whole question of authority. This led him to realize that there is neither scriptural nor historical support for the claims to Roman authority, and ultimately led him to break with Rome. Up to this time, Luther had never considered the more fundamental question of papal and ecclesiastical authority.

C. On the Pope

Leo directed Staupitz to keep his drunken monk quiet. Then he summoned Luther to Rome to answer charges. Frederick the Wise, Luther's prince, refused to throw his famous professor to the dogs, and Luther refused to go (he remember Hus). Frederick agreed to try him in a German civil court. Leo sent a legate who unfuried Luther by threatening him.

IV. Leipzig Debate, July 1519

A. A landmark of the Reformation

B. Debates were popular and common.

C. Luther and Carlstadt, one of his closest followers, were challenged by Eck. The Debate revolved around the question of authority, not Scripture.

D. Summary

1. Eck argued from the Isidorian Decretals, and Luther, doing an excellent piece of historical criticism (without the help of Lorenzo Valla), denied their validity and argued that the early Church in the west did not accept the authority of the Roman bishop and that the Church in the east never did.
- 2 Eck accused Luther of following the "damned and pestiferous errors of John Wyclif," and "the pestilent errors of John Hus, who claimed that Peter neither was nor is the head of the Holy Catholic Church."

3. Luther responded "I repulse the charge of Bohemianism!" (Saxony was near Bohemia and, in recent memory, Bohemian Hussites had invaded and ravaged Saxon lands. They broke for lunch and Luther took the opportunity to read the acts of the Council of Constance by which it had condemned Hus. To his amazement, Luther discovered that the Council had departed from Augustine on the definition of the Church and that he agreed with Hus on many important issues, such as the ultimate authority of the Bible. He returned to the debate session and admitted that he agreed with some of what Hus had believed, but he pointed out that the Council had declared only some of the teachings of Hus heretical. (Others were simply erroneous, blasphemous, presumptuous, seditious, and some offensive to pious ears.) This did not get Luther off the hook. He realized that he was getting into trouble and so he asked to be permitted to speak in German so that he might not be misunderstood.
4. Luther denied Counciliar authority and pointed out that Councils had contradicted each other. He affirmed the authority of Scripture Eck responded that this is just what Hus had affirmed.
5. They discussed purgatory (the debate was about indulgences) and Luther denied the canonicity of II Maccabees (12:45). In this he denied the authority of a document which had been used to support papal claims.
6. Eck claimed that the right to private interpretation would lead to heresy and division.
7. Eck disturbed Luther with the question, "Except for you is all the Church in error?"
8. After the debate, Eck labelled Luther the "Saxon Hus," and Luther, by February, 1520, was ready to say, "We are all Hussites without knowing it."

V. The Papal Bull, 1520 (Bull for "bullium," seal)

Arise, O Lord, and judge thy cause. A wild boar has invaded thy vineyard. Arise, O Peter, and consider the case of the Holy Roman Church, the mother of all churches, consecrated by thy blood. Arise, O Paul, who by thy teaching and death hast and dost illumine the Church. Arise, all ye saints, and the whole universal Church, whose interpretation of Scripture has been assailed. We can scarcely express our grief over the ancient heresies which have been revived in Germany. We are the more downcast because she was always in the forefront of the war on heresy. Our pastoral office can no longer tolerate the pestiferous virus of the following forty-one errors. [They are enumerated.] We can no longer suffer the serpent to creep through the field of the

Lord. The books of Martin Luther which contain these errors are to be examined and burned. As for Martin himself, good God, what office of paternal love have we omitted in order to recall him from his errors? Have we not offered him a safe conduct and money for the journey? [Such an offer never reached Luther.] And he has had the temerity to appeal to a future council although our predecessors, Pius II and Julius II, subjected such appeals to the penalties of heresy. Now therefore we give Martin sixty days in which to submit, dating from the time of the publication of this bull in his district. Anyone who presumes to infringe our excommunication and anathema will stand under the wrath of Almighty God and of the apostles Peter and Paul.

Dated on the 15th day of June, 1520.

Summary of the bull:

1. Luther's views are distorted.
2. Luther's works are sentenced to the flame.
3. A tender call is given to Luther to repent.
4. Lay princes are called upon, with promise of reward, to seize Luther and his followers and hand them over to Rome.
5. Places or people that might harbor Luther or his followers are subject to papal interdict.
6. Christians were forbidden to read, print, or publish Luther's works.

(Many German princes would not allow the bull to be published in their domains, including Saxony.)

VI. Luther's response

- A. Called the Pope Antichrist
- B. Luther publicly burned the bull on the university campus. (This was a highly significant act, not a childish stunt.) This destroyed much of the effectiveness of future papal bulls; a genuine breaking of the shackles.
- C. Luther was protected by his prince, and the pope could not afford an open breach with Frederick and the other German princes. He was using them to offset the rising power of Spain. Both temporized and Luther used the time to write.

VII. The Great Reformation Treatises, 1520

A. The Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation

This was an appeal to German princes for a German national church. It consisted of three parts:

1. Discusses corruption and abuses in the life of the Church.
2. Suggests areas in which the Church could move (Does not call for a complete removal of the pope.).
3. Develops the doctrine of the PRIESTHOOD OF ALL BELIEVERS.

Parentetical summary: The Three Principles of the Reformation:

- A. Sola fide (Salvation by faith alone)
- B. Sola scriptura (The sole authority of Scripture)
- C. The Priesthood of all Believers

In calling for the German princes to undertake the reformation, it was necessary to remove the terror of Rome over them, the threats against their personal salvation. In calling for the acceptance of the priesthood of all believers, Luther was pointing out that they were their own priests and could depend directly upon God, rather than the Roman Church, for their salvation.

4. Luther discussed three "walls" erected by Rome against the state:
 - a. Ecclesiastical over temporal power. Luther claimed that the pope could administer but could not confer grace. He argued that all Christians, including earthly rulers, are called of God to do His work. (A theoretical denial of the clergy system)
 - b. The sole privilege of the Church to interpret Scripture.
 - c. The claim that no one but a pope (not lay princes) can convene a council.

B. The Babylonian Captivity of the Church

In this tract, Luther argues that the Church is held captive by the papacy, the chains being the sacramental system.

1. Luther reduced the sacraments from seven to two (Baptism and the Lord's Supper).
2. Luther denied the theory of ex opera operato.
3. " defined the Lord's Supper in terms of consubstantiation vs. transubstantiation. Luther (and modern Lutheranism, although it rejects the word consubstantiation) held that the body of Christ comes to be in, with, and under the bread. The bread remains bread, but is joined with the physical body of Jesus. This is a Real Presence view. The communicant receives both the physical body of Jesus and the bread. The Roman view remains that the communicant receives physical bread, but it has mystically become the body of Christ, that and nothing else. The distinction between transubstantiation and consubstantiation is only a semantic one.
4. Luther retained infant baptism, holding that faith is operative in that they who bring the child to baptism have faith in behalf of the child. Faith of parents produces baptismal regeneration. (This is basically the Roman view.) In Lutheranism, the regeneration of an infant takes place at baptism. Regeneration of adults takes place before baptism. Baptism, therefore, is required for salvation for infants, but not for adults. Luther held that immersion was the original and preferable form, but that the form, ultimately, does not matter. (This was to be the view of Calvin as touching the mode of baptism.)

5. Penance was retained as a valuable, therapeutic practice, but not a sacrament, i.e., could not confer grace. (Some Lutheran groups still use the Confessional.)
6. Confirmation retained as a rite, denied as a sacrament.
7. Marriage " " " " " " " " .
(Luther was violently opposed to divorce.)
8. Confirmation " " " " " " " " .
9. Ordination " " " " " " " " .
10. Extreme Unction rejected completely. The Roman Church based the sacrament on James 5, so for this, and for other reasons, Luther initially rejected the epistle as "a right strawy epistle."

When Erasmus read this tract, he exclaimed, "The breach is irreparable!"

C. The Freedom of the Christian Man

In this tract Luther rejected the concept of bilevel discipleship or the higher vs. the lower morality. "Monkery is impressive, but it is not commanded." This treatise made Luther extremely popular with the common people.

Discussion #4, The Lutheran Reformation, 1517-1555, part #3

Reading: L. 716-726

VIII. The Diet of Worms, April 1521 (The Diet was a German civil legislature which functioned as a court.)

- A. Frederick the Wise had said that Luther must have a hearing in his own country before he could be sent to Rome. The emperor (Charles V) finally agreed and called a Diet at which Luther was summoned to appear. Luther had been promised a chance to speak, but this promise was not kept. He was simply presented with his writings and asked if he were prepared to recant them. Luther asked for a day to think about it. When the question was repeated the next day, Luther answered:

"Most serene emperor, most illustrious princes, most clement lords, if I have not given some of you your proper titles I beg you to forgive me. I am not a courtier, but a monk. You asked me yesterday whether books were mine and whether I would repudiate them. They are all mine, but as for the question, they are not all of one sort."

Luther went on to say:

1. Some are harmless and helpful, and he could not recant those to which nobody had raised objections.
2. Those written against the papacy he could not repudiate, because he could not strengthen tyranny and blasphemy.
3. The third class, written against individuals, Luther could not recant because God's people would be left defenseless.

Then Luther proceeded to call upon his judges to refute him from the Bible. "If I am shown my error, I will be the first to throw my books into the fire." Eck said that this was the thing all heretics say, and that Luther could not say that the Church, speaking through traditions and councils, was wrong and this one man right. He then called upon Luther to answer clearly yes or no, did he repudiate his writings?

B. Luther's famous reply

"Since then, Your Majesty and your lordships desire a simple reply, I will answer without horns and without teeth. Unless I am convicted by Scripture and plain reason--I do not accept the authority of popes and councils, for they have contradicted each other--my conscience is captive to the Word of God. I cannot and I will not recant anything, for to go against conscience is neither right nor safe. Here I stand, I cannot do otherwise. God help me. Amen.

In this reply Luther took a stand against both church and state.

C. The legal position of Luther after the Diet of Worms

Charles V honored the safe-conduct, although he was urged to do otherwise. On his way back to Saxony, a group of hooded men kidnapped Luther. It turned out later that Frederick the Wise had taken Luther and put him in hiding to save his life. For some months, the populace had no idea where he was. Luther grew a beard and passed as a German nobleman.

2. Luther lived out his life under the sentence of death. Charles V did not carry it out because it would have torn the Holy Roman Empire asunder, and the pressure from the east by the Ottoman Turks, and other considerations, made such strife impossible.

D. Luther at Wartburg Castle

1. Luther began to write again. He began his translation of the Bible into the German language. L. had a gift for language and took great pains to make the translation as accurate and clear as possible. As a result, he standardized literary German. His translation is still the standard German text.
2. Melancthon, his disciple and a better scholar, wrote theology. He produced a systematic, evangelical theology.

IX. Radicalism at Wittenburg, 1522

- A. Carlstadt, a disciple of Luther, took over in Luther's absence. He was a radical who wanted to go further and faster than Luther. Carlstadt led a movement which began to break up monasteries, abolish the Mass, break down idols, break stain-glass windows, etc. Frederick the Wise and other princes began to fear revolution. It was the old question, can the state survive religious disunity.

B. The Zwickau Prophets

1. They asked the question: "Why do we need the Bible when the Spirit speaks directly?" They were organized by a man called Muentzer. There emerged from the Prophets 4 ideas which were to recur through the history of Protestantism:
 - a. Direct and immediate guidance of the Spirit
 - b. Premillennialism (The soon return of Christ and an earthly rule)
 - c. Believers' baptism
 - d. Communism
2. Luther saw that he must return and he did so. He preached for eight days and in that time had things back in order in Wittenburg. The Prophets continued to flourish elsewhere, but not in Saxony.

Parentetical study: What is the Test of the Elect?

The Wittenburg radicals raised the question, when they denied infant baptism, of the test of the elect. The general answers given to the question are or came to be:

Judaism (traditional). . . soil and blood

Roman Catholic. . . fellowship with the Bishop of Rome maintained through the sacraments

Anabaptist. . . experience

Zwickau Prophets (and other radicals). . . evidence of the possession of the Holy Spirit

Lutheranism. . . illogical combination of sacramental baptism and faith

Calvin. . . the presence of faith

Zwingli. . . faith, life, participation in the sacraments

X. Luther organizes the state church

- A. Luther organized the German church in Saxony, the pattern was followed in other areas.
- B. The new ideas cried for practical implementation in the life and worship of the people.
- C. The general nature: Luther made as few changes as necessary. He sought to retain everything except that which Scripture expressly forbids. (This will stand in contrast to Calvin who held that the Church could worship only in those ways expressly commanded by Scripture.)
- D. The specific nature of Luther's reforms
 1. L. introduced the vernacular into worship.
 2. Preaching given a central place.
 - a. Exegetical preaching replaced homilies on the lives of the saints.
 - b. Sample schedule of preaching:
 - (1) Three services on Sunday (People went to all three.):
 - 5-6 a.m., sermon on the epistle of the day
 - 8-9 a.m., sermon on the gospel of the day
 - Vespers (late afternoon), sermon on the Old Testament
 - Entire books were covered in consecutive order.
 - (2) Weekday services were given to the Catechism. The services were held in the early morning.
 - Monday and Tuesday, Catechism
 - Wednesday, Matthew
 - Thursday and Friday, epistles
 - Saturday vesper service, the Gospel of John
 - c. In the central towns there was at least one service a day. Luther himself preached regularly at Wittenburg.

3. Congregational singing

Singing in the Church, before Luther, consisted primarily of the Gregorian chant and was confined to male choirs.

Luther wrote hymns, words and music, for the people to sing.

A Mighty Fortress
(Ein' feste Burg)
M. L. Tr. F. H. Hedge Martin Luther
Unison: slow and majestic

1. A might-y for-tress is our God, A bul-wark nev-er fail - ing;
2. Did we in our own strength confide, Our striv-ing would be los - ing,
3. And tho' this world, with demons filled, Should threaten to un-do us,
4. That Word, above all earthly powers, no thanks to them, abideth

Our help-er He, a - mid the flood Of mor-tal ills pre - vail - ing;
Were not the right man on our side, The man of God's own choos - ing;
We will not fear, for God hath willed His truth to tri-umph through us:
The Spir-it and the Gift are ours, through Him Who with us sideth

For still our an - cient foe Doth seek to work us woe; His craft and
Dost ask who that may be? Christ Je - sus, it is He! Lord Sa - ba-
The prince of dark-ness grim—We trem-ble not for him; His rage we
Let goods and kindred go, this mortal life also, the body they

pow'r are great, And, armed with cru-el hate, On earth is not his e - qual
oth His name, From age to age the same, And He must win the bat - tle,
can en-dure, For lo, his doom is sure: One lit-tle word shall fell him!
may kill, God's truth abideth still. His King-dom is forever

4. Luther placed great emphasis on the Lord's Supper. He wanted a weekly observance. He called for the Word and the Sacrament. (Calvin desired the same thing, but neither movements followed the desires of its founder.)
5. Luther preserved the Church Year. He excluded only certain saint days and those connected with the cult of the Virgin Mary.
6. Luther addressed himself to education

Luther was faced with massive ignorance. He developed both the Large and Small Catechism. They were sets of both questions and answers. The catechisms focused on the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed. Luther intended for the children to learn both the words and the meaning of the words.

The Large Catechism, 1528 (Sometimes called "The Great Catechism.")
 The Small Catechism, 1529 (" " " The Short Catechism.")

XI. The Peasants' Revolt, 1524, 1525 (The Bundschuh)

- A. The Bundschuh was not a new thing, but this one ruined the dreams of the German nobility and of Luther of a unified, national, evangelical church.
- B. The revolt was encouraged by Muentzer.
- C. Luther was blamed. Catholic leaders had warned that religious plurality would destroy national unity. They had also warned that those who threw off ecclesiastical authority would also throw off civil authority. Luther was partly to blame. Luther wrote an exhortation to the German nobility, blaming them because they lived in splendor and pride while the peasants were in hopeless misery. Then L. wrote the peasants a more friendly and sympathetic message, but advising them to be submissive. Vengeance belongs to God. Anarchy is impossible. Luther was to blame in that his teaching taught the common man of his inherent and potential dignity and worth.
- D. The revolt deteriorated, and the peasants were guilty of cruel excesses. In 1525, several princes began to talk in terms of withdrawing from Luther and returning to the old system. Luther turned on the peasants, calling on the nobility to kill them like dogs. The revolt was cruelly suppressed. Twenty thousand were destroyed in one place, about 100,000 executed in all of Germany. Many had their eyes put out and were otherwise tortured.

- E. The German peasants sank back into their profound misery. Serfdom survived in Germany longer than in any other European country, except for Russia. The leadership of religious reform passed into other hands and Germany relapsed into intellectual sterility.
- F. The effects of the Peasants' Revolt
1. On the princes: Many returned to the Roman Church.
 2. On the Humanists: Many scholars backed off. Erasmus got off the fence and came down on the side of the Roman Catholic Church.
 3. On the peasants: Spiritual disaster. They had called for divine justice and had been treated miserably. Their faith in the new gospel and in Luther was shattered. They became indifferent to a theology that offered no temporal relief, and there was a popular move to materialism and atheism.
 4. On Luther: His popularity with the peasantry was destroyed. Luther lost much of his confidence in the common man and leaned toward the nobility for support, with the result that the Reformation was tied to the aristocracy. His movement became a thoroughgoing state church.
 5. On Lutheranism: Lutheranism assumed the attitude that the task of the Church is to procure individual, inner, personal salvation. It left to the state the task of building a Christian society which could restrain evil.
 6. On the Holy Roman Empire: Lutheran territories began to organize themselves into independent states with independent territorial churches, headed by their local princes. There was no central organization.

Discussion #5, The Lutheran Reformation, 1517-1555, part #4

Reading: L. 726-730; Addendum C. The Augsburg Confession of Faith

XII. The Diet of Spier, 1529

A. The occasion

1. The Diet of Spier was called by Charles V, emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, to deal with the problem of Lutheran territories vs. Roman Catholic territories. IT WAS A NEW THING FOR A COUNTRY TO EXPERIENCE RELIGIOUS PLURALISM, AND IT OCCURRED TO FEW, IF ANY IN THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE THAT SOCIETY COULD SURVIVE WITH ANY ARRANGEMENT OTHER THAN ONE STATE-ONE CHURCH.
2. Roman Catholic princes were in the majority, and they banded together to resist the spread of Lutheranism. Because they threatened force, Charles V called the diet in order to avoid, if possible, the splitting-up of his domains.

Parentetical study: The State and Religious Pluralism

In the world of the late middle ages, society or the state was conceived of as "Christendom." This concept saw the state and the church functioning essentially as one, and it was universally accepted as true that more than one religion in a state would divide the state (as it often did). In the Holy Roman Empire after the beginning of Lutheranism, there were now two religions. There emerged in the course of time 3 possible solutions to the problem:

- A. Territorialism This is the theory that within a state there could be territories, divided by the kind of church accepted in each territory as the state church. The state could be divided into territories, with one church only per territory. This was the solution settled on in Germany and Switzerland.
- B. Comprehension This is the theory that there be only one state church, but that this state religion be defined so broadly, loosely, and, perhaps, ambiguously, that a wide range of religious thinking could be stand- under the umbrella. England was to eventually settle on this solution.
- C. Religious Liberty This, of course, is the idea that there not be a state church at all, or that the state church permit freedom of religious dissent and alternate forms of belief and worship within the state. In the early days of the Reformation, this concept was largely absent in Europe. Early on the Anabaptists called for this solution, but were set upon by both Catholics and Protestants. Holland, and later England, were the first European countries to move in this direction.

B. The decision

1. That no further changes in religion be made in any of the territories of the Empire.
2. In Roman Catholic territories, no liberty of worship or civil rights were to be permitted to Lutherans.
3. In Lutheran territories, Roman Catholics were to be free to worship as before, and Roman Catholic elements must allowed to return to these territories in full possession of their former rights and properties.
4. Lutheran princes had one year to implement the decision of the diet before force would be used to enforce it.

C. The implications of the decision: If the decision were carried out, it would be the beginning of the end of the Lutheran movement, and it was so understood by the Lutheran princes.

D. The response of the Lutheran princes

1. The Lutheran princes drew up a strong document of protest. THIS WAS THE ORIGIN OF THE TERM "PROTESTANT." Lutherans have traditionally preferred the term "Evangelical," and it is a quirk of history that the term "Protestant" became the dominant label of the Reformation.
2. Philip of Hesse led the Protesting Lutheran princes to band together for survival.

The Marburg Conference, 1529

- A. Philip of Hesse pointed out to Luther than Lutheran princes must not only unite for survival, but they must form a league with the Protestant territories in German-speaking Switzerland. The latter were under the leadership of Zwingli (to be discussed later). A meeting was set up at Marburg between Luther and Zwingli.
- B. Luther and Zwingli found general agreement until they came to a discussion of the Lord's Supper. Zwingli interpreted it as a symbol of the historical body of Jesus. Luther wrote with chalk on the meeting table, hoc est meum corpus-"this is my body." Luther insisted that anyone who denied consubstantiation was not a Christian and he, therefore, could not join Zwingli.
- C. Zwingli offered to unite despite the disagreement, Luther refused and the attempt at union failed.

The Augsburg Confession

- A. In 1530 the Diet of Spier reconvened at Augsburg. The year of grace was up. Rather than immediately crack down on the Protestant princes, Charles V demanded that they present a statement of their position to be passed on by a board of theologians. Charles was still trying to avoid bloodshed.

- B. Zwingli wrote from the Reformed point of view. Martin Bucer, an independent reformer wrote, and Melancthon wrote the Lutheran position. The document written by Melancthon was a brief, mild, conciliatory statement which has come to be called The Augsburg Confession of Faith (See Addendum C.). Although it was rejected by the diet, it remains the basic confession of the Lutheran Church (all branches).

C. The marks of the true Church in The Augsburg Confession

1. The Gospel rightly taught.
2. The Sacraments rightly administered. This meant consubstantiation and baptismal regeneration for infants

The Augsburg Confession set forth the principle that rites coming down from tradition should be retained unless they violate express scriptural teaching. It permitted territorial bishops to make ordinances, but insisted that these were not means of grace and not binding on all for salvation.

The wording of the Confession concerning the Lord's Supper and Baptism permitted union with Roman Catholicism but ruled out the Reformed and Anabaptists.

- D. The diet rejected the Protestant statements and adopted legislation which went further than that of the previous year to disenfranchise Protestantism. Legal action was instituted to reclaim Catholic lands.

XV. The Schmalkaldic League

- A. Philip of Hesse, realizing that struggle is inevitable and that union with non-Lutherans is impossible, sets out to organize the Lutheran princes for their own survival. He forms the Schmalkaldic League, which is made up of most of the North German states and many of the free cities in South Germany.
- B. Because Charles V is not strong enough to overcome the League, he was forced to accept a truce (1532-1546). In this period Lutheranism took root in Baltic countries, Poland, Bohemia, Hungary, and the Scandinavian countries as well as in other parts of Germany.

XVI. Charles V and his plan for settlement

- A. He persuades the Pope (Paul III) to call a general council. The Protestant princes refused to attend. (1537)
- B. He held three reunion discussions, but they failed. Things had gone too far. Theologians from both sides talked but could not agree. (John Calvin was one of these theologians.)

C. Charles V then developed his "Great Plan."

1. To divide the Schmalkaldic League. On this point he had a bit of luck. Philip of Hesse, the key man in the League, had a wife whom he could not abide and a mistress whom he could. His adultery bothered him when he came to the Lord's Supper. He went to Luther and received the following advice:
 - a. Be reconciled to his wife. Philip could not do this.
 - b. Give up your mistress also and live a chaste life. Out of the question.
 - c. Since the Bible forbids divorce but does not forbid bigamy, take a second wife. If confronted with it, tell a good round lie.

This decision was roundly condemned and the Schmalkaldic League began to fall apart.

2. Neutralize France on his left wing. Charles formed an alliance with England to invade France. He then pulled out, leaving English troops on French soil who had to fight for survival.
3. Neutralize the Ottoman Empire. He made a treaty with them.
4. Called the Council of Trent (to be discussed later) which legalized further a war against the Schmalkaldic League.
5. Attacked the League by force of arms. Result: the two Schmalkaldic Wars. Protestantism was all but subjugated in the first war. In the second, the situation was reversed and Charles V returned to Spain.

XVII. The Peace of Augsburg, 1555

A. Since neither side could conquer the other, a peace was forced.

B. Terms:

1. Cujus regio, ejus religio--"Whose region, his religion" (Territorialism)
2. Mutual laissez faire
3. Each lay prince to determine the religion of his realm. (This was to cause trouble later.)
4. No further change of property, i.e., if a Roman Catholic prince should switch to the Lutheran position, he cannot take ecclesiastical property away from the Roman Church.
5. No other form of Protestantism permitted. The Peace of Augsburg recognized two legitimate religions, and no others. Legal recognition was withheld from the Anabaptists and Reformed.

C. This ends the first phase of the Lutheran Reformation (1555).

Discussion #6 The Lutheran Reformation, 1555-1648

Reading: L. 730-742

I. The period of Protestant weakness

It might seem that Lutheranism, having gained legal recognition, should have continued to grow. This was not the case. Rather, it entered into a period of deep weakness. Following are two of the primary causes of this decline:

A. Theological controversies

1. After the death of Luther, theological controversies began. Melancthon, the greater scholar than Luther, was the center of much of the controversy which disgusted many Lutherans and sent them back to Catholicism. Two of the points upon which Melancthon departed from Luther:
 - a. Synergism
 - b. The denial that Jesus is physically present in the Lord's Supper
2. Lutheran princes, in pursuit of theological unity for the sake of political unity, met and agreed to direct Lutheran theologians to draw up a document which would settle the theological controversies. Result: The Formula of Concord, the last great Lutheran creed. It was an exhaustive definition of Christianity and ended the discussion. This is it! Anyone who does not accept this is not a Christian.
3. A period of Lutheran scholasticism was ushered in. Lutheranism lapsed into dead orthodoxy. (Lutheranism has always emphasized orthodoxy over orthopraxis.) Lutheranism became a "closed system." The Forumula of Concord became the binding tradition of Lutheranism that replaced the binding tradition of the Roman Church.

- B. Opposition to Calvinism. Calvinism was spreading, and became the preferred expression of Protestantism for many. Calvinism was a more radical departure, on many points, from Catholicism.

II. Catholic aggression

- A. Lutheran weakness created a vacuum into which the Roman Church moved.
- B. The rise of the order of the Jesuits. (To be discussed further under Section 6.) The Society of Jesus was the powerful and militant arm of the Roman Catholic Church. Many German princes urged the Jesuits to suppress Lutheranism in their territories. Examples: Austria and Bavaria, both of which were reclaimed for Roman Catholicism and are Catholic to this day.
- D. Roman Catholic forces reclaimed many Reformed territories, and the Lutherans stood by, refusing to come to their aid. (The Reformed were not Christians because they denied consubstantiation.)

- E. The Roman Church demanded the return of property in lands where the princes had converted.

III. The Thirty Years War

- A. In the face of Catholic aggression, the Protestants formed a league to counter the league of Catholic princes, and war broke out again.
 - 1. This was the most devastating war fought in Europe up to this time and until WW I.
 - 2. Occasion: The war began when the Catholic league attempted to suppress Protestantism in Bohemia (the land of Hus). Ferdinand, a Catholic brought up by the Jesuits, came to the throne and immediately asserted that he would rather rule over a desert than over a nation of heretics. Protestant services were proscribed. Children were taken from parents and put into convents. Protestants were evicted from public office.

A band of Protestant princes entered the council chamber at Prague and threw two of the king's regents out of the window. (It was 70 feet from the ground. Fortunately they fell into a manure pile, and were thus spared, although humiliated.) This helped set off the war.

- B. Ferdinand, emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, invaded Bohemia. Again the Lutheran princes stood by and refused to help. Three-fourths of the population of Bohemia were either killed or forced to leave the country. Bohemia was subjugated.
- C. Ferdinand proceeded from Bohemia to mop up other Calvinistic states. The Lutheran princes refused to help.
- D. Ferdinand then proceeded to attack one Lutheran state after another.
- E. The Thirty Years War had three phases:
 - 1. 1618-1629 Catholic victory
 - 2. 1629-1635 Protestant recovery, made possible by the aid of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden who came to the rescue of northern Germany.
 - 3. 1635-1648 Gustavus Adolphus is killed in battle. Broad internecine conflict set in. All European nations began fighting for several reasons, but all were fighting on German soil.

IV. The Peace of Westphalia, 1648

- A. It is clear, now, that neither the Protestant north of Germany nor the Roman Catholic south can overcome the other.

B. The political results

1. The Peace of Westphalia drew a new map of Europe.
2. It marked the decline of the Holy Roman Empire. Germany had been bled to death. The population went from 16 to 6 million. Loss of property and wealth was staggering. Germany was further decentralized, and did not become united until 1870. This at a time when other European powers were becoming increasingly centralized. The policies of modern Germany is often conceived of as making up for lost time.
3. It marked the hegemony of France. France, especially under the long and brilliant reign of Louis XIV, becomes the dominant nation in Europe.
4. A new state system was inaugurated. As opposed to a united Christendom under the moral leadership of the pope, there came into being a world of independent sovereign states with no moral arbiter. Each state recognized no moral power above it, each ready to expand at the expense of the others. No law but force is recognized and God is on the side with the biggest army. Might makes right. The safety of the state and its people the highest law. There is no longer a moral community, not even in theory. Public law is now forged by diplomacy and negotiation. The papacy itself is subjected to the new order of things.

Parentetical study: The law(s) that guide nations in their relations with one another.

- A. Before the 17th century, Canon-Christian law.
- B. After Westphalia (1648) and before WW I, International moral-natural law, that emerging from reason. (As expressed, for example, in the League of Nations, the United Nations, the Geneva Convention.)
- C. Since WWI (in Europe), no law.

C. The religious results

1. Brought an end to religious wars. Roman Catholic states in Germany no longer attempted to suppress Protestant states.
2. Three religions are now recognized:
 - a. Roman Catholic
 - b. Lutheran
 - c. Reformed
3. The Pope is henceforth excluded from international affairs. Popes have continued to intrude themselves into international situations, but they have been categorically ignored.
4. Destroys the dream of Christian unity in Germany. There are, from this time, two German cultures, two "Christianities," and it seemed to many two Gods.

5. It ushered in an age of religious decline. Europe, to a great degree, loses moral confidence in Christianity and is encouraged to lose intellectual confidence. Germany will be the nation to lead the way in scepticism and secular humanism.

Parenthetical summary: Toynbee, A Historian's Approach to Religion, gives the steps that progressively destroyed the idea of a united Christendom functioning as a universal moral conscience.

1. The 13th century conflict between the papacy and Frederick II (This was a purely political struggle, not a religious struggle.)
2. The 14th century Babylonian Captivity of the Church at Avignon.
3. The Great Schism
4. The death of the Conciliar Movement in the 15th century
5. The Protestant Reformation of the 16th century
6. The wars of religion in the 16th and 17th centuries
7. The Renaissance and Enlightenment

V The spread of Lutheranism in Scandinavian countries

Lutheranism in the Scandinavian countries was a movement from the top to the bottom. It was a case of conversion by monarchical decree. They were converted without knowing it. In the Scandinavian countries we see a very Catholic form of Lutheranism. These lands are 95% Lutheran, less than 10% ever attend services. The Scandinavian countries have never been penetrated by the spirit of biblical piety; they are ever secular.

Nominally Lutheranism is the largest Protestant body in the world. This count includes the Scandinavian peoples.

Summary statement concerning the Lutheran Reformation:

Why did the Lutheran Reformation begin? It did not arise from a sectarian interest, it was not sparked by Wyclif or Hus. It was not a reaction to scholasticism, and, although it was akin to the Renaissance, Luther opposed Erasmus as much as he did the Pope. It was not the accommodation of religion to nationalism, although it had overwhelming political results. The Lutheran Reformation did not begin as a revolt against economic exploitation, or as a revolt of the Teutonic north against the Latin south, although the battle lines were ultimately drawn along these lines. It was not primarily an outcry against corruption and immorality. The Lutheran Reformation began because one man needed to be at peace with God. Luther wanted to be sure that he would spend eternity beholding the Beatific Vision. Lutheranism often went as it was blown by the winds of the age.

Section Three: The Reformed Movement

Discussion #7 The Reformed Movement in Swiss-speaking Switzerland; The Reformed Movement in French-speaking Switzerland, part #1
Reading: L. 745-752

Introduction: The setting

Switzerland was technically a part of the Holy Roman Empire. It is comprises 24 cantons (13 during the Reformation), the majority of which are German-speaking. (Today there are French and Italian-speaking areas as well.)

The Swiss cantons, in their mountain fastness, functioned independently and were united against the "outside world."

I. The Reformed Movement in Swiss-speaking Switzerland

A. Huldreich Zwingli 1484-1531

1. Home life

- a. Born one year after Luther, of an aristocratic family.
- b. Good education; Universities of Vienna and Basel. He came into contact with the Humanists and shared their concern for the return to the sources of Christianity. Zwingli became convinced of the authority of the Bible and the worthlessness of indulgences

2. Conversion

In contrast to Luther, Zwingli's was intellectual (vs. existential) Luther emphasized forgiveness, Zwingli, obedience.

3. Preaching in Zurich, 1520 ff.

Zwingli was a brilliant student and a notable preacher. He adopted the then-radical practice of preaching exegetically from the Bible alone. He began with Matthew and worked systematically. THIS WAS THE BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION IN SWITZERLAND.

His daily preaching was scholarly and persuasive. The public broadly accepted it (all classes of society), but the fathers of the church were alarmed.

4. His moral life. As was common for the times, Zwingli had lived rather loosely. He gradually improved morally. In 1522 he was secretly married; later he came out with it.

B. The Reformed Movement in Zurich

1. City government

The town council came to accept the authority of the Bible. In the years 1523-24 there were 3 major disputes between Zwingli and other

priests. They dared to debase Zwingli and were humiliated. As a result of this public forum, Zurich became complete "Reformed."

2. Church government

Technically Zurich had been under the authority of the absentee Bishop of Constance. The town council simply took control of the church-state, despite the protestations of the bishop. (In Zurich, the council was democratically-elected. Everyone was a "Christian" except the heretics, and they were burned.)

3. Worship

- a. Iconoclasm. Whereas Luther opposed iconoclasm and retained as much of the Roman tradition as possible, the Reformation movement in Zurich took away anything that was in the least suspect. This included the removal of stained-glass windows, religious art, relics, crucifixes, altars, candles, ornaments. The bare building only was left and its walls white washed. Even the organs were removed. The Reformed-Presbyterian movement has a long tradition of being "anti-instrument." Zwingli was convinced that the absence of physical distractions would increase popular taste for the Bible.
- b. The Lord's Supper. Zwingli rejected Baptism and the Lord's Supper as means of grace. Preaching was the only vehicle of grace.

Parentetical study: The Transmission of Grace

(Grace is here defined in the Augustinian sense, i.e., an infused moral force.)

1. Roman Catholic. . . Through the Sacraments without the Word.
2. Luther. . . Through the Sacraments (Baptism and Lord's Supper) with the Word.
3. Zwingli. . . Through the Word without the Sacraments.

Zwingli, pursuing the fundamental dualism of Augustine, ruled out the physical as much as possible. Zwingli (vs. Luther and Calvin) wanted the Lord's Supper observed AS A COMMEMORATION ONLY 4 times a year. He substituted the table for the altar. People remained in their seats and were served, because this was the closest approximation to eating at a meal table.

- c. Music. No organ, no congregational singing. There was not good music available except the Gregorian chant, and it was rejected. Some liturgy was retained, but it was recited by the minister and his assistants, not sung.
- d. Zwingli retained some elements of the Church Year. In addition to Sunday, he recognized Easter, Good Friday, Pentecost, Christmas.

4. Doctrine

- a. Lord's Supper. Zwingli defined it as a symbol only, and on this split with Luther.
- b. Baptism not required for salvation, even for infants. Infants were baptized, but it was a purely symbolic act and had nothing to do with salvation.
- c. The focus of Zwingli's doctrinal position was the Sovereignty of God. His is the only free will in the universe. Absolute sovereignty. Luther believed in it, but did not emphasize nor implement it. Luther emphasized forgiveness of sins. Zwingli believed in forgiveness, but did not emphasize it. For Zwingli, the Christian life focused on obedience. Where Luther held that obedience spontaneously flowed from one who had experienced the forgiveness of sin. Zwingli (and Calvin) believed that obedience could only be the fruit of a strict attention to the Bible.
- d. Society. According to Zwingli, the Bible defines and dictates a Christian society; THE THEOCRATIC SOCIETY OF THE ELECT.

C. The spread of the Reformed Movement from Zurich

1. The movement spread into Basel, Berne, Strassburg, into 6 of the 13 cantons, and the most important cantons.
2. The spread of the Reformed Movement in Swiss-speaking Switzerland was checked by:
 - a. Disagreements with Luther
 - b. Emergence of the Anabaptists
 - c. Armed conflict with Roman Catholic cantons. In 1529 the Battle of Kappel was fought. Two years later, in the Second Battle of Kappel, Zwingli was killed.
3. Heinrich Bullinger succeeded Zwingli in Zurich, but the Reformed movement stalled until it came under the strong leadership of John Calvin.

II. The Reformed Movement in French-speaking Switzerland

Introduction: The setting

1. The Reformed movement began in French-speaking Switzerland before Calvin came on the scene.
2. Geneva was a free, democratic city.

A. Wm. Farel

1. Farel, a pupil of LeFevre, brought the doctrine to Geneva. Everyone knew when Farel came to town. He would appear in Church at the moment of the Mass, strike the host from the hands of the priest, and proceed to tell everyone that this was not the Body of Jesus.

2. Farel had difficulty getting a hearing in Geneva, but once he managed it, he was so persuasive that Geneva voted to become Protestant. This was primarily a political decision.
3. Farel recruited Calvin to help him educate the city. Calvin was on his way elsewhere, but Farel convinced him that it was the will of God for him to stay in Geneva.

B. John Calvin

Calvin came to be the important figure in the 2nd generation of the Protestant Reformation, as Luther had been the important figure of the first generation.

1. Home
 - a. A Frenchman, a city man, not a peasant.
 - b. Born 1509, thus he was 8 years old when the Theses were nailed to the door at Wittenburg.
 - c. Raised in a noble family for whom his father worked as a notary.
2. Education
 - a. As good as the times afforded.
 - b. University of Paris, a brilliant student, graduated 1528.
 - c. His father sent him to other universities to study law. Calvin graduated, but never practiced law. His theology was to reflect his training in law, just as Luther's theology reflected his monastic training.
 - d. His father died and Calvin returned to the University of Paris, joined the circle of Humanists, and wrote a commentary on Seneca, which made his reputation as a scholar.
3. Conversion
 - a. It was an intellectual conversion about which he wrote very little (as opposed to Luther, who dwelt on it).
 - b. The crest or seal adopted by Calvin was a flaming heart on the palm of an outstretched hand; i.e., he took his soul in his hand.
4. Wanderings
 - a. In face of the severe persecution of Protestantism in France, Calvin, in 1533 fled for his life. He wandered for a time and wrote The Institutes of the Christian Religion. This was an early edition. He worked on this for the rest of his life. He lengthened it, but never altered its theology. It was addressed to the French monarchy to explain and defend Protestantism.
 - b. To understand his career, it is helpful to survey the theology of Calvin as set down in the Institutes.

Discussion #8, The Reformed Movement in French-speaking Switzerland, part #2

Reading: L. 752-761; Addendum D, The Institutes of the Christian Religion
(excerpts)

5. The Institutes of the Christian Religion

a. Purpose

- (1) An apologetic, designed to explain to the king that Protestantism did not threaten the security of the state.
- (2) A handbook of the Christian faith. A systematic statement of Christianity. Just as the Roman Church did not trust the Bible to define and guide the Church, the Protestant leaders were convinced that the Bible alone would produce mass confusion. The former assigned the Church the task of explaining Christianity, the latter the creeds. The dominant Protestant creeds came to be based on, more than any other single document, the Institutes by Calvin.

b. Value

- (1) The Institutes is one of the few books which have genuinely affected history. Parenthetically, the four theologians who have had the most powerful and important influence on the Church through its history are, 1) Augustine, 2) Thomas Aquinas, 3) John Calvin, and 4) Friedrich Schleiermacher.
- (2) The theology of Calvin was neither radical nor new, but the Institutes gave form, substance, and direction to a chaotic movement.

c. Doctrine

- (1) The sovereignty of God. This was the central emphasis. By this, Calvin meant what Augustine meant, i.e., that the immutability of God was such that his will alone in the universe is free and that nothing can happen apart from His will and plan. He also took the corresponding anthropology of Augustine, and declared man's total moral inability. The logical outgrowth of this is the five-fold outline of fundamental Calvinism:

TOTAL DEPRAVITY (absolute moral inability)
UNCONDITIONAL ELECTION
LIMITED ATONEMENT
IRRESISTABLE GRACE
PERSEVERANCE OF THE SAINTS

(See Addendum D.)

This was a comforting doctrine. In contrast to the Roman system of fear, indulgences, merit, etc., it was a joy for those of the Reformed tradition to think that their actions had nothing to do with salvation and that history was on their side.

(2) The Sacraments

Baptism, for Calvin, was a sign and a seal, not a means of grace. A public expression of faith, an initiation into Church (not salvation). A sign from God to man to remind and assure him that he is forgiven, that he is in union with Christ. A sign from man to the world, that he is among the elect and that his stand is with God and the Church. Calvin held that immersion was the Apostolic mode, but that the mode is immaterial. Infant baptism was a sign that a child had been born into the Covenant Family, a presumption of future regeneration. In Presbyterianism, an infant is baptized to announce that the baby, adopted by God before he is born, is a part of the Covenant or the Church. Later he will become, by an act of his own will, a communicant member. (Confirmation)

In the matter of the Lord's Supper, Calvin tried to mediate between the views of Calvin and Luther. He agreed with Luther that there was a Real Presence of Christ in the elements, but held that it was a spiritual, not a physical presence.

Parenthetical summary: The Lord's Supper in Reformation Theology

Luther: Christ is physically present with the elements.

Calvin: Christ is spiritually present in the elements, spiritually present in a special way.

Zwingli: Christ is symbolically present in the elements, spiritually present in the service.

(3) The Church

Calvin distinguished between the visible and invisible Church. Some in the visible Church may be lost (remember that in Calvin's Geneva, the Church was coextensive and coterminous with the state), and some not in the visible Church may be among the Elect.

The visible Church was known by the Word and the Sacraments

In contrast to Luthern, Calvin set about organizing the state church along New Testament pattern. He did not get very far.

In the relation of the Church and the state, it was the role of the state to protect the Church and punish heresy, while leaving the Church to govern its own affairs. There was to be no control by the state (vs. Luther's view). As a matter of fact, however, the Church in Geneva remained under the control of the town council.

The state and the Church were to work together to build a Christian society (We shall see the importance of this idea later under the subject of New England Puritanism.), in contrast to the view of Luther that this was the task of the state.

- (4) Works as evidence of election. Calvin's emphasis on works made the Reformed movement more evangelistic and produced a more dynamic society. The famous German sociologist, Max Weber, offered the controversial theory (1904-05) that the Calvinistic work ethic was the decisive impetus for industrialism and capitalism.

C. Calvin in Geneva

1. Calvinism was not simply a theology, it was a theory which touched every aspect of life, public and private, social and religious, political and ethical. Calvin was given the task of making Geneva a "Christian city." He aimed at a mature theocracy.
2. Calvin's first sojourn in Geneva (brought by Farel who called down a curse of God upon him if he refused to stay) gave him opportunity to implement his theology.
 - a. Discipline. Calvin had the council appoint monitors for each quarter of the city. If one received a bad report from "Big Brother," he was barred from the Lord's Supper.
 - b. Instruction. Calvin worked out a catechism, wrote a book called Instruction in Faith, and drew up a creed had a law passed that everyone had to accept it or leave the city.
 - c. Worship. Calvin rejected all Church festivals, including Easter and Christmas. He could never get the council to accept every-Sunday observance of the Lord's Supper, but he instituted a system whereby Church leaders would examine the members and issue a ticket to the Lord's table if they "passed." This took the place of Confession.

Calvin permitted Psalm-singing only, no musical instruments. He permitted free prayer along with liturgical prayer.

Calvin and the city council could not agree on the particulars of worship; Calvin would not accept the efforts of the council to control public worship, so he and Farel left Geneva and went to Strassburg. They were banned from the city for 3 years.

3. Calvin in Strassburg

- a. Calvin was invited by Martin Bucer to become the pastor of a small congregation in Strassburg. These were the happiest days of Calvin's life.

- b. In Strassburg he brought out a second edition of the Institutes.
- c. Calvin represented Strassburg in some of the Protestant-Catholic conferences called by the emperor.
- d. While in Strassburg, Calvin wrote commentaries on Romans. (He was to eventually write on most of the New Testament books and some of the Old Testament books.)
- e. Calvin married and had a child. Both his wife and his child died.

4. Calvin's second sojourn in Geneva

- a. Calvin's enemies were voted out of the council and he was asked to return. He did so and spent the rest of his life in Geneva. Many of his enemies were to return to the council, and they gave him trouble for years.
- b. Calvin resumed his program of discipline at Geneva. If people did not conform to the standard of righteousness under threat of disbarment from the Lord's Table, the town council was to exact civil punishment. Laws were passed against dancing, gambling, card-playing, theater-going, frequentation of taverns (not abstinence), profanity, luxury, excesses at public entertainments, gluttony, immodesty in dress, licentious or irreligious songs, all of which were punished by censures, fines, or imprisonment. The number of dishes to be served at a meal was regulated. Children could not be named after Roman Catholic saints. (Calvin preferred Bible names.) Attendance at worship was required under penalty of fine. Spies were everywhere. Homes were checked once a year by the elders of the Church. Husbands could beat their wives, but they could not rub salt or vinegar into their wounds. Men were banished for jokes, women for dancing. A 12-year old girl was publicly beaten with rods for saying that she wanted to be a Roman Catholic. Three men who laughed during a sermon were put in prison for three days. A girl was beheaded for striking her parents. Men and women were burned for witchcraft. A man was sent to prison for years of solitary confinement because he called Calvin a baboon.

This kind of thing was not unusual in Reformed cities. Calvin must be judged in the light of his times. There was a great need for moral discipline in society for it was destroying itself for lack of simple morality.

- c. Geneva began to present itself as a model city.
- d. Calvin caused the establishment of a complete system of education; responsible to the ministry of the church. A university was also founded.
- e. Resistance to Calvin in Geneva. Many rejected Calvin's control over public morals, and a Freedom or "Libertine" party was formed in opposition to Calvin.

His growing fame brought outsiders to Geneva. These were loyal to him and began to outnumber the older citizens. The latter saw their control of the city slipping away and blamed Calvin.

Calvin received warning notes, people set their dogs on him, etc.

5. Calvin and Michael Servetus

a. Michael Servetus

Servetus was a brilliant Spaniard. He discovered, or guessed, the principle of circulation of the blood. (No one paid attention to him. The idea was not accepted until Harvey convinced the world.) Servetus was a unitarian; i.e., he denied the deity of Jesus. He was a practicing physician in Lyons, France. He placed himself in danger because of his views and for a time passed under an assumed name. Servetus bitterly attacked Calvin in a series of letters. Finally, he was condemned as a heretic in France and was forced to run for his life. He fled to Geneva. Nobody knows why. Perhaps he knew that Calvin was in trouble with the authorities and thought that the latter could not muster sufficient strength to threaten him.

b. Servetus and Calvin

He was arrested as a heretic in Geneva and Calvin, as the leading minister of the city, became the prosecuting attorney before the town council. Although the council opposed Calvin, they condemned Servetus to death. Calvin asked for beheading, the more merciful death, but the council settled on burning, the standard punishment for heretics. (Such action was common to the age.)

Calvin was approved in this by all Switzerland, Catholic and Protestant.

Because the council had discussed the possibility of using Servetus against Calvin, the people voted them out and voted Calvin's friends in again. After this, Calvin's control of the city was complete. Although he never held public office, he was the uncrowned monarch of Geneva.

D. The influence of Calvin in summary

1. Calvin became the second generation leader of the Reformation; the only genuinely international reformer. The Institutes went through several editions and into nine languages before 1630.
2. Calvin corresponded with all classes of all Europe.
3. Organized, saved, and extended the Reformation. Young men came from all Europe to study in his academy at Geneva. They returned to spread the Reformation.
4. Calvin became the theological norm for Protestantism
5. Calvin inspired, in part, modern democracy
6. Calvin inspired, in part, modern education.
7. Calvin inspired, in part, modern capitalism.

Discussion #9 The Reformed Movement in France and the Netherlands

Reading: L. 761-769

III. The Reformed Movement in France

A. 1522-1559, the appearance of the Reformed Movement and its growth.

1. Appearance. The influence of Luther was felt in France within 5 years after he nailed the Theses to the church door at Wittenburg. (It was Calvin's theology, not Luther's, however, which became the intellectual focus of the Reformation in France.)
2. Persecution. Francis I severely persecuted the Protestant movement in the interest of national unity. (He was also a convinced Roman Catholic.) Persecution became much more intense under the reign of his son and successor, Henry II. (1547 ff.) He issued an edict against "blasphemy." This was followed by a number of laws against with heresy and a new court was created to take care of those thus charged. Hundreds were burned alive, tortured, left to die in cruel dungeons, had their tongues cut out, were strangled. Large numbers fled. The name Huguenot came to be applied to the Protestants. (It is of uncertain origin.) Even by their enemies, the Huguenots were noted for their uprightness of life and courage in the face of persecution. Despite the persecution, the Protestant movement grew. The first church was organized in 1555.
3. By 1559 there were 72 churches organized, with over 2,000 regular "conventicles" or regular religious meetings which embraced approximately one-tenth of the population of France. In this year, the national Reformed Church was organized, with a presbyterian form of government; i.e., an ascending series of courts. A confession of faith was drawn up.

B. The period of the Huguenot or religious wars. 1559-1598

For most of this period, France was ruled by Catherine De Medici. She granted the Huguenots the right to worship outside the cities. A fanatical Roman Catholic party, however, led by the family Guise, opposed this limited freedom. Huguenot worshippers are massacred and a series of wars begin. There are eight in all, interrupted by a series of truces. After 3 inconclusive wars, a truce is broken by the infamous Massacre of St. Bartholemew, Aug. 24, 1572. Huguenot leaders had been given safe conduct to attend a royal wedding in Paris. As many as 8,000 Huguenot leaders were massacred at this one time, and this served as a signal for massacres elsewhere. As many as 70,000 in all were murdered. Five more wars were fought. In 1598 the Edict of Nantes guaranteed limited toleration to cities which were strongholds of Huguenot strength.

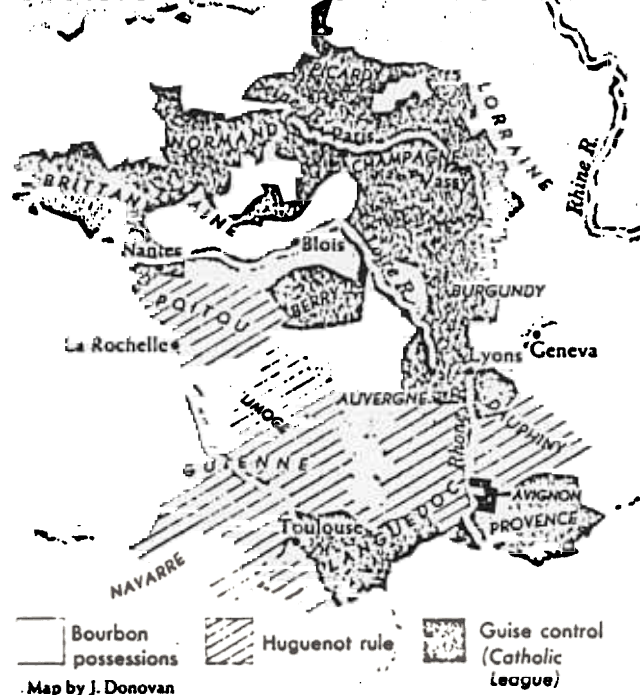


The Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Eve (*Francois Dubois*).

C. Protestantism under the Edict of Nantes, 1598-1685

1. The treatment of Protestants in France, as well as in other parts of Europe at this time, had a tremendous impact on the thinking of those establishing the colonies in the Americas. Much of the fear of Roman Catholic domination in the early colonial period was justified in light of what was going on in Europe.

RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL DIVISIONS OF FRANCE 1585-1598



2. Louis XIV (1685) revoked the Edict of Nantes and instituted persecution again. He could not be the absolute ruler that he wanted to be and allow strong Huguenot cities to function with their measure of independence. Protestant schools and churches were closed. Certain trades and professions were forbidden to Protestants. Children were taken from their parents and reared as Catholics. Men were sent into galley slavery. The borders of France were sealed so the Huguenots could not emigrate, although a great many did manage to get out. Protestantism was heavy in the middle class, and this persecution was a serious economic problem for France. Many of the Huguenots eventually came to America after 1685.

D. The period of repression, 1685-1789

Repression continues until after the French Revolution and the reign of Napoleon. Only then did the Huguenots enjoy toleration and freedom. Because of the extended persecution and repression, the Protestant faith is comparatively weak in France. The Reformed Church in France has been called "the church of the cross." Some have said that no church in any other country has suffered as did the Huguenots in France.

IV. The Reformed Movement in the Netherlands

The Netherlands included Belgium and Holland, and at this period was a part of Spain, governed by the Spanish rulers under regents.

A. The policy of the Spanish rulers

Charles V, succeeded by his son Philip II. Philip was a fanatical Roman Catholic who established a cruel policy toward Protestantism, and the infamous Duke of Alva carried out this policy.

1. In the political realm, the policy was to crush the freedom of the Netherlands so far as it had developed, and to control it absolutely from Spain.
2. In the economic realm, the policy was to bleed the Netherlands for the benefit of Spain. With the opening of the New World, Holland accumulated significant wealth.
3. The religious policy was, simply, to crush Protestantism at any cost. Protestantism was present in more than one form.
 - a. There was a Lutheran element.
 - b. The Anabaptists were numerous.
 - c. The Calvinists were present in a more forceful and organized way, and the Protestant of the Netherlands came to be predominantly Calvinist.
 - d. Erasmus was a product of the Dutch culture, having been trained by the Brethren of the Common Life. (The BCL offered a mixture of mysticism and biblical humanism.)

B. The Duke of Alva was sent in, being supported by the formidable Spanish military forces. He was determined to turn the land into a desert if necessary to destroy Protestantism.

1. He set up a council (It came to be called the "Council of Blood," which arbitrarily passed laws that labeled as "treason" anything that had to do with Protestantism.
2. People in groups were arrested, condemned, and executed. In six years, from 6,000 to 18,000 were put to death. As many as 400,000 left the Netherlands.

A contemporary writer said of this persecution:

"The gallows, the wheel, stakes, trees along the highway, were laden with carcasses or limbs of those who had been hanged, beheaded or roasted, so that the air, which God made for the respiration of the living, was not become the grave, or habitation of the dead. Every day produced fresh objects of pity, and of mourning. The noise of the passing bell was continually heard, which by the martyrdom of this man's cousin, and the other's brother or friend rang dismal peals into the hearts of the survivors."

C. William of Orange ("the Silent")

1. William was a Dutch nobleman of the House of Orange, a Roman Catholic, who simply could not stand by and watch the destruction of his countrymen. He rebelled, escaped, and organized the resistance in what was to become one of the great wars for independence in all of history. The resolve of the undermanned patriots was a match for the cruel determination of Alva. The rise of the Dutch republic was, in many ways, parallel to the American struggle for independence. William has been called "the George Washington of Holland."
2. The turning point of the war was the siege of Leyden. The city was being starved out by the Catholic forces. Knowing that the Dutchmen could not hold out much longer, the Catholic commanders sent in word offering terms for surrender. The answer came back: "If necessary, we will eat our left arms so that we can fight you with our right." The people of Leyden cut the dikes, bogging down the Spanish forces, and allowing small boats from other cities to bring relief.
3. William of Orange was assassinated, but his son carried on the struggle to the end.

D. Even before the end of the war, the national church of Holland was organized, and it was a Reformed church. There are branches of the Dutch Reformed Church in America. A Calvinistic creed was drawn up.

E. The Peace of Antwerp, 1578, formally ended the struggle, but it was destroyed by intolerance on both sides. The independence of the Dutch Republic was recognized finally in 1581.

The final division of the Low Countries

- a. The north, Holland. The states in the north spoke Dutch, and are culturally close to Germany and England. In the north Calvinism prevailed.
- b. The south, Belgium. The states in the south speak French and Flemish, and are culturally close to France. In the south Catholicism prevailed.



F. The Arminian controversy

1. The controversy takes its name from Jacob Arminius, a lecturer at the University of Leyden, the intellectual center of Holland. His years of prominence were 1603-1609. After the death of Calvin and Beza, Holland became the intellectual center of the Reformed movement.
2. A debate arose over Calvin's concept (vs. the New Testament concept) of Predestination. The problem: If God predestines in a causative way both eternal salvation (for the elect) and the eternal damnation of the lost, is not God the direct source of evil? Two opposing schools of thought emerged:
 - a. Supralapsarianism = "before the Fall." This is the view that the decrees of God were determined before the fall of man and that they included reprobation. This is the extreme doctrine of predestination, sometimes called "double election."
 - b. Infralapsarianism = "after the Fall." This is the view that the divine decrees came after the fall of man. God, according to this explanation, elected some and reprobated others because of the choice of man to sin. Whereas in the former the decrees of God are the cause of the fall, in this view the decrees of God are the effect of the fall.
3. Arminius came to the conclusion that both parties were wrong and that Calvinism needed to be modified on this point. This led to a great controversy which engulfed Holland. In all this, Arminius and his disciples considered themselves Calvinists, and they were.
- 4 Calvin and Arminius in contrast:
 - C. TOTAL DEPRAVITY (Absolute moral inability)
 - A. Man has sufficient moral ability to accept or reject the offer of divine grace. Man has the will to want to call on God for salvation, but cannot do so unaided by the Holy Spirit.
 - C. UNCONDITIONAL ELECTION
 - A. Conditional election based on the foreknowledge of God concerning man's choices in regard to salvation.
 - C. LIMITED ATONEMENT
 - A. Christ died for all man.
 - C. IRRESISTABLE GRACE
 - A. While a person cannot call on God for salvation without the initial aid of the Holy Spirit, once that help is given, a person can then reject divine grace.
 - C. PRESERVERANCE OF THE SAINTS
 - A. A person can fall from grace.

5. The Synod of Dort, 1618, 1619

- a. Theologians were present from a number of countries.
- b. The Synod did not permit the Arminians to participate.
- c. The Synod affirmed infralapsarian Calvinism, and it became orthodox Reformed theology and the guiding standard for all subsequent Reformed credal statements.
- d. The Synod proceeded to decree that all ministers and teachers had to subscribe the decree on pain of fine, banishment, or imprisonment.

6. The Arminian controversy led to a long period of "Reformed scholasticism." Theologians and scholars discussed, defined and redefined, theorized and modified Calvin on the subject of Predestination in a largely inconclusive way.

Parentetical study: Why did Calvinism spread internationally in way that Lutheranism did not?

1. Calvin was an internationalist, Luther was a German "nationalist."
2. Calvinists were often minorities within countries and were thus compelled to struggle for survival. This situation created an atmosphere of activism.
3. Whereas Luther feared works, Calvin offered works and activity as demonstrations of election.

Discussion #10 The Reformed Movement in Scotland

Reading: L. 769-775

Parenthetical Study: Federal or Covenant Theology

Arising from the seedbed of Reformed scholasticism came the very important Federal or Covenant theology. It is important for a number of reasons, not the least of which is that it had a profound effect on the thinking of the colonial fathers of North America.

There are three basic elements in Federal or Covenant Theology:

1. Adam as the federal head of the human race. God made a covenant with Adam which made him the official representative of all men. Whatever the status of Adam would be the status of all men. Men did not sin physically in Adam but rather he sinned on their behalf.
2. The two Covenants.
The covenant made with Adam was a Covenant of Works. If Adam had obeyed God, all would have been well. Since he sinned, God deals with man under a Covenant of Grace.
 - a. Anteleagal
 - b. Legal
 - c. Postlegal (Divided into seven periods corresponding to the seven trumpets in the Book of Revelation.)
3. The emphasis on types. Everything in scripture stands in immediate relation to Christ. Joseph, Rahab, ad infinitum. Everything after Christ points to His Second Coming.

The influence of Covenant or Federal Theology:

1. It promoted Bible study and a biblical theology (vs. the emphasis on ecclesiastical and credal theology).
2. It centered attention upon God's historical activity, and modified strict Calvinism. As opposed to history moving lockstep in accordance to God's decrees, Covenant theology thought of God as working progressively and actively in history, unfolding his plan. God deals with men first in one way, and when that fails, dealing with them in another way.
3. The undue emphasis on typology led to an extravagant interpretation of Scripture and laid the foundation for modern Dispensationalism.
4. It was used by such groups as the Puritans who held that, as God has a Covenant of Grace with the elect (the Church), He also has a Covenant of Works with mankind in general. God has made promises to mankind and mankind (not just the Church) owes obedience to God. It was held that the state came into being as a contract, an expression of natural law. This theory said that citizens of a state are in a contractual relationship with God. If the representatives of God, such as a king, violated the terms of the covenant, the citizens had a right, even a responsibility, to modify or overthrow that particular administration or form of government and make a new contract or covenant. This opposed the theory of Divine Right Monarchy.

V. The Reformed Movement in Scotland

A. The political situation

1. James V is on the throne of Scotland. He died in 1542, after the Reformation was well under way. He had married Mary of Guise, the fanatical Catholic family that figured so prominently in the Huguenot wars in France.
2. After the death of James, his wife became regent for his daughter, Mary, Queen of Scots. (She was born after the death of her father.) The baby was sent to France for safe-keeping. On the death of her mother (1560), she returned to Scotland to assume the throne of Scotland.
3. Scotland was, in comparison to the rest of Europe, very backward culturally, economically, socially, etc. They still had the clan system, a very primitive form of society. The Roman Catholic Church had much of the wealth of Scotland and was exceedingly corrupt.

B. The religious situation

1. The Church was corrupt and badly in need of reform.
2. The Reformation got its start with the circulation of Tyndale's Bible, beginning about 1526. (Tyndale will be discussed later.)
3. There were martyrs to the Reformation. Patrick Hamilton and George Wishart came into contact with the teachings of Luther and Zwingli respectively. When they spread this teaching, they were burned at the stake.

John Knox (Born between 1505 and 1515)

1. Little is known of his early life.
2. He became a priest and earned his living serving as a tutor with wealthy families.
3. He was converted to Protestantism by George Wishart, and thus in its Zwinglian or Reformed expression.
4. Knox was identified with a group of militant Protestants who had assassinated a royal official, and he was captured and sentenced to the French galleys. He served in the galleys for 19 months. In his absence, the Reformation made progress in Scotland. Knox was released as part of a prisoner exchange which was part of a truce between France and England. For five years he lived in England, and played a large part in the English reformation.
5. When "Bloody Mary" (to be discussed later) ascended the English throne, Knox and other Protestant leaders were forced to flee.
6. The years 1554-1559 found him in Scotland. After a short stay in Germany, Knox went to Geneva, where he became the pastor of a congregation of English refugees. These English refugees later return to England where they become the leaders of the Puritan party.
7. In 1559 the Protestant leaders in Scotland summon Knox to come and lead the movement. His fiery preaching sets off a war between Protestant nobles on one side and the forces of the Queen Regent on the other, supported by French money and French troops.

8. After 2 years, Mary of Guise died, and the Protestant lords soon established their supremacy. Scotland became a Presbyterian country under the control of a Presbyterian parliament.

D. The organization of Scotch Presbyterianism

1. Took place 1560-1564.
2. Parliament rejected papal jurisdiction and made the celebration of the Mass a capital crime.
3. A confession of faith, The Scotch Confession of Faith, was drawn up by Knox and others. It was a mild expression of Calvinism.
4. The First Book of Discipline effectively organized the religious life of the country.
5. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church was democratically elected and came to be a more powerful voice in Scotland than the Scottish Parliament itself.
6. Under the direction of the Book of Discipline, Scotland became the first nation in the world to lay out a scheme for universal public education. In urban areas of high population, there were to be schoolmasters. In remote areas, education was the responsibility of the minister. On the American frontier, the Presbyterian Church produced more programs of public education than any other religious body, and more than the government.
7. The Book of Discipline called for a separate service in the church each week when everyone had the freedom of speech, an opportunity to use their "gifts." This was in addition to the formal service of the church where only the clergyman spoke. The Bible was studied at the devotional level with people giving their interpretation.
8. The Book of Common Order. This was a liturgy written by Knox and adopted in 1564 as the program of public worship. It was used until 1645.

E. The struggle between John Knox and Mary Queen of Scots

1. Mary had been married to Francis II of France. He died in August 1561. His widow was now an ex-queen at age 19. She returned to Scotland to claim the throne of her father.
2. Mary was a very beautiful and persuasive young lady.
3. In France, her family, the Guises, were leading the effort to eradicate the Huguenots.
4. She returned with the determination to, by wit and charm, reestablish Catholicism as the state church and to restore Scotland under the absolute rule of her monarchy. This is to say that political as well as religious freedom was at stake.
5. Mary had a Mass said in defiance of the acts of Parliament forbidding it. It was a private Mass. Although it was private, Knox drew the line right there, and the next Sunday inveighed against "idolatry" as only he could. He said that one private Mass was more fearful to him than 10,000 armed enemies. She called him to a discussion and accused him of slander against her family. Knox responded that the pope was the Antichrist, and he went on from there. Mary accused him of promoting a religion that civil rulers could not allow. (This was the articulation of the German settlement of territorialism.)

6. Mary raised the very important question of whether the people had a right to revolt against their princes. Knox said yes, and the queen was dumbfounded. Mary responded that the people of Scotland would then obey Knox rather than the queen, if this idea were allowed to hold the field.

Parentetical summary: The emergence of democracy in the Protestant Movement.

Question: What if a monarch or prince sets up an intolerable rule?

Luther: Submit and let God take care of it.

Calvin: It is the responsibility of the nobility to make a change.

Knox: It is the right of the people to revolt.

7. As Knox continued to blast Mary and her family, she summoned him again and asked that, if he had anything against her person, to come to her and speak of it privately. Knox responded that he was called to be a public preacher, and must speak of all, "high and low," and could not be expected to deal with every person individually.
 8. When the queen announced her intention to marry a scion of the Spanish royal family, Knox publicly opposed her. He knew that if little Scotland fell under the power of Spain, the strongest nation in Europe and the most Catholic, that would be the end of the Reformation in Scotland. Mary never forgave Knox for his opposition.
 9. Mary lost much of her influence through an ill-advised marriage and several love affairs. The Scottish nobles could take no more of Mary and they deposed her. Her infant son, James VI, was the lawful sovereign and the administration of Scotland passed into the hands of the Parliament. Mary was put in prison, but she enamored the jailer and his son and they allowed her to escape. She went to England where Elizabeth had her arrested and put into the Tower. (She was in line for the throne of England if anything happened to Elizabeth.) From the prison she planned the assassination of Elizabeth and seems to have tried to have it carried out. Elizabeth reluctantly had her executed.
- F. The Reformation continues in Scotland
1. John Knox died in 1572, and in that year the episcopal form of church government (rule by bishops) was restored to the Presbyterian Church in Scotland. James VI, now older, desired this because he believed that the throne should control the Church. It is impossible for the state to control a democratic church, but possible to control an episcopal church (through the bishops).
 2. Andrew Melville, who succeeded Knox as the leader of the Reformation in Scotland, resisted the move to episcopacy and declared it illegal.

3. In 1581 the general assembly adopted the Second Book of Discipline, written by Melville, declared that minister, presbyter, and bishop are synonymous terms, and set forth the system of ascending courts which is the pattern for modern Presbyterianism.
4. James VI ascended to the throne of England. He imprisoned Melville, and eventually banished him to France where he died.

FURTHER DEVELOPEMENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMED MOVEMENT IN SCOTLAND WILL BE TAKEN UP AS A PART OF THE STUDY OF PROTESTANTISM IN ENGLAND.



Discussion #11 The Reformed Movement in Other Lands; The Radical Reformers, part #1.

Reading: L. 778-782

VI. The Reformed Movement in Other Lands

A. Italy

Both Lutheranism and Calvinism appeared in Italy, but it was finally stamped out by the Inquisition. Protestantism survived in Italy only in the Waldenses. This pre-Reformation group accepted Reformed theology. They survived because they stayed in their mountain fastness until 1870.

B. Spain

Protestantism gained some hold, but it was stamped out by the Inquisition. Protestantism has been illegal in Spain until very recent times.

C. Germany

Although the Lutheran Church was dominant in northern Germany, there was, nevertheless, a strong Reformed Movement in the Rhine country, called the Pallatinate. The Reformed Movement was strong in Brandenburg (later Prussia). Many of the French and Dutch Calvinistic refugees came to Brandenburg.

D. Poland

Both Lutheranism and Calvinism took root in Poland, but the combination of the inability of the two to cooperate and the opposition of the Jesuits, allowed Protestantism to be effectively crushed.

E. Hungary

The Reformed Movement was strong in Hungary. It boasts the second largest Reformed element on the Continent. It maintains itself behind the Iron Curtain today.

F Bohemia (Czechoslovakia)

The followers of Hus accepted Calvinistic theology and there is a strong Reformed Church in Czechoslovakia at the present time.

Section Four: The Radical Reformers

The distinctions between the Radicals and the Lutheran-Calvinian movements:

- A. Whereas the Lutherans and Calvinists thought of themselves, not as a new church, but as a reforming continuation of the Catholic Church, the Anabaptists thought of themselves as organizing the true Church which had disappeared.

- B. Whereas both Calvin and Luther believed in the essential unity of the Church and the State, the radical reformers did not identify the Church with the community at large.

II. The three major groups of radicals, distinguished by their respective attitudes towards the Bible;

A The Anabaptists

The Anabaptists held to the Bible and interpreted it very literally, often in a super-literal way.

B. Mystics (Sometimes called the Spiritualists)

The mystics minimized the Bible and put more emphasis on the Holy Spirit. The Bible was not needed so much by those who thought of themselves in a direct, immediate relationship with the Spirit.

C. The Socinians

The Socinians placed emphasis on reason. The Bible was the norm insofar as it conformed to their concept of reason.

III. The Anabaptists

- A. The name Anabaptist. ana = "again". . those who baptized again. This was a name given to them by their enemies, not a name they claimed for themselves. Because they rejected infant baptism, they baptized converts who had been baptized as infants. The Zwinglians revived the Code of Justinian against the Donatists. The Donatists were rebaptizing those who has apostacized under the pressure of persecution and who later sought restoration to the Church. The Code outlawed this. It became the legal pretext for declaring the radicals illegal because they also baptized (although for an obviously different reason).

B. The origin of the Anabaptists

1. Although the origin of the Anabaptists movement is uncertain, it is often held that it began in Zurich in 1525.
2. The two important leaders are Conrad Grebel and Felix Mann (or Manx) broke from Zwingli. This would make, historically, the Anabaptists an outgrowth of the Reformed movement. They felt that Zwingli leaned too much on the city council and not enough on the Bible. Zwingli wanted the state to support the church and the church to include all within the state. He recognized the authority of the council over the church-state. Grebel wanted a "gathered" church; i.e., a church of devout believers only and who accepted only the authority of the Bible. (Separation of Church and State.) Grebel rejected infant baptism as unscriptural. Everybody was automatically baptized as an infant and became a member of the Church. Infant baptism and the State-Church theory were part of the same system.

3. The city council at Zurich held a series of debates on the subject of infant baptism and decided in favor of Zwingli. In 1525 the council ordered Grebel and Mann to cease their agitation on pain of being expelled from the canton. They left and spread their ideas to other areas. After a while they returned to Zurich, were arrested and, along with some others, sentenced to prison and a diet of bread and water. No visitors allowed. While they were in prison, the council passed a law that rebaptism was punishable by death by drowning. (The radicals were beginning to immerse rather than sprinkle, and this seemed an appropriate punishment.) Grebel escaped and died a few months later. Mann was executed by drowning in 1527. This signalled the beginning of the fight with the radicals.
4. The radical movement spread in Switzerland, Germany, and Holland, especially among the lower classes (although its leaders were generally from the upper classes).

C. The distinctive beliefs of the Anabaptists

1. The Evangelicals (the main body, representing a moderate theological stance), sometimes called the Swiss Brethren
 - a. Attitude toward the Bible
Accepted the Bible as the sole authority and basis for life and spirituality. Luther saw the Bible as a means of grace (among others. Calvin and Zwingli came to view the Bible not only as a means of grace but also as an expression of God's will for the state and for the Church. The Anabaptists went beyond these views and interpreted the Bible more literally and obeyed it more strictly.
 - b. Attitude toward the Church
 - (1) The only members of the Church are conscious believers.
 - (2) Only conscious believers are to be baptized. (By immersion.)
 - (3) Local autonomy-congregational church government
 - (4) The separation of Church and State

Parentetical study: The Three Major Reformation Views on the Continent on the Relation of the Christian to the State.

- A. Luther: There are two spheres, the state and the church. Two distinct moral codes characterize the two. The morality binding on the Christian is determined by the sphere in which he is moving at any given time.
- B. Calvin: No distinction exists between the two spheres. It is the responsibility of the Christian to build a Christian society.
- C. Anabaptist: A Christian can neither perform nor sanction many of the actions necessary for the survival and function of the state. The Christian must, therefore, withdraw from the state. He will not seek to overthrow it, but neither will he participate directly in it. The Christian will seek to build a Christian society within the Church and separate from the state.

c. Attitude toward the Christian life

The Anabaptists held that the essence of Christianity is discipleship. The kernel of Anabaptist thought was an ethical urge. Although the Anabaptist movement defies definition in theological terms, ideas which were common (not universal) among them were: pacifism, the refusal to take oaths, anti-capital punishment, foot-washing, strict morality and discipline. Even their worst enemies admitted their success and sincerity in the quest for personal godliness and piety.

In keeping with this, the Anabaptists practiced excommunication to the extent that the one put out of the congregation would be absolutely shunned by all, even a husband or wife. The practice of shunning served to keep the Anabaptists small and led to many divisions within the body. For example, there was a division over whether it is permitted to wear buttons on the clothes. One group saw this as worldliness and excommunicated the "button" brethren. This helps us understand why there are about 16 different groups of Mennonites at the present time.

Discussion #12, The Radical Reformers, part #2

Reading L. 782-795.

2. The Extremists (the "lunatic fringe" of the radical reformers, often following a single, charismatic individual into an extreme expression of reformation).

- a. Examples:

- (1) Hans Hut taught the soon return of Jesus to establish the "millennium" and established the date.
- (2) Melchior Hoffman, also a millennialist, declared himself to be Elijah and prophesied that he would be imprisoned in Strassburg for 6 months, then Jesus would come. (He was imprisoned in Strassburg-for 10 years. His own death, not the return of Jesus, brought about his release.

- b. Extremists who brought the general Anabaptist movement into disrepute:

- (1) Jan of Mathys and Jan of Leyden both claimed to be prophets. Claimed that the millennium was near and that Jesus would set up New Jerusalem at Muenster. They also set the exact date. Their followers gathered in such numbers to greet the returning Jesus that they took over the town. Mathys also taught that the Millennium would be brought in by force. His followers, having seized control of the town, introduced a communal or communist system (community of goods). They included marriage partners in this sharing. They also taught plural marriages. This was a scandal all over Germany. In 1535, both Catholic and Protestant forces convened on the town and recaptured it. The leaders were cruelly tortured, killed, and their bodies placed in iron baskets and hung from a church tower, where they remained until 1881.
- (2) Johann von Battenberg rallied some of the extremists who had escaped from Muenster. They taught polygamy and continued the "spirit of Muenster."
- (3) Davis Joris, an outstanding fanatic, followed the Muenster principles, taught that he was the Messiah of a better kingdom in which the citizens were so elevated spiritually that they were no longer bound by the ordinary laws of morality.

- c. The extremists were a minority, but they brought the whole Anabaptist movement into disrepute.

D. The persecution of the Anabaptists

1. While the main body of the Anabaptists called for toleration and persecuted no one, everyone, Roman Catholic, Reformed, Lutheran, persecuted the Anabaptists, and persecuted them cruelly.

2. Examples:

- a. Michael Sattler, leader of the Swiss Brethren after the deaths of Grebel and Mann, was sentenced to death in Rottenburg by the imperial court. This was the sentence:

"Between the representatives of his Imperial Magesty and Michael Sattler, judgment is passed that Michael Sattler shall be delivered to the executioner, who shall firstly cut out his tongue. Then he shall throw him upon a cart, and with red hot tongs, tear pieces out of his body twice. On the way to the place of execution, make use of the tongs five times more in like manner. Thereupon he shall burn his body to ashes as an archheretic."

- b. The Anabaptists in Holland suffered such tortures as: racks, dungeons, roasted to death before slow fires, drowned, buried alive, pressed into coffings too small for their bodies, stamped to death.

- c. In 1529 the imperial meeting at Speyer declared with the concurrence alike of Catholics and Lutherans that the death penalty should be inflicted upon the Anabaptists. Menno Simons, one of their later leaders, reported the outcome:

"Some they have executed by hanging, some they have tortured with inhuman tyranny, and afterwards choked with cords at the stake. Some they roasted and burned alive. Some they have killed with the sword and given them to the fowls of the air to devour. Some they have cast to the fishes. . . Others wander here and there, in want, homelessness, and affliction, in mountains and deserts, in holes and caves of the earth. They must flee with their wives and little children from one country to another, from one city to another. They are hated, abused, slandered and lied about by all men."

- d. After recording the deaths of 2173 of the brethren, an Anabaptist chronicler proceeds:

"No human being was able to take away out of their hearts what they had experienced. . . The fire of God burned within them. They would die ten deaths rather than forsake the divine truth. They had drunk of the water which is flowing from God's sanctuary, yea of the water of life. Their tent they had pitched not here upon earth, but in eternity. Their faith blossomed like a lily, their loyalty as a rose, their piety and candor as the flower of the garden of God. The angel of the Lord battled for them that they could not be deprived of the helmet of salvation. Therefore they have borne all torture and agony without fear. The things of this world they counted only as shadows. They were thus drawn unto God that they knew nothing, sought nothing, desired nothing, loved nothing but God alone. Therefore they had

more patience in their suffering than their enemies in tormenting them.

- e. R. H. Bainton, The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century, p. 105:

"Few of those who had the temerity to attend an Anabaptist conference could expect to die in bed. Most of the more sober leaders were eliminated in a few years by fire, water, and sword. One has only to examine an Anabaptist hymnbook to see over against the names of the authors the notation: 'Drowned 1525, burned 1526, beheaded 1527, hanged 1528,' and so on. Sometimes whole congregations were taken; the leaders especially were struck down and the people left without a shepherd."

- f. Their situation is described in an Anabaptist hymn:

Sheep without shepherd running blind
Are scattered into flight.
Our house and home are left behind,
Like birds we fly by night,
And like the birds, naught overhead
Save wind and rain and weather,
In rocks and caves our bed.

We creep for refuge under trees.
They hunt us with the bloodhound.
Like lambs they take us as they please
And hold us roped and strong-bound.
They show us off to everyone
As if the peace we'd broken,
As sheep for slaughter looked upon,
As heretics bespoken.

Some in heavy chains have lain
And rotting there have stayed.
Some upon the trees were slain,
Choked and hacked and flayed.
Drownings by stealth and drownings plain
For matron and for maid.
Fearlessly the truth they spoke
And were not ashamed.
Christ is the way and Christ the life
Was the word proclaimed.
Precious in Thy sight, O God,
The dying of a saint.

Our comfort this beneath the rod
Whenever we are faint,
In thee, O God, in Thee alone
Are earthly peace and rest.
Who hope on Thee, eternally
Are sustained and blessed.

2. The reasons for the persecution of the Anabaptists

- a. The extremist element brought the whole movement into disrepute, and the persecution intensified after the Muenster episode.
- b. Theological objections, such as leaving babies unbaptized and thus placing them in jeopardy of hell.
- c. Political objections. Their ideas of the separation of church and state were thought to be fatally dangerous to both church and state, and their pacifism was a fearful thing to states that were under the regular threat of invasion. The Turks were threatening Europe, and here was a group that said it was wrong to resist. They were accused of being on the side of the Turks.

3. The results of the persecution

- a. The Anabaptists were very nearly wiped out. They became, and remain, a numerically small movement.

E. The remnants of the Anabaptist movement

1. The Mennonites, named for their leader Mennonites. Because of his wise leadership of the Anabaptist, the largest single segment of the movement took his name.
2. The Amish, named for Peter Amno. They were the right-wing, conservative branch of the Mennonites.

There are around 20 separate Mennonite groups, disagreeing usually on that which constitutes "worldliness." Their concern about being conformed to the world has lead Mennonites to be a plain people, shunning the newer conventions of dress, jewelry, and even automobiles. The most conservative groups have no houses of worship, but assemble in private homes for services. Some groups have traditionally required the men to wear plain black hats, 18th-century coats without lapels, and in some cases, beards. The stricter groups also require the women to wear a plain, early 19th-century headdress, the bonnet, a plain shawl rather than a coat, a small cape over the shoulders and extending down to the waist, a vestige of early European peasant dress. Some of the groups have waged a continuing war against various states because of their refusal to send their children to the public schools.

In recent decades, most groups have been forced to surrender some of their isolation and many are availing themselves of some modern conveniences. (Some permit electricity in the barn where it can be used for machinery, but don't allow it in the house where it might be considered a frivolity.

The Ammana settlement in Wisconsin is an example of an Anabaptist groups that has prospered.

3. The Hutterians, a communist groups named for Jacob Hutter.



ANABAPTIST MARTYRS

IV. The Mystics

The mystics were characterized by their insistence that men are to follow the present leading and inspiration of the Holy Spirit rather than be confined to the written Word. For the most part they left no "church," but some of their ideas have survived in various forms.

- A. Carlstadt, originally a friend and supporter of Luther. While Luther was at Wartburg, Carlstadt fell under the influence of the Zwickau Prophets (later broke with them). He ended his life as a professor of theology at Basel.
- B. Thomas Muentzer, a radical largely responsible for the Peasants' Revolt. He promised soon millennial glory for the common man, and became convinced of the necessity of violent revolution. He was executed in 1555.

- C. Sebastian Frank, a humanist who became a Lutheran minister, but later advocated complete freedom of thought. He was persecuted by Catholics and reformers alike for his stand for an undogmatic Christianity. He rejected the visible church and all sacraments. Men, according to Frank, were to follow only the guidance of the Spirit within.
- D. Caspar Schwenkfeld, a former friend of Luther. He organized Schwenkfeldian churches. He was a mystic who preferred direct guidance over the Bible. (There are a few Schwenkfeldian churches in Pennsylvania at the present time.)

V. The Socinians, named for the Italian Laelius Socinus.

The Socinians accepted the Bible as the inspired Word of God, but put their emphasis on reason. They are also identified as Anti-Trinitarians because of their denial of the deity of Jesus.

- A. Antecedents. The Socinian movement grew out of late Scholasticism, and reflected the persuasion by many of the schoolmen that theological truth is comprehensively rational.
- B. Michael Servetus was the leading figure responsible for popularizing and spreading this approach to Christianity. His death incited many to pursue what they considered to be intellectual integrity and rational truth. Because of the famous death of Servetus, Laelius Socinus was led to read the writings of Servetus. Socinus was already a reformer, and was convinced that reason could not accept the deity of Christ. Socinus was a "secret disciple" of Servetus (he lived in Geneva), but after his death his private writing was read by his nephew Faustus Socinus. The nephew spread the message of Anti-Trinitarianism into Poland, later into Hungary, the province of Transylvania. A church was established there.
- C. The doctrines of the Socinians
 - 1. A belief in a God who created the universe and shall judge it eventually, but Who does not enter into the stream of human history.
 - 2. Jesus was a man whom God raised from the dead, but who was not deity.
 - 3. The Holy Spirit was explained as the impersonal influence of God.
 - 4. The Scriptures are inspired, but are to be interpreted in such a way as to make reason the final court of appeals.
 - 5. A Pelagian view of man; no such things as Original Sin.
 - 6. Salvation by works.
 - 7. A denial of the blood atonement.
 - 8. They accepted the miracles of the Bible and the Resurrection of Jesus.
- D. The principles of Socinianism
 - 1. Complete mental freedom in religious thought.
 - 2. The unrestricted use of reason in religion rather than external authority or tradition.
 - 3. Generous tolerance of differing religious views.

FREEDOM
 relying on
REASON
TOLERANCE
- E. Modern Unitarianism finds its roots in Socinianism.

Discussion #13, The Reformation in England under the Tudors, part #1

Section Five: The Reformation in England

Reading: L. 797-810

I. The Reformation under the Tudors

A. Henry VIII. . revolt from Rome SCHISM WITHOUT HERESY

1. The setting

- a. All strands of the Reformation on the Continent were working their way into the English fabric. England was ringing with the ideas of Wyclif, John Duns Scotus, William of Ockham. Lollardy persisted, especially among the poor.
- b. The Roman Catholic Church in England was exceedingly corrupt.
- c. England was feeling the presence of religious Humanism, from the writings of Erasmus, Thomas More, Colet, et al.
- d. A sturdy nationalism was restive under papal interference in the affairs of England.
- e. The writings of Luther had reached Cambridge and Oxford and Calvinistic thought was penetrating the ecclesiastical world.
- f. The Tudor monarchs were building an absolute monarchy.
- g. England was one of the areas to which Latin Christianity had come late. Latin culture had never absorbed the British Isles, and England had never fully accepted many of the vagaries of Catholicism that were common fare in southern Europe.

2. The divorce of Henry VIII

- a. The background. Henry VII had arranged the marriage of his oldest son Arthur to Kathryn of Aragon (Spain). This was an important arrangement, as England was relatively small and unimportant while Spain was the "wonder of the age." After a few months, however, Arthur died. Rather than send Kathryn back to Spain (along with her considerable dowry), Henry VII arranged to have her married to his second son Henry VIII. (She was 24 and he 18.) It was against Canon Law (church law) for a man to marry his brother's wife. He secured a dispensation from the pope and the marriage was effected. They lived together 17 years.
- b. The reasons for the divorce. Henry asked that the marriage be annulled, and he gave the pope two reasons:
 - (1) His conscience was hurting him that he had married his brother's wife. (They had given birth several children, but all save one daughter had died at birth or shortly thereafter. Henry, perhaps, reasoned that this was a judgement of God upon the illegal marriage.)
 - (2) He needed to be sure of a male heir. The death of the king with no clear male heir would plunge England back into a long and disastrous civil war.
 His mistress, Anne Boleyn, a lady-in-waiting of the court, was pregnant with his child. He wanted to marry her and legitimize

the baby that might be the heir he was seeking. It must be remembered, however, that when the divorce was first rumored, Anne Boleyn had been only seven years old.

3. The response of the pope. The request was not unusual in itself. It was common for the Church, for a fee, to discover some flaw in a dispensation and set it aside. The difficulty for the pope was that Kathryn of Aragon was aunt to the king of Spain. If the marriage were annulled, it would mean that she would have been living in sin and that her children were bastards. The pope could not offend the king of Spain. (The pope was Clement VII.)
4. The divorce. Since the pope refused, the annulment was given by Cranmer, the leading ecclesiastic official (archbishop) in England. If the pope had not pursued the matter, Henry VIII would never have considered breaking with Rome.
5. The excommunication of Henry VIII. At the prodding of the king of Spain, the pope excommunicated Henry. Henry retaliated by convening Parliament and the two convocations of the church of England (York and Caterbury). In conference they repudiated the pope as head of the Church in England and declare that this office is held by Henry. Henry was not Protestant in doctrine. He had been given, by the pope, the title "Defender of the Faith" in reward for a tract written against Martin Luther. Henry made concessions to the Protestants because he knew that he would need their support. He withdrew concessions when he saw they were not required, and at the end of his reign, there were no Protestant doctrines accepted at all in the church of England, except for the repudiation of the pope.
6. The Church of England becomes the church of the Via Media (The Middle Way). With the revolt from Rome by Henry VIII, the Church in England became neither Roman Catholic nor Protestant. As one said, "If you were Roman Catholic, you were beheaded, if you were Protestant, you were burned. Other than this there was no change."
7. Two important things that happened during the reign of Henry VIII that had direct and long-range impact on the Church.
 - a. The destruction of monasticism. The monks were the greatest supporters of the papacy and they were very wealthy. Henry closed the monasteries and took over their estates. (Recall that the monastery was the central, definitive, institution of the Roman Catholic Church in the late Middle Ages.) This broke the power of Rome in England. Most of the property he gave to the nobles who supported him, giving these powerful lords a financial stake in the Reformation when it began.
 - b. The rise of a true Protestant party, no thanks to Henry. The seedbed was there (see I.A.1. The Setting).
 - (1) Wm. Tyndale (1494-1536) translated the New Testament into English from the Greek text (the first one so to do). He made no reference to the Wyclif text. Wyclif had translated from the Vulgate and his version was suppressed.

for the age, but "the English people have never been able to get the fires of Smithfield out of their nostrils." Stories of the martyrdoms was written up by Foxe and his work was widely read with great impact. Among those burned were bishops Latimer and Ridley. Latimer is recorded as saying to his companion at the stake: "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, we shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England as, I trust, shall never be put out." Cranmer was in a dilemma. He had been convinced that the sovereign of England was the rightful head of the Church. But now the sovereign was a Roman Catholic. In his uncertainty he recanted some of his beliefs (he was in a cell where he could hear the groans of the martyrs and smell their burning flesh.) Eventually he recanted all his beliefs in Protestantism in an effort to save his life. Mary sentenced him to the stake anyway. At the stake he repudiated his recantations and submitted to the flames the hand with which he had signed them.

4. Mary died, leaving England more Protestant than she found it. The revulsion of the people at the burnings did much to sway them away from ties with Rome.

Parentetical study: The three foundational ideas supporting religious persecution:

- A. That the persecutor is right and the persecuted is wrong.
- B. That the issue or question is comprehensively or eternally important.
- C. That coercion is effective in directing human thought.

Discussion #14, The Reformation in England under the Tudors, part 2.

Reading: L. 810-816; Addendum E. The Supremacy Act of 1559.

D. The Elizabethan Settlement

1. Elizabeth was the daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, she reigned for nearly 50 years (1558-1603), and she invalidated the fears of her father that England would neither accept nor survive a woman monarch. She was one the greatest rulers England has ever had. During her reign England became a major world power. (Her navies defeated the Spanish Armada.)
2. The general character of the settlement effected by Elizabeth.
 - a. Studied ambiguity
 - b. Via Media
 - c. Comprehension
3. The Settlement in the area of government. The 1559 Act of Supremacy made Elizabeth the "Supreme Governor" of the Church (not the "Supreme Head.") See Addendum E. The Supremacy Act, 1559.

The Church of England was fixed as, and still is, the state church.

4. The Settlement in the area of worship. The second prayer Book of Edward was restored with minor revisions in the direction of Catholicism, making it more difficult for a Protestant to accept it. This was the official guide to worship, no other form of worship was permitted. A new Act of Uniformity was passed.
5. The Settlement in the area of doctrine. Elizabeth went back to the Forty-Two Articles drawn up by Cranmer under Edward and revised and reduced them to the thirty-nine (1571). They were brief and mildly Calvinistic. The Thirty-Nine Articles were not as important as the prayer book in the actual determination of doctrine in the Church of England.
6. An example of the "studied ambiguity" of the Elizabethan Settlement. The spirit of comprehension is evident in the prescribed liturgy of the Lord's Supper in the new edition of the Book of Common Prayer:

"The body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee (transubstantiation?) preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life. Take and eat this in remembrance (Zwinglian 'Symbolism?') that Christ died for thee and feed on him (Lutheran 'Real Presence consubstantiation?') in thy heart by faith and thanksgiving."

7. Opposition to the Elizabethan Settlement

- a. Roman Catholic opposition. Roman Catholics argued that Elizabeth was not the legitimate sovereign of England, since the Church had not recognized the dissolution of the marriage between Henry VIII and Kathryn of Aragon. They argued that Mary, Queen of Scots was the rightful ruler.

A seminary was established at Douai, Belgium, for the specific purpose of preparing a clergy to return to England when the way was clear and return the country to its Catholic moorings. Later the seminary was moved to Rheims in Spanish Flanders. Out of this seminary came a Roman Catholic Bible in the English language (a translation of the Vulgate). Although the Roman Church had earlier made it a capital crime to have a Bible in the vernacular in England, England was filled with "Protestant" Bibles (in particular that of Tyndale) with Protestant apparatus. This being the case, it seemed wise to produce a "Catholic" translation with the proper wording and footnotes. The authorized English version of the Bible for the Roman Catholic Church at the present is this Douai-Rheims translation.

Catholic nobles in the north of England led a minor rebellion against Elizabeth, but it was suppressed.

The Pope (Pius V) finally got around (1570) to issuing a bull of interdict and excommunication:

Regnans in excelsis (Excerpts)

He that reigns in the highest, to whom has been given all power in heaven and earth, entrusted the government of the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church (outside which there is no salvation) to one man alone on the earth, namely Peter, the chief of the Apostles, and to Peter's successor, the Roman Pontiff, in fullness of power. This one man he set up as chief over all nations and all kingdoms, to pluck up, destroy, scatter, dispose, plant and build. . .

. . . Resting then upon the authority of him who has willed to place us (albeit unequal to such a burden) in this supreme throne of justice, we declare the aforesaid Elizabeth a heretic and an abettor of heretics, and those that cleave to her in the aforesaid matters to have incurred the sentence of anathema, and to be cut off from the unity of Christ's body.

Moreover we declare her to be deprived of her pretended right to the aforesaid realm, and from all dominion, dignity and privilege whatsoever.

And all the nobles, subjects and peoples of the said realm, and all others who have taken an oath of any kind to her we

declare to be absolved for ever from such oath and from all dues of dominion, fidelity and obedience, as by the authority of these presents we do so absolve them; and we deprive the said Elizabeth of her pretended right to the realm and all other things aforesaid: and we enjoin and forbid all and several the nobles, etc. . . . that they presume not to obey her and her admonitions, commands, and laws. All who disobey our command we involve in the same sentence of anathema.

The Pope called on France and Spain to carry out the bull. From then until the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, there was war, more or less overt, between England and the counter-reformation. In 1580 the Pope sanctioned the assassination of Elizabeth.

The Roman Church tried to infiltrate England and stir up the people against her, but Elizabeth was too much in control to be caught off guard.

In connection with one of the intrigues, the famous "Babington plot," Mary Queen of Scots was executed because of her implication in it.

Catholic opposition ended with the defeat of the Spanish Armada. Spain with its "invincible fleet" sailed on England to crush this Protestant country with its illegitimate ruler. (There were many non-religious motives involved also.) The combination of ill-preparation, a timely storm, and the fact that the cumbersome galleons of the Spanish could not maneuver with the lighter English warships, led to the defeat of the Armada. Never again would Spain threaten England.

8. The Protestant opposition to Elizabeth

a. The Puritans

- (1) Origin. Many of the Protestants who had fled England when Mary came to the throne had ended up in Geneva. They were given an English church in Geneva for some years with John Knox as their pastor.
- (2) Their program: to remain in the Church and work to purify it (toward Reformed theology) from within. Their opposition was first manifested toward the prayer book, which they held to be too Catholic. They opposed elaborate clerical vestments, kneeling at communion, the sign of the cross, and the use of the ring in the marriage ceremony. They eventually came to rejecting all liturgical prayer. They objected to the state control of the church, and this objection led to their embracing Covenant Theology (see p. 51.) The Puritans put emphasis on the Bible as a handbook for the highly ethical and moral life. An ascetic trend developed among the Puritans.

- (3) The Puritans established a tradition of objection to the theater, card-playing, and dancing.
- (4) The Puritans, in contrast to the Roman Church and the early Reformers, identified Sunday with the Jewish Sabbath and took a very strict view of the "Christian Sabbath." They forbade all work and pleasure. Idleness was also forbidden, the day being given to public and private worship and devotion.

b. The Separatists

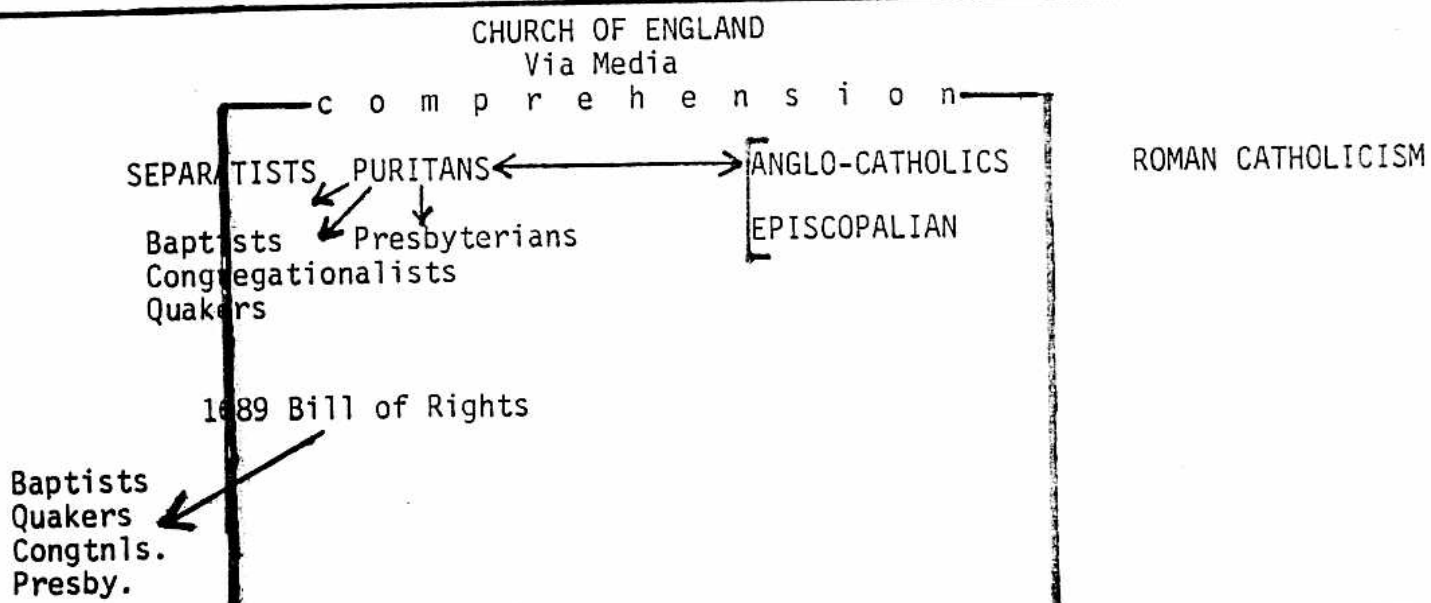
- (1) Origin: the left wing of the Puritan movement. They were even stricter on many matters than the main body.
- (2) Their distinctive character: They believed in the separation of church and state, that the church is a "gathered" community of saints. They were not Anabaptists.

9. The Anglican reaction to the Puritans and Separatists

- a. John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury (ecclesiastical head of the Church of England): Compulsion; forced conformity to the prayer book.
- b. Richard Hooker, author of the classic Anglican statement on the Church, represents the moderate Anglican view that Scripture is joined by tradition and reason in the establishment of a doctrine of the church. On this basis he argued for episcopacy, i.e., rule by bishops.
- c. Richard Bancroft developed the Anglo-Catholic view of apostolic succession as the mark of the true Church.
- d. Peter Baro represents a leaning toward Arminianism. There was introduced an Arminian resistance to Puritan Calvinism.

10. An evaluation of the Elizabethan Settlement. Roland Bainton, The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century, p. 209:

"The studied ambiguities of the Elizabethan settlement can easily be exposed and readily scorned; but were they after all a less satisfactory solution of the strife of religions than the blinding clarity of the fires at Smithfield?"



Discussion #15: The Reformation in England under the Stuarts, part 1.

Reading: L. 816-821; Addendum F. The Westminster Confession of Faith.

II. The Reformation under the Stuarts

When Elizabeth died without heir, the sovereignty of England passed to the Scottish line, the Stuarts. James VI of Scotland became James I of England and Scotland. This is the beginning of the United Kingdom. In this transition, the great question became What would be the religious policy of James? He was raised a Presbyterian (Reformed) in Scotland. His mother was Mary Queen of Scots, the avid Roman Catholic.

A. James I (1603-1625)

1. James, at first, veered toward Roman Catholicism when he became free from the bonds of Scottish Presbyterianism.
2. He settled, however on Episcopalianism (Anglicanism), for with this system he could control the Church through his power to appoint bishops. He believed in the Divine Right absolute monarchy theory. He had been unable to control the quasi-democratic church in Scotland, but he intended to do just this in England.
3. His policy: forced conformity to the Church of England.
4. The King James Bible
 - a. The occasion of its commission: (It is "authorized" only by James, not the Church of England.) There were competing versions in the English circulating; all revisions of the Tyndale-Coverdale version. Examples: The Great Bible, the Geneva Bible. The Geneva Bible was translated by Puritans-in-exile, was the most popular, and had footnotes that attacked the Divine-Right theory of monarchy. For this reason James would have nothing of it, and he appointed 47 able scholars the task to revise Tyndale. They worked on it for 7 years.
 - b. Unfortunately, as soon as it came from the presses in 1611, it was out-of-date as far as texts is concerned. Even while the translators were working, the Patriarch of Constantinople sent a copy of the 5th-century Codex Alexandrinus, 500 years older than the MSS used by the translators.
5. In the reign of James, there was tremendous growth both of the separatists and the Puritans.
 - a. The Puritans grew also as a political force. They stood for democracy in the state as well as in the Church, and were thus in direct opposition to the Stuart monarchs. Thus, in England the struggle for religious liberty was to become also a struggle for political liberty.

b. The separatists

- (1) The beginning of the Baptist Church. In 1607 a separatist congregation in Gainsborough migrated to Holland to escape persecution. There they came under the influence of the Mennonites and their Anabaptist ideas. (Their leader became a convert to the Mennonites and was excommunicated by the main body.) The congregation adopted some Anabaptist ideas without becoming Mennonites. They began to rebaptize believers, rejecting infant baptism, by pouring (not by immersion). They adopted Arminian view of theology which they also found in Holland. In 1611-12, Thomas Helwys led a small group of them back to England where he founded the first Baptist congregation on English soil. Since they adopted Arminian views, they became known as General Baptists. This is the beginning of the Baptist Church as a distinct organized denomination.
 - (2) Another separatist congregation, including among its leadership Brewster, Bradford, and Robinson, to become famous Pilgrim Fathers in New England, also migrated to Holland. In 1616 a portion of this congregation returned to England and established the first Congregational Church in England. In 1620, another portion sailed to New England and established the Plymouth Colony. This was the beginning of the Congregational Church in America. In 1638, a group split from the Congregationalist Church in England and formed a Baptist Church. They, however, retained their Calvinistic theology, and came to be known as Particular Baptists. In 1640-41 immersion became the mode of baptism among the Baptists.
6. James tried to gradually replace Presbyterianism in Scotland by transferring power to certain bishops (called Tulcan Bishops) that had formerly served simply as civil administrators of ecclesiastical lands in Scotland. When he died, Scotland was seething with discontent.
 7. In the reign of James, there was the settling of the Scots-Irish in Ireland. Before her death, Elizabeth had confiscated the lands of some powerful and rebellious Roman Catholic nobles in northern Ireland. To prevent further rebellions, James opens these lands to the English and the Scots. The majority of those who moved in were lowland Scots, primarily of Anglo-Saxon descent. These immigrants, who move into Ulster, are known as Scots-Irish (they are not Irish at all). The Scots-Irish settlers were Presbyterian-Reformed, and their was tremendous opposition to them, especially among Irish serfs who remained on the land. Northern Ireland is still suffering the effects of this bitterness.

B. Charles I (1625-1645)

1. Charles was the son of James I, but did not inherit his wisdom. He forced conformity to the Prayer Book, but with little discretion.
2. Wm. Laud, Charles's "evil genius," Archbishop of Canterbury, guided him in his policies:

- (a) The policy of Charles I in regard to politics: Absolute Monarchy. He ruled from 1629-1640 without Parliament. He was finally compelled to call it to session to secure money grants to raise troops to put down the Scottish rebellion.
- (b) The policy of Charles I in regard to religion: Laud was an Anglo-Catholic (held to apostolic succession), and openly opposed Calvinism as much as he did the Pope. He took the position that Protestant*Churches were not churches at all, while Rome was a branch of the True Church, although in error. He saw Puritanism (9/10 of the English people) as the stumbling block to true Catholicism and made war on it without mercy. Preaching was suppressed. The Geneva Bible was outlawed. Such acts as kneeling at the Communion were enforced. Obedience to the king was declared to be a part of the law of God and Calvinism was publicly denounced. Charles commanded his famous Book of Sports (1618) to be read from the pulpit. It is easy to understand why so many strict Puritan clergymen simply refused to read a document that contained the admonition:

*Lutheran and Calvinistic

". . . and as for our good people's lawful recreation, our pleasure likewise is, that after the end of divine service our good people be not disturbed, letted or discouraged from any lawful recreation, such as dancing, either men or women; archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any other such harmless recreation, nor from having of May-games, Whitsun-ales, and Morris-dances; and the setting up of Maypoles and other sports therewith used. . . "

The Puritan clergymen who refused suffered such things as imprisonment, scourging, cropping of ears, splitting of noses.

3. The Puritan reaction to the policies of Charles I and Laud.

- a. Thousands of Puritans emigrated to New England. They represented the wealthy, merchant, scholarly, enterprising best of England.
- b. Revolt in Scotland. Rebellion broke out in Scotland at the occasion of the forced-reading of a new pro-Catholic prayer book, and Charles is forced to convene Parliament to get money to put down the rebellion. Parliament, however, is in the control of the Puritans. They stayed in session for a number of years, and are known as the "Long Parliament" (1640f.) Instead of supporting Charles, Parliament tried Laud for treason and had him beheaded. Charles's army is defeated in a war with the troops commanded by Parliament, under the command of Cromwell, and Cromwell's forces beheaded Charles after he had been formally impeached by Parliament.
- c. In Ireland the Scots-Irish Presbyterians were worshipping in churches that were, officially Churches of England. They were under the authority of Archbishop Usher, who was tolerant of the Presbyterians. When Charles tried to force conformity under the

rule of the infamous Charles Wentworth, there was rebellion. Those who refused to take the "black oath" to render absolute obedience to Charles were put in dungeons and chains and fined exorbitant sums. Many fled to the marshes and caves. Some went back to Scotland. The "Long Parliament" rescued northern Ireland from Charles by beheading Wentworth.

In the power vacuum created by Parliament, the native Irish suddenly attacked the Scots-Irish, stripped them of their clothing, and drove them out in the cold to perish. Then began a terrible massacre of the Protestants. In 1641 ff., an orgy of torture was carried on by the Irish Catholics. Eyes were torn out, the hands of little children were boiled before the eyes of parents, women were stripped and ripped open. It was one of the worst such episodes in history. In the years following 1641, over 100,000 Protestant men, women, and children die.

Cromwell sent a force to Ireland, made up primarily of Presbyterians, and in the process of putting things in order, distinctly Presbyterian Churches were organized in northern Ireland for the first time. The Presbyterian Church of Ireland was organized in 1642.

4. The Westminster Assembly (1643-1658)

- a. An assembly was called by Parliament in Westminster Abbey with the purpose of advising Parliament on a religious settlement. When Laud and Charles were taken to the block, Parliament also did away with the Book of Common Prayer. What, now, is to take its place? The "assembly of divines" is to give advice on this matter. (There were 151 men, 121 of whom were clergymen.)

A second purpose of the assembly is to reform the Church of England after the Presbyterian model.

- b. The assembly was dominated by the Presbyterians.
- c. The work of the assembly:
 - (1) A Directory of Worship was drawn up to replace the prayer book. (1644) It forms the basis of modern Presbyterian worship.
 - (2) A confession of faith was drawn up and two catechisms. The Westminster Confession of Faith is the last of the great Reformed confessions, is the most complete of all Calvinistic confessions, and remains the definitive statement of Presbyterianism. (1648) When Parliament adopted this confession, the Church of England became officially a Presbyterian Church.

See Addendum F. The Westminster Confession of Faith

Discussion #16: The Reformation in England under the Stuarts, part #2.

Reading: L. 821-839

C. Oliver Cromwell and the Commonwealth (1649-1660)

1. If, at the ratification by Parliament (1648) of the Westminster Confession of Faith, Presbyterianism became the state church of England (on paper), why did it not remain so?
 - a. Although the majority of Parliament at the time was Presbyterian, the majority of the English people were not. The Puritan element was heavily Presbyterian early on, but it became increasingly independent or Congregational and it began to break up into various sects. At the time of the Westminster Assembly, the Presbyterian party represented the well-to-do minority.
 - b. Presbyterianism was highly intolerant at this time. When they were able to, legally, make Presbyterianism the state church, they had no intention of tolerating Anglicans than the Anglicans had of tolerating them. Example: Samuel Rutherford:

"God has appointed an exclusive church, and His voice, will and saving power and grace, will minister solely to that community. Salvation is not possible outside that church, since God does not dwell there. This Church, speaking in its lawful assemblies, is the sole rule and guide of conscience. From its pronouncements there is no appeal; and willful digression from it is heresy. . . . The lawful assemblies of the Church may pronounce infallibly in controversial questions of dogma, since they have, to guide them, the living Word of God and the direction of the Holy Ghost. . . . Presbyterianism has been declared to be the true religion of England. . . ."

This exclusivism ran too much counter to the prevailing public mood toward comprehension. Parliament passed restrictive laws touching theology. It became illegal, for example, to affirm that man has free will, under threat of imprisonment.
 - c. Oliver Cromwell, the successful general of his Protestant army, was an independent Puritan, not a "main-line" Presbyterian. He had done the fighting and now found his own faith suppressed! He promptly threw the Presbyterians out of Parliament, leaving a "rump" Parliament. When even this decimated Parliament got out of hand, he did away with that too, and took over the government himself under the title "Lord Protector." His rule is called the period of the Commonwealth.
2. Cromwell's policy toward non-Puritans: Tolerance toward everyone except Roman Catholics and Anglicans (Anglo-Catholics...those who held for a true church based on Apostolic Succession.)
3. In the days of the Commonwealth, the Puritans broke up into a multitude of sects or groups. Some of the more important:
 - a. Levellers, the largest and most important group. They represented the radical middle-class or urban workers. Their leader: John Lilburn. This was a popular revolutionary party with two

primary objectives: 1) religious toleration, and 2) justice for the common man in the context of government rising from the consent of the governed, freedom of the press, and other kinds of control from the body-politic. (Lilburn believed in total depravity and, therefore, didn't trust anyone in high office.)

- b. The Quakers (Society of Friends). Founder: George Fox (1624-1691).
 - (1) The dissatisfaction of George Fox
 - (a) In his own spiritual life.
 - (b) Social conditions, especially war.
 - (c) The Calvinistic doctrine of predestination.
 - (2) The solution to his dissatisfaction: Mysticism (the Inner Light).
 - (3) The chief concern of the Quakers: Ethical living
 - (4) The attitude of the Quakers toward the Bible: The Bible is a divine revelation but not the full and final divine revelation. Every person may receive Inner Light and deliver divine revelation. They had no designated ministers.
 - (5) The attitude of the Quakers toward the Sacraments: The Quakers did away with baptism and the Lord's Supper.

4. Reaction against the Puritanism of the Commonwealth

- 1. Under the direction of Cromwell, Puritan ideas on personal piety, Sabbath-keeping, etc. were embodied in legislation and imposed on everyone.
- 2. A reaction set in. (People do not generally suffer enforced spirituality gladly.) The children of the Puritan leaders often rejected the often-hypocritical religion of their fathers.

D. The restoration of the Stuart Monarchy; Charles II (1660)

- 1. When Cromwell died (1658), the Presbyterians and the Anglicans agreed in inviting the son of the beheaded Charles I to return from exile and assume rule. Because Cromwell's son was weak, he was replaced after two uncertain years. Charles II promised to grant toleration to the Presbyterians.
- 2. The character of Charles II: He was of low moral character, and was thus in harmony with the orgy of worldliness being carried on by the upper-classes in England as they celebrated the end of Cromwellian domination.
- 3. Charles II restored Episcopacy, and forgot his promise of toleration in order to keep his throne. He permitted the now-Anglican Parliament to suppress Puritanism. A revised prayer book was enforced, a prayer book that was more "Catholic" than the one under Charles I.

4. The continuing influence of Puritanism on English life. Despite the laxity of morals connected with the Restoration, when the situation settled down, it became clear that the worthy aspects of Puritanism had deeply imbedded themselves in the English mind, to the profit of the nation. Green, in his History of England:

"As soon as the wild orgy of the Restoration was over, men began to see that nothing really worthy in the work of Puritanism had really been undone. It left them (the English people) what Puritanism had made them: serious, earnest, sober in life and conduct, firm in the love of Protestantism and freedom. Slowly, but steadily, it introduced its own seriousness and purity, into English society, literature, and politics. The history of English progress since the Restoration on its moral and spiritual side, has been the history of Puritanism."

5. A new Act of Uniformity forced the clergy to accept the new prayer book with "the whole heart" and to swear to make no attempt to change it. This no Puritan could do, and as a result, over 2,000 of the ablest intellects were forced out of the Church and were forced to become dissenters. From this context came the continuing struggle for religious freedom, out of which ultimately comes the struggle for political freedom. America is heir to the fruits of victory in this struggle!!!
 - a. The Conventicle Act of 1664 prohibited worship services of more than 5 persons outside the church house and without the use of the Book of Common Prayer.
 - b. The Five-Mile Act of 1665 forbade a non-conforming minister to come within five miles of an incorporated town or a city, or the place of his former ministry, or to teach school unless he took an oath to support the state church. Many ministers were starving to death, so for this, and for higher reasons, they chose to preach and go to prison. Among those who rotted in jail in this period and who could have been released if they had simply promised not to preach was John Bunyan.
 - c. The Test Act of 1673 prohibited a dissenter from holding public or military office.
6. Because the majority of people in Scotland was Presbyterian where the majority in England was not, Scotland suffered under the Restoration much more than did England. Ultimately it became a capital crime in Scotland either to gather in open fields or in homes for worship or to be absent from worship in the established church. Many were tortured, minor revolts broke out, but the Scots could not stand against the British troops. Many Scots were sent to the American colonies as indentured servants.

E. James II (1685-1688)

1. The death of Charles II brought his brother, James II, a Roman Catholic to the throne. (Charles II had become a Catholic before his death.)

2. James II was openly Roman Catholic, and sought to bring about legislation that would grant toleration to Catholics and dissenters. He wanted an Indulgence Act (1687). Even though it gave them some liberty, the Puritans opposed the legislation.
 - a. James had bypassed Parliament, and all Englishmen were afraid of losing the democratic liberties they had fought so hard to secure.
 - b. The Puritans knew that James was moving toward the restoration of Roman Catholicism as the religion of England.

F. The "Glorious Revolution" or "Bloodless Revolution" of 1688

1. Popular opposition to James II forced him to flee the country. He fled to Ireland and tried to maintain his rule there by leading Irish Catholic forces against the Protestants in northern Ireland. After a couple of fierce battles, the Catholics were defeated and James was forced out of Ireland. He went to France.
2. The British Parliament invited his Protestant daughter Mary to the throne. She is married to William of Orange, a Dutch Calvinist. They are joint-monarchs. They formally become episcopalians so they may legally take the throne.
3. In 1689 a Bill of Rights put an end to the attempt to force dissenters to worship according to the Book of Common Prayer. This act declares that no Roman Catholic may ever wear the crown of England. As a result of this new freedom, four dissenting groups formally leave the Church of England and form separate denominations:
 - a. The Presbyterians
 - b. The Congregationalists
 - c. The Baptists
 - d. The Quakers

They could worship on the securing a license, and the Test Act still applied. Thus they did not enjoy perfect freedom.

4. It is recognized that Scotland is Presbyterian and they are allowed in 1689 to become the state church, granting toleration to episcopalians.
- G. When Anne, sister of Mary ascended the throne at the death of Mary, she, being a high-Anglican, increased restrictions on non-Anglicans and made things hard for the Scots-Irish in Ireland. This, in combination with a potato famine (1725 f), brought about the great Scots-Irish migration to America.

Parentetical observation: Outstanding Puritans of this period.

1. John Milton. . . Paradise Lost
2. John Bunyan. . . The Pilgrim's Progress
3. John Locke. . . Essay Concerning Human Understanding

Section Six: The Counter Reformation

Discussion #17: The Counter Reformation

Reading: L. 840-882; Addendum G. The Tridentine Profession of Faith, 1564.

I. The general characteristics of the Roman Catholic Counter Reformation

- A. It was an administrative reformation.
- B. It was an educational reformation.
- C. It was a moral reformation.
- D. There was no doctrinal reformation.
- E. It was accompanied by the use of force.

II. The primary agencies of the Counter Reformation

A. The Council of Trent (1545-63, with intermissions)

1. Other than Vatican I and II, this is the only council since the Protestant Reformation that the Roman Catholic Church considers to be an ecumenical council.
2. In this council the modern Roman Catholic Church took its more-or-less final form.
3. The two important actions of the Council of Trent:
 - a. The council drew up a statement of doctrine.
 - (1) The Protestants were offering precise credal definitions of their faith while Catholicism was being vaguely presented. In general terms, the council codified the theology of Thomas Aquinas (and Duns Scotus).
 - (2) The major doctrinal issues addressed:
 - (a) The matter of authority. The Council gave Scripture and tradition coordinate and equal authority.

Session IV, 8 April 1546: ". . .this Synod receives and venerates, with equal pious affection and reverence, all the books both of the New and the Old Testaments, since one God is the author of both, together with the said Traditions. . .as having been given either from the lips of Christ or by the dictation of the Holy Spirit and preserved by unbroken succession in the Catholic Church. . ."

- (b) The Seven Sacraments were affirmed in terms of ex opera operato
- (c) Purgatory was affirmed.
- (d) Veneration of the saints, relics, images was affirmed.
- (e) In the matter of indulgences, it was admitted that their sale had been abused but affirmed the theology and decreed that they would not, henceforth, be sold for money.
- (f) The ordination vow of Pius IV was adopted by the Council of Trent and came to bear the title The Tridentine Profession of Faith, 1564 (Addendum G).

- b. The council directed some practical reforms. Examples:
- (1) Absentee bishoprics and plurality of bishoprics was forbidden.
 - (2) Provision was made for the education of the priests.
 - (3) " " " " " discipline of the priesthood.

B. The Inquisition

1. The Inquisition was not set up in all Roman Catholic lands; it was used particularly in Italy and Spain. Its use in the Netherlands helped bring on the war for Dutch independence (previously discussed).
2. The Inquisition is discussed on pp. 176-177 of the syllabus for West. Civ. II (Early Christian Centuries).

C. The Index

1. The Index was (and is) a list of books that no Roman Catholic can read.
2. The purpose of the Index was to prevent heresy, but it usually was too slow to be of use. By the time a book was recognized as dangerous to Catholic faith, much damage had already been done. For this reason, Canon Law 1399 forbids laymen to read certain kinds of books, such as: books that defend heresy or schism, books that purposely attack religion or morality (such as books on birth control), books by non-Catholics written on religion unless it is certain that they do not attack the Catholic faith, etc.

D. The Order of the Jesuits (Society of Jesus)

1. The purpose of the Jesuit order: to fight Protestantism.
2. This order became and has remained the most important and powerful order in the Roman Catholic Church.
3. The founder: Ignatius Loyola
 - a. A Spaniard, of noble birth; grew up to a military career.
 - b. Loyola followed the fading code of knighthood and chivalry.
 - c. He was wounded in battle and walked with a limp for the rest of his life.
 - d. Loyola was profoundly influenced by a 'Kepmis' The Imitation of Christ. He expanded this mystical approach to religion to asceticism and mendicacy.
 - e. As a grown man he attended school in Barcelona with children to catch up on his education, and eventually was found at the University of Paris. He was there with John Calvin.
 - f. At the University, he conceived of a new order of Christian knights pursuing a chivalry based on devotion to Mary as the object of all pure affection. Some of the ablest men in the University joined him.

g. He persuaded the Pope to sanction his order.

4. The distinctive characteristics of the Society of Jesus:

- a. It has always been composed of a body of "picked men" who are screened and highly-trained.
- b. They follow a strict "military" discipline. Loyola wrote the Spiritual Exercises, a regime of spiritual discipline. In the constitution of the Jesuits, Loyola set forth the following standard of obedience:

Const. 6.1 (Institutum I, 407f): Let us with the utmost pains strain every nerve of our strength to exhibit this virtue of obedience, firstly to the Highest Pontiff, then to the Superiors of the Society; so that in all things, to which obedience can be extended with charity, we may be most ready to obey his voice, just as if it issued from Christ our Lord. . . , leaving any work, even a letter, that we have begun and have not yet finished; . . . by persuading ourselves that all things (commanded) are just; by rejecting with a kind of blind obedience all opposing opinion or judgement of our own; . . . let each one persuade himself that they that live under obedience ought to allow themselves to be borne and ruled by divine providence working through their Superiors exactly as if they were a corpse which suffers itself to be borne and handled in any way whatsoever; or just as an old man's cane which serves him who holds it in his hand wherever and for whatever purpose he wish to use it. . .

- c. They were free from all previous monastic restraints. They were free to go anywhere they were sent, to wear whatever clothes are expedient (vs. clerical garb). They were free from the requirements of spending so much time in prescribed devotions. Whereas other orders are assigned particular tasks, the Jesuits are free to do whatever the Church needs and his superior commands.

5. The Jesuits grew rapidly, eventually becoming so powerful that even the Pope was afraid of the order and suppressed it for a time (after 1750). At certain periods of time they were expelled from French and Spanish domains.

6. The methods of the Jesuits

- a. It began by emphasizing works of charity (Later this was changed.).
- b. Preaching (They were able to win back many Protestant areas simply by open-air preaching.)
- c. Formal education, especially of young children. Most Roman Catholic colleges and universities are run by the Jesuits.
- d. The Confessional. This became the agency for the manipulation of the conscience. Because of the advanced training of the Jesuits, intelligent, cultured people and royalty often chose them as their confessors. This gave the order tremendous influence in high places

Jesuits were brought into disrepute because they leaned toward the questionable ethic that "the end justifies the means." This also helped to make them popular confessors, especially among statesmen and businesspeople.

- e. Missionary activity. They took advantage of the opening up of the world, both east and west. The leading missionary among the early Jesuits was Francis Xavier who worked in the Far East.
- f. Political intrigue. (This was done primarily through the Confessional.) States were influenced to disenfranchise Protestantism. They resorted to assassinations, underground propaganda efforts, and (almost) any other means of overthrowing Protestantism. They were behind the prosecution of the Huguenots in France.

7. The degeneration of the order

- a. In the second and third generation after Loyola, the Jesuits was corrupted by its power, especially in high places. Their desire for quick and spectacular results brought them into disrepute among Protestants and Catholics alike.
- b. The scholarship has been "encyclopaedic" but not creative and progressive.
- c. Their disciplined zeal beat back Protestantism, but it did so at the cost of the violation of the conscience of too many. The ethical standards of the Church were lowered.

8. Prominent names among the Jesuits

- a. Peter Canisius
- b. Robert Bellarmine
- c. Aloysius Gonzaga
- d. Francis Borgia

III. The role of Spain in the Counter Reformation

- A. Spain was the leading force supporting the suppression of Protestantism.
- B. Protestantism was crushed in Spain, and Spanish gold and troops supported anti-Protestant movements elsewhere.
- C. The Counter Reformation in Spain was often led by the mystics, such as Teresa of Avila, who founded a reformed Carmelite order, and John of the Cross, a Carmelite and friend of Teresa.

IV. The Counter Reformation in Italy

- A. The most notorious corruption of the Church was in Italy because of the paganizing influence of Renaissance Humanism.
- B. The Counter Reformation in Italy focused in various reforming orders, such as the Leatines, Barnabites, Capuchins, and the Ursulines.

V. The Counter Reformation and the Papacy

- A. The primary problems facing the Papacy:
 - 1. Reconciling the tradition that the Pope is the administrative head of Christendom with the new realities.
 - 2. The menace of the Ottoman Turks.
 - 3. The rising tide of nationalism.
- B. The response of the Papacy: A series of reform popes replaced the old order.

Section Seven: Protestantism Under Fire from the New Thinking; The Growth of Rationalism and the Rise of Modern Theology

Discussion #18: The Growth of Rationalism, part #1.

Reading: L. 982-988; 1001-1006

Parentetical summary: Major movements that have developed in Protestantism since the Reformation.

1. An intellectual movement, in which the Church absorbs aspects of the "new thinking."
2. An evangelical movement, in which the Church extends its borders.
3. An ethical movement, in which the church becomes concerned about society.
- D. An ecumenical movement, in which the church seeks to restore its lost unity.

Introduction: The "New Thinking" was, in many ways, a reaction to Protestant scholasticism, the primary characteristics of which were:

1. It embraced both the Lutheran and Reformed movements.
2. It was characterized by creeds and elaborate dogmatic systems.
3. It constituted strict definitions of orthodoxy.
4. It suffered from a lack of logical cohesion.

I. The rise of modern science -- the new cosmology

A. The cosmology of Aristotle and Ptolemy had been woven into the theological fabric of the Roman Catholic Church. Protestantism continued the concept. In the Aristotelean cosmology, the earth was the center of the universe and was static. The new cosmology, represented by Copernicus, Galileo, Sir Isaac Newton, et al., taught that the sun was the center of the universe and that our solar system is one among many.

B. The new knowledge was generally rejected by the Church fathers on the ground that it contradicted Scripture. It was also opposed in general by philosophers and scientists.

1. Luther: "Joshua commanded the sun to stand still, not the earth."
2. Melancthon called the human eye to witness that the earth does not move.
3. Tarreyton (prominent Reformation theologian): "The world is established that it cannot be moved (Psalm 93). . . who would venture to place the authority of Copernicus above that of the Holy Spirit?"
4. The books of Galileo and Copernicus were on the Roman Catholic index until 1835.

D. The significance of this controversy for the Church

1. The controversy undermined the authority of the Bible.
2. It emphasized the insignificance of man. (Tennyson summarized the total loves and labors of man as "the work of ants.")
3. It weakened the sense of God. Natural phenomena began to be interpreted in exclusively non-theological terms.

4. It exalted the scientific method methods and suggested that all knowledge must be subjected to the test of observation.
5. It began the long conflict between science and theology.

II. The rise of modern philosophy

A. Rationalism

1. René Descartes (1596-1650)
 - a. The "first modern philosopher?"
 - b. The question raised by Descartes: WHAT DO WE KNOW?
 - c. In contrast and opposition to the old concept of ecclesiastical authority, Descartes suggested that the criterion of knowledge is mathematical proof, logic, reason, demonstration, etc.
 - d. D. reasoned from the foundational certainty of his own thought (cogito ergo sum) to the existence of the world and of God.
2. Spinoza (1632-1677)
 - a. Spinoza agreed with the criterion of Descartes, but disagreed as to the legitimate content of knowledge thus gained.
 - b. He constructed a pantheistic system. . . all that exists is God.
3. Leibnitz (1649-1716)
 - a. Leibnitz agreed with the question and the methodology of Descartes, but not with the conclusions.
 - b. L. argued that all that can be known are individual existences or isolated bodies called monads. These work together in harmony and from this harmony L. reasoned to God.
4. The influence of early Rationalism on the Church
 - a. The emphasis on reason as the test of truth caused many to reject both Protestantism and Catholicism. (Both are admittedly anti-logical.) On the one side early Rationalists used a theory of knowledge that was so narrow that only mathematics could be proved. On the other hand, Protestant theology defied reason.
 - b. The Church was threatened by the concept that man and the world are simply mechanisms functioning solely in terms of cause and effect, a machine and nothing but a machine. Life became merely a matter of physical and chemical change. This, of course, challenged the doctrine of the soul, sin, etc.

B. British Empiricism

1. John Locke (1632-1704)
 - a. Locke addressed the more basic question: HOW DO WE KNOW?
 - b. L. challenged the concept of the Rationalists that man is born with innate ideas from which God can be deduced. He held that a man is born as a "blank slate," and that all knowledge comes from experience perceived through the senses, and reflection upon those perceptions. Knowledge, therefore, is the product of reason working with data. Locke included religious knowledge came in this way. This, of course, contradicts the Augustinian concept of faith and, therefore, the view of both Protestantism and Catholicism in regards to epistemology.
 - c. Locke's concept of faith as "assent to testimony" (vs. infused transcendental knowledge) was to have a significant impact on the

thinking of Alexander Campbell.

2. David Hume (1711-1776) Hume denied that knowledge gained through the senses and perceived logically is certain knowledge. Durant: ". . . Hume was not content to destroy orthodox religion by dissipating the concept of the soul; he proposed also to destroy science by dissolving the concept of law."

C. German Idealism

1. Immanuel Kant (1724-1804)
 - a. The utter skepticism of Hume led Kant to his great work.
 - b. He set himself to examine reason itself. His first great book was The Critique of Pure Reason.
 - c. Hume began with Locke's "blank slate," but held that the Mind is an entity within itself that imposes its forms and categories on the experience which comes into it through the senses.
 - d. Conclusion: we can never know the thing (objective) itself, but only our mental conception of the thing. Such things as God or the freedom of the will can never be proved or disproved by pure reason (vs. practical every-day reason). Mind brings to the learning experience an a priori or innate awareness of God and "oughtness." One can, therefore, legitimately believe in God, but he cannot be absolutely certain about God.
 - e. Kant reduced religion to morality and Christ to a great teacher.
 - f. Kant viewed man's innate moral sense as the key to theology.
2. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831)
 - a. Hegel reduced God to impersonal Mind, and posited this as the power back of the universe.
 - b. This impersonal Mind unceasingly unfolds itself in the mind of man in the process of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis.
 - c. The natural process is one of eternally conflicting opposites.
 - d. Man eventually evolved, by this process, into a state of self-consciousness.
 - e. Religion is man's realization of his relation to the absolute impersonal Mind.
 - f. The idea of God, therefore, is the product of the mind of man.
 - g. The massive influence of Hegel on philosophy, historiography, and politics, and economics, and theology.
 - h. The influence of Hegel in the field of theology:
 - (1) The idea of development. Religion is the product of natural development rather than divine revelation.
 - (2) The idea of divine immanence. This is the idea of god immanent in the processes of nature rather than a God Who transcends nature.
 - i. The spirit of negative criticism of the Bible was to be the spirit of Hegel.

III. The rise of historical criticism of the Bible

Parentetical reminder: lower vs. higher criticism.

1. Lower criticism is the study of the primary documents behind the Bible with a view to establishing the original text.
2. Higher criticism is the study of authorship, occasion, purpose, etc.

Parentetical summary of the progress of textual criticism.

1. Erasmus brought out his Greek New Testament the year before Martin Luther nailed the Ninety-Five Theses to the church door. He used only about 4 manuscripts.
2. The Erasmus text led, in 1550, to the text of Stephanus or the Textus Receptus. In its revised form under Theodore Beza (1598) it became the text used by the translators of the KJV.
3. Even as the KJV was being printed, the Codex Alexandrinus arrived in England as a gift from the Patriarch of Constantinople (5th century).
4. In 1844 Tischendorf discovered the 4th-century Sinaiticus Mss.
5. In 1933 Chester Beatty discovered a number of papyri in Egypt, taking portions of the N.T. text back to the third century. In 1935 other fragments were discovered that date to 100-150 A.D.

A. Higher or documentary criticism.

1. The Old Testament. The original direction of negative critical criticism led to the practice of positing documents available to the author(s) of Genesis, which documents were divided by the different names used for God. It was codified in the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis of 1876:
 - a. J. 850 B.C.
 - b. E. 750 B.C.
 - c. D. 623 B.C.
 - d. P. 500 B.C.

Israel's history and theology were explained in terms of natural evolution.

2. The New Testament. The German theologian Strauss (1835) wrote a life of Jesus. This work gave impetus to the process of negative criticism of the New Testament. He treated Jesus as a historical figure, but the Jesus of the New Testament as a mythical figure. (We can know nothing of the historical Jesus.)

In the writings of F. C. Bauer (1792-1860), modern historic criticism of the New Testament began to take shape. (He was responding to Strauss-both were Hegelian scholars.)

- a. Bauer dated most of the N.T. epistles very late.
- b. He theorized an antithesis between a Pauline and a Petrine gospel. (This became known as the Tübingen school of thought.)

B. The effect of modern historical criticism on the Church

1. Confidence in the Bible was undermined.
2. Historical criticism as a "science" was firmly established.
3. In the 19th-century abandonment of the dogma of the inerrancy of Scripture, we see a revolution comparable to the Protestant Reformation itself.

IV. The rise of Deism

A. In England, where Deism was born

(Deism must be seen as a movement that arose under the influence of modern science, modern philosophy, and the historical criticism of the Bible.)

1. Deism was offered as the primitive faith of man; before "priestcraft." (natural religion)
2. The definitive characteristics of Deism:
 - a. The rejection of supernatural religion in favor of "natural religion." The supernatural was ruled out a priori.
 - b. Religion of the natural man or rational religion:
 - (1) Belief in God
 - (2) Morality as the service of God
 - (3) Immortality as the reward of morality.
 - (4) The Creator God kept "hands off" until the consummation of all things.
3. Deists carried on a slashing attack on Christianity.
 - a. The evidences of Christianity were attacked. (Prophecies and miracles were the primary arguments being offered in favor of Christianity.)
 - b. The content of Christianity was attacked, particularly the narrow doctrine of salvation (in Jesus only).
4. Outstanding defenders of Christianity, such as William Law, did much to discredit Deism, although their arguments were not always sound. Joseph Butler, a bishop in the Church of England, wrote a work (1736) called The Analogy of Religion which knocked the props from Deism. Wm. Paley developed the teleological argument.
5. The disappearance of Deism. Within a generation, Deism had largely disappeared by the end of the 18th century.
 - a. Its own inherent weakness.
 - b. Intellectual champions in the Church of England more than held their own against Deism.
 - c. The Methodist revival turned the tide against skepticism.

Discussion #19: The Growth of Rationalism, part #2; The Rise of Modern Theology

Reading: L. 1120-1130

- B. Deism was, in some quarters, replaced by skepticism. Whereas Deists believed in God, many skeptics did not. Two important skeptics of this period:
1. David Hume. Hume questioned the certain knowledge of anything.
 2. Edward Gibbon, author of The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. Gibbon attributed the origin of Christianity to purely natural phenomena and blamed it for the decline of Rome.
 3. Other 19th-century English skeptics: Thomas Carlyle, Jeremy Bentham, James Mill (father of John Stuart Mill), Herbert Spencer (the philosopher of evolution), Matthew Arnold, Mary Ann Evans (pen name George Eliot), et al. Many of these began with the Christian convictions with which they had been raised, but came to renounce or abandon their faith.
- C. Many architects of the American tradition were skeptics to one degree or another: Thomas Paine, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, et al.
- D. Deism was, in some quarters, replaced by Unitarianism.
1. Its roots were in Socinianism (previously discussed).
 2. English Unitarianism found origin in Socinian groups in Holland. Unitarianism categorically denied the supernatural. It found expression in two groups:
 - a. The General Baptists
 - b. Presbyterians (The Presbyterian Church in England was almost destroyed.)
 3. Unitarian congregations and associations were formed. The congregations, however, have always been small.
- E. Deism was, in some quarters, replaced by Freemasonry. (The theology of Freemasonry is Deistic.) Freemasonry predated Deism, but it absorbed and was, in turn, molded by, Deistic thought.
- F. Deism in France
1. The outstanding representative was Voltaire.
 2. In France, Deists were generally more radically anti-church than in England. It moved into blatant atheism and often promoted the abandonment of traditional moral restraints.
 3. Deism was more durable in France than it had been in England, partly because the Roman Church could not inflict much damage with its arguments from papal authority, and because there was no evangelical revival in France as there was in England.
 4. Deism penetrated the American colonies and it came largely from France. Robert Ingersoll (d. 1899) was the last famous Deist in America to systematically attack the Church.

G. Deism in Germany

1. In Germany Deism came to be called the Enlightenment.
2. In contrast to England and France, Deism in Germany became a movement within the Church.
3. Representatives:
 - a. Christian Wolfe
 - b. Reimarus
 - c. Lessing
 - d. Immanuel Kant
4. The effects of the Enlightenment on Protestantism:
 - a. The supernatural elements in Scripture fell under broad suspicion.
 - b. Rationalism devastated preaching in Germany.
 - c. Critics saw the near-end of Christianity; pious Christians saw the near-end of the world.

V. The rise of modern theology (Sometimes called liberal theology.)

- A. The founders of modern theology did not intend to destroy Christianity, but to preserve it by making it palatable to intelligent men. Here we introduce modern theology up to World War I.
- B. The major figures of the new theology were Germans.
 1. Friedrich D. E. Schleiermacher (1768-1834)
 - a. Often called "the Father of Modern Theology."
 - b. Schleiermacher was the son of a devout pastor and he was educated in a Moravian school.
 - c. S. was highly influenced by the Enlightenment.
 - d. He was prof. of theology at the University of Berlin. He stood in stern opposition to his colleague Hegel.
 - e. His first great work Addresses on Religion set forth his basic theological theory:
 - (1) The heart of religion is not doctrine or orthodoxy, nor is it basically ethics. It is, rather, essentially experience. By this he meant man's consciousness of God and his innate awareness of his absolute dependence upon God.
 - (2) The Bible is, therefore, a record of human experiences of God. Questions raised by historical criticism were, in the thought of Schleiermacher, irrelevant.
 - (3) Doctrine is nothing more than an attempt to explain human religious experience in intelligible form.
 - (4) Christianity is the truest religion in that it does more than other religions in bringing man into unity with the Divine Being.
 - f. A group of theologians called the "Mediating Theologians" adopted Schleiermacher's starting point, but constructed on it a more conservative theology. These theologians were those under whom Americans began to study and who, therefore, were the primary source of liberalism in American theological schools.

2. Albrecht Ritschl (1822-1889)

- a. Ritschl gave rise to the dominant German school of theology of the late 19th, early 20th centuries.
- b. His basic approach to theology:
 - (1) He began with the experience or consciousness of God in the Christian community (the traditional church) rather than in the individual Christian.
 - (2) The primary element in this experience is the moral consciousness.
 - (3) The norm of true religion is not subjective (Schleiermacher), but in the historic revelation of God in Jesus Christ. (He denied the deity of Christ and the inspiration of Scripture. Christ is the norm in that he was the most theocentric man of all history.)
 - (4) One gains access to this revelation through non-supernatural historical research. This led to many quests for the "historical Jesus."
- c. Outstanding Ritschlian theologians:
 - (1) Wilhelm Herrmann (1846-1922) represented the conservative wing of the school. He affirmed the divinity of Jesus, but not on the basis of inspired Scripture.
 - (2) Adolf von Harnack (1851-1930) represented the more liberal wing of the school. Harnack reduced Christianity to three things:
 - (a) The Fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man
 - (b) The infinite worth of the human soul
 - (c) Righteousness and love as the requirements of God
 - (3) The extreme left wing of the Ritschlian school is called the History of Religion School. It emphasized the social and psychological aspects of Christianity. They viewed Jesus as a "deluded eschatologist." They credited Paul with the idea of the deity of Christ. (This has not been an important movement in theology since World War I.)

VI. The influence of recent science

- A. Darwin's theory of evolution (1859) Origin of Species ²
 1. Darwin's contribution was that he "proved" the idea of evolution which was already widely believed.
 2. He set off a violent debate between scientists and Christians.
 3. There began to be broad acceptance of the idea of "theistic evolution."
 4. There was an intense emphasis on the role of culture and environment in the formation of religious ideas.
 5. Darwinism reinforced three trends in liberal theological thought:
 - a. The immanence of God, i.e., the working of God within natural processes rather than miraculous intervention into the natural order.
 - b. The reinterpretation of the conceptions of sin and redemption. The inevitable progress of man would lead him to outgrow sin and would usher in a gold age of righteousness.

- c. The relation of Christianity and other religions was increasingly understood in evolutionary terms. The differences are those of degree, not kind.

B. Sigmund Freud (1856-1939) and the new psychology

Freudian psychology challenged the Church to reexamine its traditional anthropology. (This will not be pursued here but should be discussed in GSS 213.)

- C. The "new Physics" has demolished the conventional view of the early 20th century that the basis of the universe is matter. The recognition that energy is the fundamental element in all things has helped to improve recent relations between theology and science.

VII. The period of theological reconstruction (@1918 through the present)

A. The important figures:

1. Karl Barth
2. Emil Brunner
3. Paul Tillich
4. Rudolf Bultmann
5. Reinhold Niebuhr

B. General directions of the theological reconstruction

1. Renewed appreciation for traditional Christian modes of thought.³
2. Renewed sympathy for the Christian point of view. Thus such terms as "Neo-orthodoxy" and "Neo-Protestantism" began to be used.
3. A new emphasis on the sovereignty of God (vs. God immanent in nature).
4. A profound concern for revelation as the source of the knowledge of God and as the basis for all Christian thinking. The general approach was the "I-Thou" relationship, i.e., that God confronts man primarily in a personal way rather than through a written revelation. Scripture is a "witness" of such personal confrontations, not an inerrant and inspired revelation.
5. A new emphasis on Christ the Word. New attention was given to the Deity of Christ.
6. A new emphasis on man the sinner (vs. the evolutionary concept of man as good-and-getting-better). The optimism of the late 19th and early 20th centuries was repudiated.
7. History and the Kingdom of God. The confident assumption that the world would be converted into the Kingdom of God was rejected. A new emphasis was given on the judgment of God on the social order. The Kingdom will come only at the end of the present age.

- C. Evaluation: The period of theological reconstruction was an attempt to recover the benefits of biblical religion without a commitment to the traditional view of an inspired and inerrant Bible.

Section Eight: The Growth and Progress of European Protestantism

Discussion #20: The Growth of Evangelicalism in Germany

Reading: L. 894-898.

Parentetical Study: The term "Evangelical" as used in Europe and America.

1. Early Protestant Europe: The heirs of the Protestant Reformation in general. The Lutheran Church prefers the term evangelical to the term Protestant.
2. Eighteenth and Nineteenth-century Europe, especially England: Those in and out of the established church who emphasize the need for an experience of conversion and who seek to carry out biblical imperatives in their personal and social life.
3. America (defined in two categories):
 - a. Evangelicals as those who have a relationship with God that is "personal" and that brings about the forgiveness of sin and the transformed life.
 - b. Evangelicals as those who hold to a uniquely infallible Bible and salvation by belief alone. (There is not always agreement on exactly what this language means.) This category includes Fundamentalists, Neo-Evangelicals, Confessional Evangelicals, and Charismatics.

Introduction: The previous section surveyed the intellectual movement, in which the Church absorbed or reacted to the "new thinking." We come now to the Evangelical movement, in which the Church extends its borders. (See parentetical summary, p. 86.) Whereas the intellectual movement began in England and spread to other lands. The Evangelical movement began in Germany. Thus, in England the Rationalist movement preceded the Evangelical movement, while in Germany the Evangelical movement came first.

I. The Evangelical movement in Germany. There were two phases of this movement, the Pietistic and the Moravian.

A. The Pietistic phase of the German Evangelical movement

1. Background: Dead orthodoxy
2. The two primary leaders
 - a. Philip Jacob Spener (1635-1705), leader of first-generation Pietism. Spener was a clergyman in Frankfurt, and preached powerfully about the need for genuine religious experience. He got into trouble for establishing collegia pietatis, small prayer and Bible-study groups. He was forced out of his pulpit in Frankfurt. A little book Pia Desideria set forth his basic ideas:
 - (1) A new kind of theological education for the clergy. Sterile theoretical intellectualism should be redirected toward heartfelt piety.

- (2) A new kind of preaching. Preaching should edify and promote spiritual living.
- (3) New responsibilities for the laity: The necessity of a definite religious experience, a conscious conversion. (This was in the context of Lutheran baptismal regeneration of infants. The necessity of a "fitting life." (Here he followed the Puritan theme.) The necessity of gathering with others for prayer. The necessity of active service.

Spener eventually founded the University of Halle near Berlin. This school became the great training ground of the Pietistic movement.

- b. August Hermann Francke (1663-1727), leader of the second generation. Francke came to Halle as a teacher, and under his leadership the Pietistic movement reached the apex of its influence. The major contributions of Francke:
 - (1) A benevolent work was organized in the Lutheran Church. Francke had an overwhelming concern for the poor and ignorant. This was the beginning of "faith missions."
 - (2) Important schools and hospitals were established to promote the work of the Church.
 - (3) For the first time, a program was set up to print inexpensive Bibles.
 - (4) A missionary zeal was created. This was; perhaps, the earliest expression of the modern missionary spirit.
- 3. There was no church organized to perpetuate the ideals of the Pietist movement, and the movement itself was never given a central organization. For this and other reasons, it largely died out after two or three generations. Pietism, however, continued as an influence within the Lutheran Church. (ecclesiolae in ecclesia)
- 4. Results of the Pietistic movement.
 - a. It stimulated a revival of personal religion.
 - b. It demonstrated the necessity of a conscious conversion. (This really became the mark of the Evangelical movement.) Francke's own conversion experience became the model for all others.
 - c. It increased the share of the laity in the Church.
 - d. It promoted a study of the Bible.
 - e. It promoted practical benevolence.
 - f. It emphasized asceticism.
 - g. It unnecessarily minimized the intellectual element in religion. It was unprepared to meet the Rationalistic movement in Germany which arose after the Pietistic movement. (Schleiermacher was expelled from a Pietistic school because he asked too many questions.)
 - h. There was a tendency to emphasize premillennial eschatology.
 - i. There was a neglect of the social element in religion. With all its emphasis on missions, benevolence, and education, there was little interest in reforming society. Pietism was concerned with the conversion of the individual.
 - j. There was a tendency toward separatism.

B. The Moravian phase of the German Evangelical movement

1. The antecedents of Moravianism.

- a. In 1417, when John Hus was burned at the stake by the Council of Constance, his followers perpetuated his ideas. The movement continued to grow until the majority of the Bohemian nation was alienated from the Roman Church. The movement accepted the Reformed brand of Protestantism. As a result of the Thirty Years War, Protestantism in Bohemia was forced to become an underground movement.
- b. Many of these followers of Hus fled Moravia where they were not allowed to worship openly, and settled on the estate of Count Zinzendorf (1700-1760). In 1727, they organized themselves into a church and recognized Zinzendorf as their leader. This is considered as the rebirth of Moravianism.
- c. Nicolaus Ludwig, Count of Zinzendorf, a very devout believer, resigned his position in court and gave himself to the leadership of this Moravian church.

2. The shape of Moravianism.

- a. Zinzendorf wanted it to become a cell group within the Lutheran Church.
- b. The Moravians were, however, eventually forced out of the Lutheran Church.
- c. Moravian missionaries went to other lands, their purpose being primarily to raise the level of spirituality within existing churches. Even though this was often resisted, Moravian missionaries went to the far corners of the world long before mainline Protestantism got into the missionary business. Although they were a community of only about 600 people, in two decades they managed to call into life more missions than the whole Protestant church in Germany had been able to do in 200 years.

3. Moravianism after the death of Zinzendorf

- a. It spread into England and America.
- b. It has remained a small but honored body. Originally they were interested in permeating other bodies, not expanding their own denomination. Also they resisted growth by forming communities. (Bethlehem, Pa. and Winston Salem, N.C., for example.) In recent years there has been an attempt to reach out and grow.

4. Moravian doctrine and organization

- a. Basic Calvinism
- b. Bishops in the line of succession, but who function in the Presbyterian tradition
- c. Their worship is characterized by a rich liturgy.

Discussion #21: The Growth of Evangelicalism in England, part #1

Reading: L. 1018-1025

II. The Evangelical movement in England; the Methodist Revival

A. Background

1. Spiritual destitution. England was in the eve of the Industrial Revolution. Workers gathered in industrial centers but were not absorbed into the life of the village churches. It was a very debased and immoral age for the masses of the people. There was little vital faith in the Church of England. Skepticism represented an infatuation with the "new thinking" and a reaction against Puritanism.
2. Spiritual lethargy. The Church was dead in its worship and life.
3. Movements of spiritual value. Although the Church of England had expelled the organized Puritan groups (p. 73) and was thereby bereft of their vitality, there were glimmers of light in the darkness of ecclesiastical morbidity. Examples:
 - a. William Law, Serious Call to a Holy and Devout Life. Law was a non juror clergyman, i.e., he refused to swear allegiance to the Hanoverian royal line and so he could not officiate in the services of the Church. His pen was his ministry. Serious Call was to become one of the most influential books of history. It had a tremendous impact on Wesley, and through this and other ways, was, perhaps, the single most important encouragement to the great Evangelical revival in England and America. Law set forth, in this work, the idea that men ought to live as they prayed. In the opening, he declared:

"He is the devout man who lives no longer to his own will, or the way and spirit of the world, but to the sole will of God; who considers God in everything, serves God in everything; who makes all parts of his common life parts of piety by doing everything in the Name of God and under such rules as are conformable to His Glory."
 - b. Isaac Watts (1674-1748) "The Father of English Hymnody"
Because Calvin had objected to hymns other than Psalms, for 200 years the Church of England sang nothing else and did so badly. Watts observed that many of the hymns used were foreign not only to the spirit of the New Testament, but also to contemporary life. He first began to imitate and paraphrase Psalms, then he moved on to writing hymns of his own. The Church began to sing them. Watts wrote 700 hymns altogether, about 25 of which are still in use. (Charles Wesley was to write 6,500, of which only about 25 are still in use.) Some of the more familiar ones:

"Our God, our Help in Ages Past"

"Alas, and Did My Savior Bleed"

"Joy to the World, the Lord is Come"

"When I Survey the Wondrous Cross"

- c. Local societies such as and including the Moravians were being organized to try to bring some life to the Church and to promote missions: Examples:

Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts

B. The preparation of the Methodist leaders

1. John Wesley (1703-1791)

Life

- His parents were Puritan dissenters who had found their way back into the Church of England. Samuel Wesley, his father, had become a "high church" Anglican. He was, however, unpopular with his congregation at Epworth. (They set his house on fire and John was barely rescued.)
- His mother Susannah was one of the remarkable women of church history. (She was from a family of 25 and she bore her husband 19 children.) She had a theological education in a day when few women did. She was the first "methodist." When Wesley was six, he spent six hours each day in classes learning Christian theology. At the age of ten he began to learn Latin and Greek.
- He continued his education at Oxford and graduated with the B.A. degree in 1724. Deeply attracted to scholarship, Wesley received an appointment as a fellow in Lincoln College, Oxford, and studied logic. He was chosen to lecture in Greek and excelled in his studies. In 1727 he received the M.A. degree.
- He served as a clergyman in his father's rectory for a while, but he had little spiritual depth and little feeling for the ministry. In 1735 he returned to Oxford.
- At Oxford he found that his brother Charles had founded a club called "Methodists." The nickname was not new. It was applied to any group that tried to be methodical in their religious life. This group came to be called the "Holy Club." Their activities included prayer, study, as well as social outreach--visiting prisoners, almsgiving, and ministries for the poor. The "Methodists" were also strict in their observance of the fasts, services, and devotionals appointed by the Church of England. They followed a methodical schedule for their whole day.
- In 1735 Wesley left England to become a missionary to the American Indians. On the journey there was a storm at sea, and Wesley noted the calm of a group of Moravians on board. He noted that these were not afraid of death, while he, a clergyman and theological professor, was very much afraid to die. He became the pastor of a parish in Georgia, and was a dismal failure at it. He could not communicate his "high church" views on the colonists of Georgia, and he made the mistake of falling in love with an 18 year-old girl who he could not marry because of his commitment to celibacy. She married her second choice and broke Wesley's heart in so doing.

- In 1737 he fled the colony and returned to England. He was deeply depressed and considered himself (now in his 30's) a complete failure. The anguish of his religious uncertainty is reflected in this entry in his Journal, January 24, 1738:

"I went to convert the Indians; but Oh! who shall convert me? Who, what is he that will deliver me from this evil heart of mischief? I have a fair summer religion. I can talk well; nay, and believe myself, while no danger is near; but let death look me in the face, and my spirit is troubled. Nor can I say, "To die is gain!"

- A Moravian preacher, Peter Bohler, urged on Wesley that he was depending too much on his own works for assurance and taught him the concept of salvation by faith.
- The "Aldersgate Experience," May 4, 1738. Journal:

"In the evening I went very unwillingly to a society in Aldersgate Street, where one was reading Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans. About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation; and an assurance was given me that He had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death."

He declared this his conversion experience, was persuaded that it was that which was required of all men, and so he began to preach it to others. It was not a conversion, in his mind, to Christianity, but to vital Christianity.

- Although Wesley had early advocated celibacy for the clergy, he changed his mind and in 1751 married Mary Vazeille. The marriage was a disaster. She hated his work, tampered with his notes, slandered him; and in 1776 (his year of independence) she finally left him. Wesley spent the remainder of his life unmarried.

2. Charles Wesley (1707-1788)

Charles Wesley had had a "conversion" experience similar to that of his brother, and preceding it.

3. George Whitefield (1714-1770)

- Whitefield was the youngest and last of the young men to become a member of the Holy Club at Oxford.
- He had a spiritual experience before either of the Wesleys, and had begun to preach it.
- Within a few months of his graduation from Oxford, Whitefield was the most popular preacher in London.
- He also went to Georgia (Savannah) and had a very happy experience.
- He returned to England to be ordained, and began an itinerate ministry, preaching out of doors. (This was to become the pattern for the Methodist Revival.)

-He returned to America, and his ministry in the colonies is a part of the story of the Great Awakening. He had started a revival among the miners. He invited John Wesley to come and take over. Wesley hesitated. He was a high churchman and was reluctant to preach in the open. Wesley came, however, and was won to the people and to the ministry of preaching. He saw that the dirty streaks on the faces of the miners were from their tears. This was the beginning of Wesley's itinerant ministry.

Discussion #22: The Growth of Evangelicalism in England, part #2

Reading: L. 1025-1035

C. The contribution of the Methodist leaders

1. John Wesley

- a. The preaching of John Wesley constituted the longest sustained revival in the history of the Church. It continued for 50 years.
- b. A popular biography of Wesley summarizes his labors:

"The effectiveness of Wesley is irrefutable. At the end of his career, at least 70,000 Methodists lived in England alone; another 70,000 had probably died during his career. These Methodists were shepherded by 550 itinerant preachers, most of whom Wesley himself had called out and trained.

No man labored more intensely in the ministry than Wesley. He averaged 800 sermons a year—more than fifteen a week. For sixty years he preached to open-air throngs all over the British Isles. Wesley drew immense crowds: often 10,000 to 20,000 persons waited to hear him preach. He went wherever the population was the thickest. His missions took him into the mines, the fields, the streets, and the churches. He rode horseback 20,000 miles a year, reading out of his saddle bag as he rode. In his labors he covered more than 250,000 miles and preached more than 42,000 sermons. He produced more than 200 works."

(He preached an average of more than 2 sermons a day for 50 years.)

- c. Wesley was also a pioneer in the area of popular public education. He authored books in the field of education: A Short English Grammar, Complete English Dictionary, and A Concise History of England.
- d. Often the preaching of Wesley was attended with "spiritual manifestations" in the early days. His brother advised him that this was not necessarily evidence of the presence of the Holy Spirit. Wesley took a more sober view of it and gradually they ceased.
- e. The opposition to Wesley
 - (1) He was shut out of the churches.
 - (2) He was attacked in print, denounced from the pulpit, lampooned in the theater, and was often attacked by mobs. Whitefield was almost killed on a few occasions, but Wesley was never seriously harmed physically.
 - (3) The causes of this opposition
 - (a) The idea of instantaneous conversion was a new doctrine.
 - (b) The Wesleys and Whitefield criticized other preachers.
 - (c) Clergymen resented the invasion of their parishes. The Church of England gave bishops and priests exclusive rights to parishes. When attacked on this point, Wesley made his famous reply: "The world is my parish."

- (d) His lack of dignity, in the opinion of many. His habit of preaching from tombstones, wagonbeds, public squares, etc., and his enthusiasm.
- (e) His rebuke of sin.
- (f) Because the Wesleys and Whitefield led many to a life of sobriety, tremendous opposition came from the saloon keepers. They would beat drums, turn bulls loose, incite mob action, etc. in the attempt to break up public meetings.
- f. The other labors of John Wesley. Wesley has been called "the busiest man in England." Besides his preaching and writing, he carried on the following activities: He formed Methodist societies, opened chapels, examined, commissioned, and managed preachers, administered discipline, raised funds for schools, chapels, and charities, prescribed for the sick, superintended schools and orphanages (he wasn't too good at this), prepared commentaries, wrote or edited a vast amount of literature for the Methodist people, replied to attacks on Methodism, conducted controversies (debates), and carried on a prodigious correspondence.
- g. The death of John Wesley. He died at age 88 leaving ". . a worn robe, a silver spoon, and the Methodist Church."

2. Charles Wesley

- a. Charles did some outdoor preaching, but he married and thus was not able to move about so much.
- b. He was the great hymn writer (@6,500) of Methodism. Some of the enduring hymns:

"Love Divine, All Love Excelling"
 "Hark! The Herald Angels Sing"
 "Oh, for a Thousand Tongues to Sing"
 "Jesus, Lover of My Soul"

3. George Whitefield

- a. Whitefield was the most eloquent preacher of the three, and had the greatest direct results of his preaching. His voice was vibrant and pleasant. He appealed frankly to the emotions.
- b. Whereas Wesley preached primarily to the poor, Whitefield extended his ministry to include the upper classes and even the nobility.
- c. Whereas Wesley confined himself to the British Isles, mostly England, Whitefield made 7 trips to America.
- d. He is to be credited with the creation of the very important Evangelical party in the Church of England. This amorphous segment of the Church of England was a powerful influence for many generations.
- e. Because Whitefield was not an organizer, as Wesley was, there survived no permanent society as a monument to his preaching.
- f. Because his health broke, he was not able to preach as much as Wesley.

D. The organization of the Methodist Church

- 1. Wesley had no idea of forming a Church. He lived and died a clergyman in the Church of England.

2. Steps leading to the organization of the Methodist Church:

- a. Societies were formed, after the pattern of the Moravians. These were for the survival and edification of converts. These people continued to go to the Church of England for the sacraments.
- b. Classes were organized within the societies. These were a dozen people organized under a leader. (These classes became a powerful force on the American frontier.)
- c. A group of lay preachers was guided by Wesley to spread the message of Methodism. These were not clergymen, and they were uneducated men. Wesley gave them a simple course in preaching and tried to oversee their work.

An excerpt from one of his letters to a lay preacher: "Dear John, always take advice or reproof as a favor. It is the surest mark of love. I advised you once, and you took it as an affront. Nevertheless, I will do it once more. Scream no more at the peril of your soul! Speak as earnestly as you can, but do not scream. Speak with all your heart, but with moderate voice. Be a follower of me. I often speak loud, often vehemently, but I never scream. . . "

Some of Wesley's rules for preachers:

- Never disappoint a congregation except in cases of life and death. (Always show up where expected.)
- Begin and end precisely at the time appointed.
- Choose the plainest text you can.
- Take care not to ramble, but keep to your text.
- Be sparing in allegorizing or spiritualizing.
- Do not usually pray more than 8 or 10 minutes at most without intermission.
- Avoid quaint words, however in fashion.
- Beware of clownishness, whether in speech or dress. Wear no slouched hat.
- Be merciful to your beast. Not only ride moderately, but see with your own eyes that your horse be rubbed, fed, and bedded.
- Be diligent. Never be unemployed a moment. Never be triflingly employed. Never while away time. Spend no more time at any place than is strictly necessary.
- Be serious. Avoid all lightness, jesting, and foolish talk.
- Converse sparingly and cautiously with women, particularly with young women.
- Take no step toward marriage without first consulting with your brother. (Wesley had received nothing but bad advice from his brother on the subject of marriage.)
- Believe evil of no one unless you see it done.
- Speak evil of no one.
- Tell everyone plainly what you think wrong in him.
- Do not affect the gentleman. You have no more to do with his character than that of a dancing master.
- Be ashamed of nothing but sin.
- Be punctual.

- d. The formation of annual conferences. When it became impossible to keep up with all of his ministers individually, Wesley set up an annual conference. They would come together and he would instruct and command them. This became the central court of authority in the Methodist Church. (Methodist Churches are administered through conferences, overseen by bishops-in America.)
- e. Wesley organized circuits for his preachers. These were daily appointments for preaching, and it might take more than a month to cover the circuit. Wesley assumed that his lay preachers would have "preached out" all they had to say in a year or two, so he would switch men to other circuits regularly.
- f. The growing movement required the appointment of superintendents to oversee segments of the societies. These were not bishops, and there never have been bishops in England. They were not a Church and therefore could have no bishops. In America the superintendents became administrative (vs. sacerdotal) bishops.
- g. The ordination of ministers in 1784. In America, the Revolutionary War caused the disintegration of the Episcopal Church, and the Methodist societies had nowhere to send their members for the sacraments. Because Wesley could see nothing prohibiting in Scripture, he ordained some of his lay preachers to serve as clergymen in America, i.e., they could administer the sacraments. After doing this for America, he could find no reason to do it for England, and this he did. **THIS WAS THE POINT OF DEPARTURE FROM THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.** The Anglicans could not recognize these ordained lay preachers as true clergymen because the Church of England did not recognize the right of Wesley to ordain them. They were out of the line of apostolic succession. From this point through the death of Wesley, the Church of England disowned the Methodist societies. The Methodists continued, however, to consider themselves as Anglicans during this period.
- h. Before his death, Wesley appointed the "Legal One Hundred," a committee that was to take over the ownership and direction of Methodist properties.
- i. After the death of Wesley, the Methodist organization was now under the control of a central Conference, owned property, and ordained ministers. It functioned from this time as an independent church. The tradition continued in England, however, to reserve the name "Church" for the Church of England. Methodist congregations were (and are) called chapels.

E. The split in early Methodism

About 1740 John Wesley broke with the Moravians and with Whitefield. Wesley was a convinced Arminian and opposed the Calvinism of Whitefield.

F. The distinctive features of Methodism

1. Arminianism
Whitefield was a Calvinist, although he gave an open invitation. He was convinced that only the elect would respond. Wesley believed that anyone could be saved.
2. Salvation by faith with emphasis on instantaneous conversion.
3. The witness of the Spirit; the doctrine of assurance.
4. Perfection; a "second blessing"-sanctification, sometimes instant sanctification, but not always. The absence of conscious sin. (Wesley never claimed this for himself.)

G. The growth of Methodism

1. Methodists soon became and have remained the leading dissenting body in England.
2. Its greatest growth was to be in America. The Methodist Church was, at one time, the largest Protestant body in America. After the Civil War this was no longer true.

H. The primary branches of Methodism

1. The Calvinistic Methodists

Although George Whitefield was not an organizer, some of his followers organized themselves into Methodist chapels (churches).

- a. "Lady Huntingdon's Connection"
- b. The Whitefield Methodists
- c. The Welsh Calvinistic Methodists

2. The Wesleyan Methodists (Splits came after the death of Wesley.)

- a. The Wesleyan Methodists
- b. The Primitive Methodists
- c. The United Methodists (In England, all Methodists are now included in the United Methodists--since 1932.)

I. The effects of the Methodist movement

1. The Methodist Church
2. The emergence of an evangelical spirit within the other churches in England; The Church of England and the dissenting bodies. As a result of the work of Whitefield, the evangelical wing of the Church of England, the "low-church movement," was the dominant wing for a long time. For example, John Newton, the author of the hymn "Amazing Grace," was an evangelical Anglican. The hymn reflects his "evangelical" experience of salvation ("... the hour I first believed.")
3. The creation and distribution of Christian literature. Example: in 1794 a religious tract society was formed; 1804, the British and Foreign Bible Societies.
4. The promotion of the religious training of children. In 1780 Robert Raikes began the first Sunday school, and in 1785 a society was formed to promote this movement.
5. The great missionary awakening (to be discussed subsequently).
6. The tone of English society was changed; i.e., popular education, purification of literature, abolishment of the slave trade, mitigation of child labor, advance of temperance, prison reform, labor reform, etc. There was a time when historians went so far as to say that Wesley saved England from a revolution of the kind suffered by France.

Discussion #23: The Missionary Awakening; The Progress of Protestantism
In England, part #1.

Reading: L. 1160-1178.

III. The missionary awakening

A. In the years 1600-1792, the Protestant missionary movement began.

1. In 1492 ff., the Roman Catholic Church began to send missionaries to the newly-opened worlds of North and South America and the Orient. Protestants did not.
 - a. Protestantism was on the defensive. They were forced to concentrate on survival.
 - b. Spain and Portugal had opened many of the new lands, and they would not permit Protestant missions.
 - c. Both Reformation and Reformed theology logically precludes the necessity of missions. The calling of the elect had nothing to do with human activity.
2. Slight beginnings
 - a. Holland, 1602, with its East Indies Company.
 - b. England, 1649, organized the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England.
 - c. " ", 1701, " " Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.
 - d. Germany, 1705, the Pietists established a base of missions at the university at Halle and sent missionaries to Denmark.
 - e. In 1732, the Moravians began their work.

B. The real missionary awakening: Wm. Carey, 1792

1. A Baptist preacher in England who cobbled shoes to earn a living.
2. In 1792 he wrote a pamphlet: An Inquiry into the obligation of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathen.
It was a momentous book in launching modern missions.
3. In 1792, Carey preached before a Baptist preachers' conference on the missionary theme. His sermon, "Enlarge the Place of Thy Tent," emphasized the oft-repeated theme: "Expect great things from God, Attempt great things for God." The Baptists established a society to win the heathen and Carey was sent out as the first missionary.
4. Carey was a highly efficient missionary in India. He had to support himself (the Society sent, but did not support). He became an indigo planter. He founded the school system in India in addition to his evangelistic work. Carey addressed himself to the wide-range of social problems in India.

C. After Carey had set the pattern and example, Protestants began to organize and activate mission societies.

IV. The progress of Protestantism in England

A. The Church of England, the established church, dominated the scene. It had the endowments, prestige, and the support of the government. There emerged three parties within the Anglican Church.

1. The low-church or evangelical wing. The conservative party. This group had a high view of individual salvation and little regard for liturgical worship. In the early days of the Protestant Reformation, this group was the dominant faction. (It is still strongly represented, particularly among the laity.)
2. The broad-church wing. The liberal party. By 1860, German liberalism was well-rooted in England. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, best-known as the author of "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner," was the leading theologian in the liberal movement (c. 1825). English law did not permit the church fathers to discipline liberal theologians, and it grew unhindered.
3. The high-church or Anglo-Catholic wing. This party was the creation of Wm. Laud (see pp. 75-76). It has always been a minority group, numerically. It almost died out for a time, but enjoyed a revival in the Oxford Movement (1833ff).
 - a. The leader: John Henry Newman
 - b. Because the movement issued about 90 tracts, it is sometimes called the Tractarian movement.
 - c. Because Newman and his associates were at the university at Oxford, it is generally referred to as the Oxford Movement.
 - d. The doctrinal posture of the Oxford Movement:
 - (1) Episcopacy; apostolic succession
 - (2) The harmony between the Thirty-Nine Articles and Roman Catholicism.
 - (3) The desirability of reunion with Rome.
 - e. The effects of the Oxford Movement:
 - (1) The enhancement of high-church, liturgical worship.
 - (2) The administrative and moral-spiritual reform of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. This strengthened the position of the Archbishop of Canterbury.
 - (3) The reformed institutional church was a counter to the attack of humanists and rationalists.
 - f. The progress of the high-church movement.
 - (1) The movement was damaged when its leader, Newman, converted to the Roman Church and, eventually, became a cardinal. On an October night in Rome, "... while rain fell in torrents, John Henry Newman, England's greatest Anglican leader of the day, fell at the feet of the Passionist Father Dominic, whom he implored to receive him into 'the one fold of Christ.'" (C. F. Harrold, John Henry Newman, p. 1.)
 - (2) The high-church faction became, and remains, the dominant faction of the Church of England. Some congregations of the Anglican Church today are specifically Anglo-Catholic, as opposed to others that use a different liturgy.

The principles of modern Anglo-Catholicism (such as would be held in a high-church Episcopalian congregation):

- (a) Regarding authority: The Church has authority over both the Bible and the creeds. Tradition stands with Scripture.
- (b) Regarding the ministry: apostolic succession. (The only true church is one with bishops who have apostolic authority.)
- (c) Regarding the sacraments: . All seven sacraments of the Roman Catholic Church, although they are not necessarily interpreted in the same way. Transubstantiation is not held, but they do call for a view of Real Presence.
- (d) Regarding Catholicity: They observe the traditions of the "undivided Church" (before the East-West division): Frequent communion (sometimes daily), symbolism in the service, fasting, celibacy, monastic orders, prayers for the dead, et al.

Parentetical observation: Three popular hymns that were written by men of the Oxford Movement, all of whom joined the Roman Catholic Church:

1. "Lead, Kindly Light" (Newman)
2. "Faith of Our Fathers" (Faber)
3. "Crown Him with Many Crowns" (Bridges)

Discussion #24: The Progress of Protestantism in England, part #2.

Reading: L. ~~1064~~ 1069; 1178-1188.

B. The Dissenting Churches in England

1. The primary groups: Presbyterian, Congregationalist, Baptist, Quaker, Unitarians, Methodists.
2. General considerations:
 - a. Members of dissenting bodies suffered civil disabilities: Although they were free to worship, they could not hold public office, could not attend the universities at Oxford and Cambridge, had difficulty being married and buried. Many dissenters took communion in the established church just often enough to maintain minimal membership. These difficulties continued until 1880 when they were, for the most part, legally removed.
 - b. The growth of dissenting bodies: When they were forced out of the Church of England, they constituted about one-tenth of the population. They came to constitute one-fourth of the people, indicating that they grew at the expense of the established church.
 - c. They produced notable preachers. Examples: R. W. Dale, Charles Haddon Spurgeon, Joseph Parker, Alexander McClaren. In the 20th century: F. B. Meyer, G. Campbell Morgan, James Henry Jowett, Leslie Wetherhead.
 - d. They produced some of the finest scholars in the history of Christianity. Examples: Early years: E. M. Fairbourn, James Moulton, W. H. Bennett, John Skinner, P. T. Forsythe, T. R. Glover. More recent: T. W. Manson, T. H. Robinson, H. H. Rowley, C. H. Dodd, Vincent Taylor, H. G. Wood.
 - e. There were important controversies carried on in and by the dissenting churches, such as those over evolution and modern critical scholarship.

C. Organizations that arose in England and have had influence in America:

1. The Apostolic Catholic Church, founded by Edward Irving and the Plymouth Brethren, founded by J. N. Darby (1800-1882). Irvine (1792-1834) founded a "Charismatic Movement." The influence of these two groups is in their presentation of a new version of premillennialism, called Dispensationalism. It has no parallel in the early history of the church. In its simplest statement, it is the view that ^{God} has, and will have, many plans of salvation which He makes available in different ages. Its general impact on churches has been:
 - a. Divisive. Its adherents are enthusiastic, often to the point of zealotry. They regard all who reject it as unbelievers.

- b. Discrediting Christianity: Dispensationalists generally equate their view of eschatology with biblical orthodoxy, and are quite vocal. They have had an inordinate impact on the general public. Their extravagant and fanciful speculations, coupled with their unfortunate habit of date-setting and identifying "signs" of the return of Jesus, have been an embarrassment to Christianity.

2. The YMCA and the YWCA.

- a. The YMCA is British in origin. George Williams (@1844) gathered other young men about him for mutual spiritual support in the industrial confusion of London.
- b. The YWCA was founded 10 years later as the female counterpart.
- c. Both organizations have become international, and have more importance in America than in England.

3. The Salvation Army, founder William Booth (1829-1912).

- a. Booth was a Methodist minister at a time when the Methodist had lost much of its original zeal. It was becoming middle-class and respectable.
- b. Booth refused to accept a parish appointment, and chose to become a free-moving minister to the slums of London. He was primarily a revivalist and evangelist.
- c. His wife and partner Kathryn has a remarkable history of service on her own.
- d. He chose to think of his work as that of an army rather than a church. He chose the military motif; i.e., uniforms, martial bands, etc. He was a "general," not a bishop, and his colleagues were captains, lieutenants, and sergeants, rather than presbyters and ministers.
- e. Booth created a system of practical philanthropy, although its benevolence has been secondary to its evangelist work. Their slogan came to be "Soup, Soap, and Salvation."
- f. Doctrinal posture:
 - (1) Basic belief-only, Arminian, Protestantism.
 - (2) Perfect Sanctification
 - (3) They reject all the sacraments. They observe neither the Lord's Supper nor water baptism.
- g. Because of their service during World War I, the Salvation Army began to become respectable in the eyes of the main-line churches.

D. The rise of "Social Christianity"

There was an ethical movement, in which the Church became concerned about society (see Parenthetical Summary, p. 86). It had its rise in England.

1. The background of Social Christianity

a. The Industrial Revolution (1769ff.)

The Industrial Revolution was in a context of the economic theory of laissez faire and the theology of individual salvation. The IR represented an absolutely profound cultural revolution. The advent of steam, then gasoline, finally, electricity created the means. The IR can be recognized in terms of:

- (1) The substitution of machines for hand labor.
- (2) Ownership of the means and tools of production passed from the hands of the workers to the capitalists. This represented a loss of personal independence.
- (3) The rise of the factory system. Workers were drawn from their home villages to great factory cities.
- (4) A tremendous increase in wealth, and wealth that was very unevenly divided. Disraeli said, "There are two Englands."

The social conditions created by the Industrial Revolution are best (and worst) represented in the expansion of child labor. R. K. Webb, Modern England:

"Faced with a reluctant and disruptive casual supply of adult labor, factory owners often turned to children. One source was London, where workhouse masters, with orphan children in large supply, were only too glad to send them off to the factory districts where they were housed in crowded and often unsanitary dormitories, raised in ignorance, and kept working for twelve hours a day. Shocking as the practice seems to modern susceptibilities, it outraged few contemporaries. Rural children went into the fields as soon as they were able to bind or to glean; weaver's children were put to work early, knotting breaks in yarn. It was thought admirable that children should augment the family income, excellent that they could be kept off the streets and taught something useful. No one thought they needed much education--enough to read a bit in the Bible perhaps--and they certainly were not expected to rise above their station in life."

b. The evils created by the interpretation of laissez faire economics. This is best (and worst) illustrated by the events surrounding the great potato famine in Ireland (1845-1849).

- (1) Union was forced on Ireland in 1801, thus England and Ireland were one country.
- (2) All administrative matters for Ireland were taken care of in London, and most of the great estates in Ireland were owned by British landlords.
- (3) Sir Charles Trevelyan, an earnest and active Christian, was responsible for public relief. (He was the creator of the modern British civil service.) He was an earnest and active Christian, but his conviction of laissez faire kept him from interfering. He said that Irish relief should come from Irish resources, and he forbade the distribution of free seed, lest he interfere with the profits of seed merchants.
- (4) A million Irish died, and thousands more fled Ireland.

- (5) Year after year the famine continued, and the British did nothing. Ireland has never forgiven England.
 - (6) In this context Karl Marx (1818-1883), who, along with Engels, saw capitalism as it was organized and the terrible suffering of the lower classes, offered communism as an alternative to laissez faire.
 - (7) The religious idea of individual salvation suggested that the Church had no concern with the social order or the temporal condition of the masses. It spoke only to and of the soul. (This was a departure from the ideas of Calvin and Luther.)
- c. The growing alienation of labor to the church.
- (1) The French Revolution (1789) had, in its later stages, turned against the church, and this was a bombshell on the English.
 - (2) In 1848 workingmen rioted in England, seeking relief and civil rights.
 - (3) The father of Friedrich Engels (1820-1895) was a wealthy, evangelical, factory-owner. Engels saw the horrible state of the laborers and that their only relief was "evangelism and brandy." This led him and Marx to the conclusion that "religion is the opiate of the people." (The Communist Manifesto was written in London, in 1848!)
- d. A liberal party emerged in British politics, and the Church was forced to consider its role in changing social conditions.

Discussion #25: The Progress of Protestantism in England, part #3; The Progress of Protestantism in Scotland

Reading: L. 1190-1200.

2. The development of Social Christianity

a. The attempts at isolated reforms.

Evangelical Christians often led out in prison reform, control of industry, improvement of working conditions, etc. Examples:

(1) Prison reform, led by John Howard (1726-1790). He was given the honorary title of high-sheriff of Bedfordshire. Howard took the job seriously, checked into prison conditions and found them horrible. He researched the subject, even traveling to other countries. His book in the subject is the beginning of modern prison reform in England, and from England the idea spread to other lands. He died of "prison fever" which he caught while investigating prisons in Russia.

When he was 45 years old and beginning this work, he wrote in his journal: "O Compassionate and Divine Redeemer, save me from the dreadful guilt and power of sin, and accept of my solemn, free, and I trust unreserved surrender of my soul. . . make me an everlasting monument to thy unbounding mercy."

(2) William Wilberforce, credited with putting an end to the slave traffic and eventually slavery as an institution. Wilberforce was a "social butterfly," and a member of Parliament. He had an evangelical conversion experience, and chose to use his place in government as a Christian to fight social evils. Session after session, he addressed the conscience of the Commons on the subject at the risk of his health and life. He lost many friends, was ridiculed, slandered; his life was threatened. He never backed down. Although he was usually alone in Parliament, Wilberforce was a member of a remarkable team, called the Clapham Sect, made up of wealthy evangelicals--saints in politics--who dedicated themselves to the abolition of slavery, missions, philanthropy, etc. There has never, in the history of Christianity, been a parallel group of Christians; and seldom, if ever, has such a small group of believers had such a significant impact on society.

(3) Lord Shaftsbury (d. 1885). He was a member of parliament, and led out in reform in insane asylums and then in mines. He found four and five year-old children dragging sludge tubs through tunnels that were often no more than 25" high. They were harnessed and pulled on all fours. The work days were from 14-16 hours. They worked in total darkness in foul air. Those whose profits were at stake (often people who considered themselves Christians) resisted every attempt at reform. The majority of evangelicals were not behind reform. Every reform he undertook required almost a generation before change could be effected; yet Shaftsbury never quit.

b. The emphasis on social service.

There emerged efforts to alleviate the suffering of victims of the industrial system. Examples:

(1) Thomas Chalmers of Glasgow, Scotland.

Chalmers was a preacher and professor at Edinburgh. When he was converted to evangelical Christianity, he began to take an interest in the poor. This led him to take a parish in Edinburgh which contained the worst slums in the city. He sectioned off the slums and appointed elders and deacons to oversee their spiritual needs and to help the poor to self-sufficiency. He went beyond handouts and simple alms-giving. Chalmers pursued a program of rehabilitation and is thus credited with being the originator of "scientific" relief work.

(2) The rise of institutional churches (1880).

This terminology has reference to the movements among churches that led to the church becoming neighborhood centers, open all week and seeking to provide for a broad range of human needs. Children's clubs, athletic programs, services for the elderly, etc. This was in contrast to the practice of opening the church building only for worship services. From this grew the concept of the "settlement house." This was the arrangement in which a Christian family or groups of Christians would live in a special house in slum neighborhoods and provide a broad range of social services. The Salvation Army is one aspect of this phase of Social Christianity.

c. The attempt to "Christianize" the social order.

There emerged the conviction that it was not enough to effect isolated reform or to aid the victims of an unjust social system. A series of steps were taken to "Christianize" society itself:

(1) John Frederick Denison Maurice (1805-1872) and Charles

Kingsley (1819-1875) led a movement toward "Christian Socialism." There had emerged a secular or humanist socialist movement under the leadership of such men as Robert Owen, the reform-minded industrialist of New Lanark, Scotland. (It was Owen who was the adversary of Alexander Campbell in a famous debate on Christianity vs. Atheism.) Over against such atheistic efforts, Maurice and Kingsley tried to interest workers in a Christian socialism. Their plans for a Christian social system were ill-conceived, never accepted, and doomed to failure. Their work did, however, interest many churchmen in the prospect of working through the political system.

(2) The Christian Social Union, 1889. This was a voluntary organization dedicated to the application of Christian principles to social problems.

(3) The Christian Order of Politics, Economics, and Citizenship Conference (1921). (COPEC) The organization through which all churches in Great Britain speak to social questions.

The charter of COPEC offers what might be considered the creed of the "Social Gospel:" ". . . the Christian faith, rightly interpreted, and consistently followed, gives the vision and the power essential for solving the problems of today. The social ethics of Christianity have been greatly neglected by Christians, with disastrous consequences for the Christian and for society. It is of the first importance that these should be given a clearer and more persistent emphasis. In the teaching and work of Jesus Christ, there are certain fundamental principles, such as the universal Fatherhood of God, with its corollary, that mankind is God's family, and the law that whoso loses his life finds it, which, if accepted, not only condemn much in the present organization of society, but show the way of regeneration. Christianity has proved itself to possess also a motive power for the transformation of the individual, without which no change of policy or method can succeed."

While the social gospel in England and America generally ignored individual salvation in favor of social reform, the founders of the movement did not neglect individual salvation.

- (4) This emphasis eventually led to the formation to the World Council of Churches. The point of union was not doctrinal agreement, but mutual social concern.

E. The Church in Great Britain since World War II...a brief statement:

1. There has been a drift away from religion in England since WW II. The established church could draw on Sunday only 9% of its adherents in the 1950's.
2. In recent decades there have been signs of a returning vitality among various Christian groups in Great Britain.

F. The Church in Scotland

1. Many divisions exist in the Church in Scotland. Examples:
 - a. The Reformed Church. This denomination found origin in a group of Covenanters who refused to return to the state church after the Reformation struggle.
 - b. As a consequence of the Patronage Act, a law that troubled Scotland from 1712-1874, many divisions occurred. This act allowed the few wealthy patrons of the church to choose the pastors of the congregations. This caused a rift between the more liberal upper classes and the more conservative and evangelical lower classes.
- Major divisions:
- (1) The Associate Church (also called the Secession Church). In America they form the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church, out of which came the United Presbyterian Church.
 - (2) The Relief Church.
 - (3) The Free Church Assembly led by Thomas Chalmers. This movement led over half the ministers of the Church of Scotland out of the established church.

- (4) Further division: The Secession (Also called the Seceder Church) divided into the Burgher and Anti-Burgher groups. This was a division over whether certain oaths required of the burgesses of towns, binding them to support the state church, was lawful and whether a man who took such an oath could hold church office. Those who considered the oath unacceptable for a Christian became the Anti-Burghers. Both groups divided into "Old Light" and "New Light" over the question (1795) of the power of civil magistrates in religion.

The most conservative and traditional Presbyterianism was represented in the Old Light Anti-Burgher Seceder Presbyterian Church. THOMAS AND ALEXANDER CAMPBELL WERE MINISTERS OF THIS SECT IN IRELAND. (The Burgher oath was a Scottish issue and was never required in Ireland.)

2. In recent times efforts at union have brought together many of these sectarian groups, although many small splinter groups still exist.
3. The Presbyterian Church in Scotland is not controlled by the state, as the church is in England.
4. In the modern Presbyterian Church in Scotland, there has been a relaxation of rigid Calvinism, and it has become generally liberal in its view of the Bible and is currently moving in the direction of Barthian Neo-Orthodoxy.

Parentetical study: The Iona Community

Twentieth-Century Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, s.v:

A movement started in Scotland in 1938 by George F. Macleod. In 1930 He accepted a call to the densely populated industrial parish of Govan, in Glasgow. In the "hungry thirties" he became increasingly aware that the Church of Scotland was failing to bring the gospel effectively to bear upon the life of the people, over half of whom had no vital contact with organized religion. Convinced that a fresh and more imaginative approach must be made to this problem, Macleod resigned his parish in 1938 to build up the Iona Community.

The method by which this movement seeks to reclaim Scotland for Christianity is through dedicated men and women, lay and clerical, living under something like monastic discipline, but seeking to work out in ordinary human relationships and activities the personal and social implications of the Gospel. They live by a strict rule of stewardship-of time, talents, and money. During the summer they work at restoring the ruined abbey on the island of Iona, traditional birth-place of Scottish Christianity. The rest of the year they labor on the mainland, laymen pursuing their daily tasks in the spirit of Christian vocation, ministers serving in places of special need-in city slums dockland areas, and new housing developments on the outskirts of great cities.

Discussion #26: The Progress of Protestantism in Germany

Reading: L. 1369-1386.

V. The Progress of Protestantism in Germany

A. Before Hitler

1. The composition of the Lutheran Church

Germany first became a united nation with the formation of the First Reich in 1870. The dividing factor had been religion. Bismark was able to do this only by leaving out Austria. The nation at this time was 2/3 Lutheran and 1/3 Roman Catholic. (There was a fairly large group of Reformed believers, but the predominant form of German Protestantism is Lutheranism.)

2. The organization of the Church.

It was organized by territories. Each territory or state had its own autonomous church. In some states the church was reformed. In a few states, such as Prussia, the church was called Evangelical and included both Lutheran and Reformed. These were state-controlled churches.

3. The weakness of the Church.

In the early part of the 20th century, such ideologies as Marxism and Socialism were weakening the influence of the already-stagnant church in Germany. The Church was identified as the bulwark of the privileged. They lost both intellectuals and the working class. Everyone belonged nominally, as a social custom, but few did other than ignore the state church. The spirit of anti-religion that was born when Germany "died" in the Thirty Years War was a growing spirit. The demoralizing effects of World War I and the subsequent depression caused many Lutheran institutions to close. The Roman Catholic Church took advantage of the debased currency and bought up large tracts of land and much valuable property. Protestants of other lands, however, did not come to the aid of German Protestantism. (In this German Protestantism reaped the bitter fruit of its long-standing policy of exclusivism and isolationism.) Socialist governments were formed in many states, and these were anti-church. There was a significant popular abandonment of the church. Hundreds of thousands had their names taken from the church rolls.

4. The attack of the godless.

There was a strong and vocal body of atheists in the Socialist and Communist parties which was systematically attacking religion. Example: The League of Proletarian Free Thinkers, with 700,000 members (this was not the largest organization). Children were being systematically raised as atheists.

In the early days of his rise to power, Hitler published that he stood for a program of "positive Christianity." This misled many Protestants, who were terrified of the Communist-atheist-Socialist programs, to lend him their support.

B. Under Hitler (1933-1945)

1. The policy in regard to the Roman Catholic Church: to crush it.
2. " " " " " " Protestant Church movement: to assume control of it and convert it into a pagan movement. (In this he had some success.)

Most citizens could vote in the election of church leaders, but did not. Hitler organized his followers to vote for his chosen leaders and, in this way, took over the administration of the church.

Hitler then revealed what he meant by "positive Christianity." It was simple atheism. Not God revealing himself in Jesus Christ, but God identified as the spirit of the German people, German nationalism. Hitler became the Führer (Guide) of this spirit and thus took the place of Jesus. His role was analogous to that of the ancient Roman emperors.

The state used all the means at its disposal to destroy the opposition to the take-over: persuasion, violence, compromise, threats. In the Church Hitler met the strongest advocate for the freedom of the spirit, and he simply had to destroy it.

In this struggle three parties developed:

- a. The German Christians (2,000 of the 17,000 ministers in the Lutheran Church) went over to Hitler.
- b. The Confessional Church resisted Hitler to the end, became an underground movement. This group furnished the martyrs, such as Dietrich Bonhoeffer, who was hanged in 1945 and Martin Niemöller who was imprisoned for many years. (About 7,000 ministers were in this group.) The Reformed element was strong in the Confessional Church.
- c. The neutrals; those who "sat it out" without taking a stand.

The Church as a whole never supported the war, i.e., officially.

C. After Hitler

1. The reorganization of the church. In 1945 the Evangelical Church in Germany was formed. The German Christians were eliminated, and a federation of German churches was formed. (Not monolithic unity.)
2. A confession of national guilt. Leaders of the Confessional Church and the organizers of the new church organization drew up a confession of national guilt. (A remarkable and unique document.)
3. The resumption of ecumenical ties.
4. The recovery of the physical devastation of the war. Almost all the church buildings in Germany's major cities were destroyed by the bombing. Most of the good leaders were dead. The people were bankrupt. Protestants in East Germany, where Protestantism was the

strongest, were forced to become refugees, able to take nothing with them from their homes but that which they could carry in their hands. This placed a great burden on the Church.

5. The division of Germany has left the church structurally divided.
6. In all this, however, churches are being rebuilt in West Germany and there are signs of renewal in the life of the church. There has developed a significant "lay movement." The loss of leadership during the war was one of the reasons for such a movement.



Discussion #27: The Historical Setting; Important Intellectual Movements
from the Colonial Period to the Civil War, part #1

Reading: L. 1226-1242.

Section Nine: The Growth and Progress of American Protestantism

I. The historical setting; important intellectual movements from the
colonial period to the Civil War

A. The faith of the young republic

1. General themes

- a. The idea of progress. The militant democracy of the period was a declaration of faith in man and in the perfectibility of his institutions. The idea of progress so inherent in the American way of life and so much a part of the philosophy of the age was at the same time a challenge to traditional beliefs and institutions and an impetus to experimentation with new theories and humanitarian reforms.
- b. The presence of a national restless ferment.
 - (1) The call of the expanding West.
 - (2) Growing industrialism and urbanization in the East.
 - (3) Increasing immigration from European countries.
 - (4) Trend to subjective, enthusiastic, and unconventional religion.

2. Dynamic democracy

- a. The colonial beginnings
 - (1) Puritan Covenant Theology. The Calvinism of the early settlers tended toward republicanism and was democratic in its implications, i.e., 1) the worth of the individual, 2) the duty of civic reform, and 3) the right of the governed to sanction the form of government.
 - (2) Separatists' ideas of separation of Church and State; Roger Williams and the American Baptist Church
 - (3) New England Congregationalism with its emphasis on the local church and the significance of individual members.
 - (4) The Quakers of Pennsylvania with their emphasis on pacifism and their deep-seated hatred of slavery.
- b. The frontier and democracy
 - (1) The individualism of the frontier
 - (2) Frontier equalitarianism, based on survival of the fittest, individual initiative, fortitude, and ability
 - (3) The conviction for the need of minimum government
- c. The mid-eighteenth century teachings of the French philosophes
 - (1) Examples: Rousseau and Montesquieu?
 - (2) Their appeal: To a return to nature, individual liberty, economic equality.
- d. The theories of John Locke (the common sense approach to truth)
- e. The Declaration of Independence:

- (1) The individual exists before the government.
- (2) The individual is endowed with "natural rights."

f. The Constitution

- (1) The purpose: a workable federal government.
- (2) The character: An "elite conscious" document, never intended to establish a true democracy.

g. The Jeffersonian Revolution

- (1) Agrarian democracy
- (2) The Bill of Rights
- (3) The surge toward true democracy was hindered by the fact that the conservatives in the east ran the government and interpreted (or ignored) the Bill of Rights in favor of their landed aristocracy.

h. Jacksonian democracy

- (1) Frederick Jackson Turner, the "historian of the frontier," said that the West was form of society rather than an area. The type of American forged on the western frontier set his mark upon the life of the nation so unmistakably that the philosophy of the frontier came to color the activities of the entire United States. Equality of condition, the emergence of the genuine "aristocratic" (the best man), the unsurpassed self-confidence of the survivor, common-sense idealism, the atmosphere of lawless violence; all were woven into the fabric of the American spirit. America became, not the land of the fathers, but the land of the children.

(2) Elements of the emerging political philosophy:

- (a) The deification of the "common man." An educated Englishman commented on this trait (1820's):

"A man to be popular in our new Western towns and with the country people around, should be acquainted with everybody, shake hands with everybody, and wear an old coat with at least one good hole in it. A little whiskey and a few squirts of tobacco juice are indispensable. From much of the former you may be excused if you treat liberally to others. If there is one fool bigger than another, defer to him, make much of him. If there is one fellow a little more greasy and dirty than another, be sure to hug him. Do all this and you have done much toward being a popular man. At least you could scarcely have a jury-case against you."

- (b) The universal superiority of the American system and the mission of transmitting it to less-favored nations.
- (c) Respect for the law, based on the fact that the people felt that they had made the laws themselves. Alexis de Tocqueville (1831): "It is really an incredible thing. . . to see how this people keeps itself in order through the single conviction that its only safeguard against itself lies in itself."
- (3) The election of "Old Hickory" (Andrew Jackson) in 1828, a land-speculating, Indian-fighting Westerner, marked the victory of frontier democracy in the arena of national affairs.

The creed of Jackson: "I believe man can be elevated; man can become more and more endowed with divinity; and as he does he becomes more God-like in his character and capable of governing himself. Let us go on elevating our people, perfecting our institutions, until democracy shall reach such a point of perfection that we can acclaim with truth that the voice of the people is the voice of God."

3. Cults and Utopias

Alice Felt Tyler, Freedom's Ferment, p. 46: "The only limits to the diversity of new faiths in the first half of the nineteenth century were the limits of men's own differences and of their aspirations and imaginations. Every new prophet or group of philosophers might expect to find a following among men of like ideas and ideals, and each new reform of doctrine found advocates among those stirred by the general ferment of the period. Individualism bred diversity and multiplicity both in religious sects and in reform movements. Every aspect of society and every phase of life were subject to the eager scrutiny of inquiring minds, and the optimistic liberalism of the day caused men to believe in the possibility of creating a new heaven and a new earth by the intensity of their efforts and the efficacy of their faith."

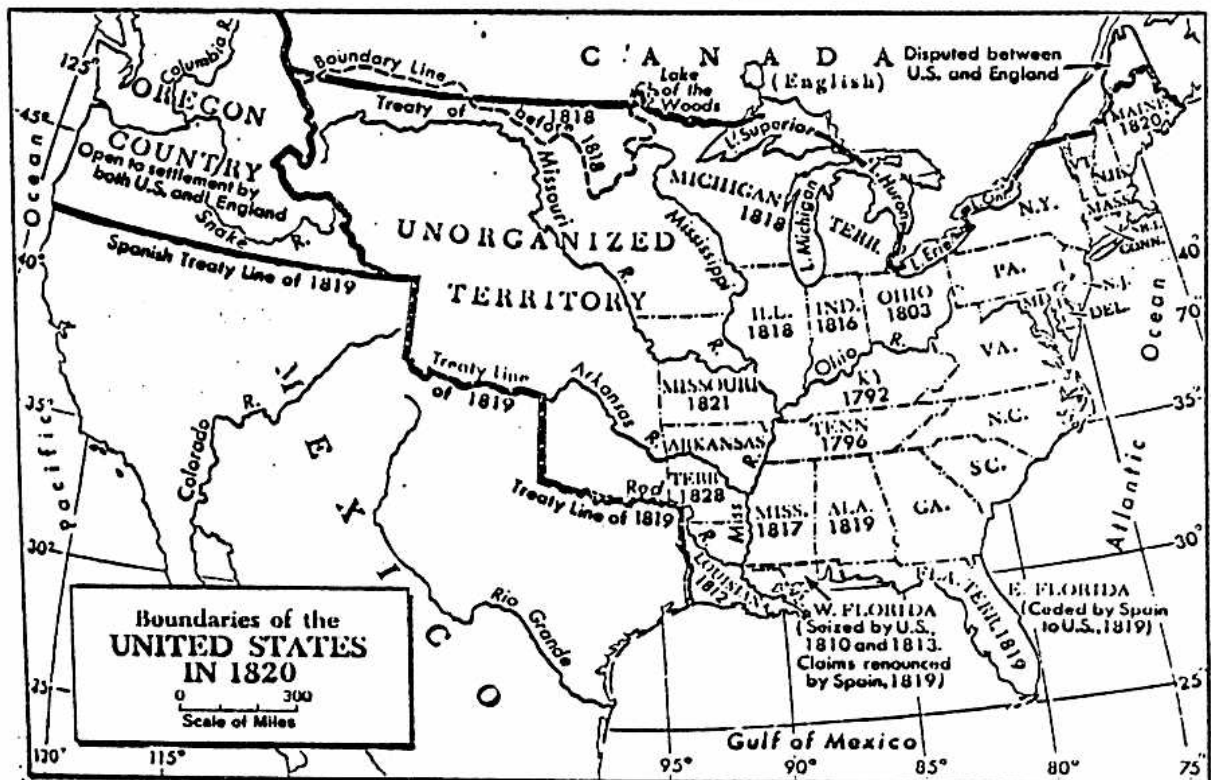
a. Transcendentalism

- (1) Source: Unitarianism
- (2) Creed: Individualism and dignified self-reliance. The mind and soul of man, self-purified and self-taught, might transcend reason and intuitively reach the spiritual absolutes through which man can find the reality behind the outer shell of life. Man is a solitary being striving for sublime knowledge.
- (3) Areas of practical concern and activity: Slavery, education, property rights, the position of women, relations of labor and capital, et al.
- (4) Attitude toward religion: The denial of revealed religion in favor of transcendental, nonempirical religion.
- (5) Representatives: In Boston, 1863, about a dozen New England writers, many of whom were Unitarian clergymen, began to meet in what was called the Transcendental Club. Its purpose was to discuss German philosophy. The nucleus of the group was George Ripley, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Frederick Henry Hedge, Bronson Alcott, James Freeman Clarke, and Convers Francis. Among those who later came to associate with the Club were: Theodore Parker, Margaret Fuller, Orestes Brownson, William Henry Channing, Henry David Thoreau, Nathaniel Hawthorne.

b. Millerite Millennialism

- (1) Source:
 - (a) The "Burnt-over" district; the western part of upstate Vermont, westward across New York from Albany to Buffalo.
 - (b) William Miller, Pittsfield, Mass., 1782. A self-educated deist who was converted in a revival and joined the Calvinistic Baptist Church. He became enamored with the doctrine of the Second Coming.
- (2) Scenario:

- (a) On the basis of his study of Daniel, he set the date for the return of the Lord about 1843. His radical followers fixed on that date.
- (b) When the Lord failed to appear, the date was moved forward a year.
- (3) The popular effect:
 - (a) Much opposition. Mobs threatened the Millennial Tabernacle.
 - (b) Hysteria among disciples. "Plans were made among the Millerites to meet the long-awaited day in groups. Tents were put up outside cities, preferably on hilltops, and hundreds of people assembled on the night of October 21 to keep the vigil together. No provision was made for food or rest, and as the night passed and then the day, and the next night wore on, the tension was intolerable. In some sections severe storms and heavy rainfall added to the alarm and suffering. The plight of the children in these camps was piteous, but many of their elders succumbed more completely to the nervous strain. There were several suicides and as the dawn of October 23 served notice that "time continued" regardless of prophecy, some heart-broken Millennialists were led away insane."
- (4) The end of the Millerite movement.
 - (a) A follower, Ellen White, claimed a prophet vision and led a large segment of the disappointed Millerites into a new cult that came to be Seventh Day Adventism.
 - (b) A second-generation group of Millerites were led by Charles Taze Russell into the formation of a cult; The Watchtower Society.
 - (c) Miller himself spent the last years of his life in despondancy and ill-health and in a struggle to encourage a few followers to keep the Adventist faith alive.



Discussion # 28: The Historical Setting: Important Intellectual Movements
from the Colonial Period to the Civil War, part #2

Reading: L. 1242-1274.

c. Spiritualism

(1) Source:

(a) The philosophic works of the Swedish cultist Emanuel Swedenborg; Swedenborgian societies were formed and flourished.

(b) Andrew Jackson Davis, the "Poughkeepsie Seer."

(c) The Fox sisters of Hydesville, New York.

(2) Character: The spiritualism that swept over the United States in the mid-nineteenth century was remarkable for its vigor and for the large numbers of men and women who became deeply interested in it.

(3) Creed:

Andrew Jackson Davis: ". . . the era of mythology and superstition is fast decaying. Ignorance, bigotry, skepticism, fanaticism, intolerance, spiritual depression, and all slavery-the great evils which now beset mankind-are rapidly dispersing; they shall recede entirely from the earth, never again to enslave and degrade humanity. This world of thought and affection, and of social relations, shall be progressively purified, until there shall be unfolded a new heaven and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness. And the evils which now exist, shall be known only to those who will trace the history of our race; which they will do with mingling feelings of pity and regret. By spiritual intercourse we learn that all men shall be ultimately joined into one Brotherhood, their interests shall be pure and reciprocal; their customs shall be just and harmonious; they shall be as one Body, animated by Universal Love and governed by pure Wisdom."

(4) Significance to the intellectual climate of America:

Tyler: Freedom's Ferment, p. 85: "With all its crudities and all its extravagances, the Spiritualist movement of the period after 1848 was an integral part both of the romantic faith of America and of the American reform movements of the time. . . . The Transcendentalist, the Millerite, and the Spiritualist, each in his own way, typified the eagerness with which the New World grasped at things of the spirit."

d. Mormonism

(1) Source:

(a) Joseph Smith (b. 1805), Palmyra, New York, 1820.

(b) Sidney Rigdon and the Spaulding mss.

(2) The establishment of the Mormon Church. (For the first six years of its existence, it was called the Church of Christ.) After an unsuccessful and feeble attempt in Palmyra, Smith and his handful of followers moved to Kirtland, Ohio, to a community headed by Sidney Rigdon.

- (3) The original character of the Mormon Church: primitive and pentecostal, with heavy emphasis on millennialism.
- (4) The Church off Kirtland. A bank fraud alienated a large body of the followers of Smith and Rigdon, and they were arrested and forced to flee to Missouri. Their attempts (1838) to move in on the property of Missourians led to armed conflict.
- (5) The Church at Nauvoo, Illinois. Early liberality on the part of the Illinois government gave the group an opportunity to establish itself. In the meantime, Mormon missionaries in England found a vast reservoir of new adherents in the poorer districts of English factory towns, where discontent and superstition combined to make conversion easy, especially when free land was promised to all who would convert and migrate. Within three years, trouble developed in Illinois, coming from three sources:
 - (a) the state government
 - (b) non-Mormon residents
 - (c) dissatisfied Mormons

When Smith tried to acquire the wife of one of the Nauvoo Mormons, the situation exploded. A rival newspaper, the Nauvoo Expositor, was established and began to expose the use being made of the new theory of polygamy. When the paper was suppressed and the office burned, Governor Ford sent the militia to arrest Joseph and Hyrum Smith. They were taken to the feebly-protected jail at Carthage Missouri where a mob stormed the jail and murdered them.

- (6) The division of Mormonism
 - (a) The Josephites--The Reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints, headquarters, Independence, Mo.
 - (b) The Brighamites (the main body), Salt Lake, Utah.
 - (c) The Kingdom of Saint James, led by Jesse Strang. This small group followed James Strang to Wisconsin and then to some islands in Lake Michigan. They followed Strang into polygamy and communism. The murder of the "king" by non-Mormon neighbors led to the dispersion of this small group of ignorant, poor, and credulous people.

e. Religious communism in America

- (1) Reasons for communistic organization:
 - (a) Isolation and segregation were effective counteragents to to "backsliding." The more peculiar the tenets of their faith, the more necessary became the intensive instruction, criticism, and supervision.
 - (b) Social and economic factors. Most converts to cultic groups were ignorant, poor, and without salable skills. The funds of the few well-to-do converts had to be used to pay for the transfer and establishment for the indigent. Many sects not originally communistic thus had communism thrust upon them for social and economic reasons.
 - (c) Rigid economic controls often brought early financial stability.
 - (d) Often reference was made to so-called "biblical communism." Often dogma was created to justify the arrangement made necessary on other grounds.

(2) General character of the religious communities.

- (a) Few adherents.
- (b) Short-lived.
- (c) Most were European in origin and most of the adherents were migrants.
- (d) Perfectionist
- (e) Millennialists
- (f) Some were spiritualist
- (g) Almost entirely composed of a poor, ill-educated, credulous, trusting rank-and-file, led by charismatic leaders. (Exceptions were John Humphrey Noyes's Oneida Community, Alcott's Fruitlands, and the Transcendentalists' Brook Farm. Some of these made the transition from religious communism to nineteenth-century socialistic theory.)

(3) Examples:

- (a) The Ephrata Cloister (Pennsylvania)
 - Conrad Beissel (d. 1786), a German Pietist
 - A split from the Mennonites, Sabbatarian, ascetic, pacifist, celibacy recommended, vegetarian, methodical, "outdoor members."
- (b) Jemima Wilkinson, the Universal Friend; New Jerusalem, Seneca Lake, New York. Jemima saw herself as having been infused with the spirit of Christ; hence her title. Doctrines: Sabbatarianism, pacifism, celibacy. Jemima believed that she could not die, but she did, and, after four days, her disciples secretly buried her body.
- (c) The Harmony Society of the Rappites; George Rapp, German pietist. Doctrines: millennialism, universalism, celibacy, asceticism. Successive communities were established in western Pennsylvania, Harmony, Indiana, and Economy, near Pittsburgh.
- (d) The Amana Society; the Community of True Inspiration. Founder: Michael Krausent, Strasbourg, Germany. The group emigrated to New York, near Buffalo and founded a community called Ebenezer. They later formed a joint-stock company and moved to Iowa. In doctrine, they generally followed the Anabaptist tradition.

(4) Nordhoff's Conclusions. Charles Nordhoff, who made a careful study of almost all of the religious communities that lived on into the 1860's ended his book with a summary of his observations:

- (a) Germans, being more docile and obedient, made better communists than any other people.
- (b) A commune could succeed only when its people were united in a special religious belief.
- (c) Social equality and economic security were very attractive to people, especially those who had suffered persecution or suppression in Europe.
- (d) Community living had many economic advantages, and were often successful, innovative, and progressive.

(5) Chambers' conclusion: Communism failed in America because too-few Americans were willing to trade freedom for equality.

f. The Shaker Communities

- (1) Founder: Ann Lee Stanley, aka Mother Ann
- (2) Official name(s): Millennial Church; United Society of Believers (commonly called the Shaker Society)
- (3) English origins: Ann Lee Stanley was the illiterate daughter of a blacksmith of Manchester, England. All of her children by Abraham Stanley (4) died in infancy or early childhood. She was the subject of strong religious impressions, and in 1758 she was converted to the sect already called Shakers. This group, calling themselves the "Prophets," originated with a group of French peasants (1688). They believed that physical exertions manifested the presence of the Holy Spirit. Persecution eliminated all but a handful, and these escaped to England. They were millennialists, crying warning of the Second Coming and predicting famine and pestilence on the wicked. The little group fell under the leadership of James and Jane Wardley, former Quakers. The Shakers absorbed much of the Quaker doctrine.

Ann and the other Shakers were persecuted in Manchester, so in the summer of 1774 they sought asylum in the New World. She came with eight of her flock. Ann assumed the role of "visible leader of the Church of God upon earth."

- (4) Mother Ann in America:
Ann worked as a laundress until her husband left her for another woman. She then joined a tiny group of the Shakers who had set up a small community at Niskeyuna, New York. After her death in 1784, strong leaders continued to develop the Shaker community.
- (5) The expansion of Shakerism:
By 1800 there were a dozen Shaker communities, but they were small and poor. They heard of the the revival stirring on the western frontier, so they moved to take advantage of it. They were at Cane Ridge and won many adherents there. Between 1801 and 1811, under the leadership of Issachar Bates, four communities were founded in Ohio and Kentucky: South Union and Pleasant Hill, Kentucky; Whitewater and Union Village, Ohio. The Western Shakers were prosperous and reached their maximum size in the years 1830-1850.
- (6) The doctrine of the Shakers; Mother Ann Lee as the female incarnation of Christ, millennialism, celibacy, miraculous gifts of the Spirit, personal piety and virtue, ultimate universalism, communism, austerity, simplicity of dress, discipline, benevolence.
- (7) Shaker worship: An important aspect of Shaker worship was the communal dance. An eyewitness James Silk Buckingham (1841) wrote:
". . . to this lively and merry tune, the whole body, now formed into three abreast. . . literally scampered round the room in a quick gallopade, every individual of both the choir

and the dancers, singing with all their might. . . after several such dances, about half a dozen women. . . whirled themselves round, in what opera dancers call a pirouette, performing at least fifty revolutions each--their arms extended horizontally, their clothes being blown out like an air balloon all around their persons--their heads sometimes falling on one side, and sometimes hanging forward on the bosom--till they would at length faint away in hysterical convulsions and be caught in the arms of the surrounding dancers."

(8) Shaker economic development:

- (a) Agricultural and largely self-sufficient and efficient.
- (b) Before the middle of the nineteenth century, the Shaker societies were among the country's greatest producers of seeds and herbs.
- (c) Other industries were developed: drying of fruits and vegetables, leather tanning, clothmaking, broom and brush making, blankets, carpets, cabinet work, et al.
- (d) The Shakers are credited with the invention of such devices as the buzz saw, cut nails, screw propeller, the clothes pin, an apple parer, and a revolving oven.
- (e) They would accept only a small margin of profit and thus the Shaker communities never became wealthy.



*The Shakers' sacred dance, to shake sin from the body
through the finger tips*



Communal settlements in the United States before 1860.

g. American utopias of religious origin

Alongside transplanted European cults, most of which developed community of property as an expedient, there arose a number of utopian experiments in which some form of socialism or communism was established as a cardinal article of faith.

(1) General motive and character.

- (a) To create a model for a new and better social order.
- (b) To protest the evils of modern industrialism and mechanization.
- (c) To express optimistic faith in the perfectibility of human institutions.
- (d) To escape some of the unpleasant features of nineteenth-century American life.

(2) Examples:

- (a) The Hopedale community of Milford, Massachusetts, a venture in Christian socialism. Reverend Adin Ballou. A miniature Christian republic with a broad and liberal definition of Christianity and a stern opposition to profanity, unchastity, intemperance, slaveholding, war, capital punishment, mobocracy, personal violence, military service, etc.

- (b) Brook Farm and Fruitlands, Massachusetts, Transcendentalists experiments. Founder: George Ripley. Creed: morality, culture, enlightenment.
- (c) John Humphrey Noyes and the Oneida Community. (New York) This was a radical attempt at creating the perfect model of society, including "stirpiculture" (eugenics). They practiced "complex marriage," i.e., each woman was the wife of every man and vice versa.

h. Utopian Socialism in America

Some attempts at creating utopia sprang from secular and materialistic humanism. The motives were progressive and humanitarian, but the results were negative. Examples:

- (1) Robert Owen and New Harmony. Owen was a self-made industrial millionaire from New Lanark, Scotland. New Lanark was made into a model factory town, and there Owen attacked the problems of child labor, sanitation, education, etc. He desired to use the freedom and cheap land of the American frontier to establish a model community. He bought the Rappite village in New Harmony, Indiana. He was very popular in America, and was invited to speak before the Congress. Alexander Campbell called New Harmony a "focus of enlightened atheism." Even with his money and his leadership, the experiment failed, wrecking on the hard rocks of American frontier individualism and love for freedom. What might have worked with Scotsmen could never work with Americans.
- (2) Frances Wright and Nashoba. Frances Wright was an extremely intelligent and learned traveler and disciple of Robert Owen. She sought to apply his principles to the slavery problem. In pursuit of this she sponsored the purchase of a plantation near Memphis Tennessee. Her plan was to raise funds from abolitionists and philanthropists, purchase slaves, move them to Nashoba where they could be educated for the free life. The community, in theory, would produce enough money to repay those who had financed the freedom of the slaves. The project was a desolate failure.
- (3) Fourierist Phalanxes. The French socialist Charles Fourier had projected a model community called the Phalanx. In 1843 Albert Brisbane presented an exposition of the doctrines of Fourier in A Concise Exposition of the Doctrine of Association. In a biography written by his wife, the dream of Brisbane was set forth:
 "Far away in the distant future I saw a globe resplendent, cultivated and embellished, transformed into the grandest and most beautiful work of art by the combined efforts of humanity. I saw upon it a race developed, perfected by the continued influence, generation after generation, of true social institutions; a humanity worthy of that Cosmic Soul of which I instinctively felt it to be a part."

Between forty and fifty Fourierist phalanxes were attempted in America, all short-lived. Their average duration was two years, and that only because one of them lasted 12 years. Two of the more prominent of these experiments were the Sylvan Phalanx established in 1842 with the help of Horace Greeley, and the North American Phalanx (1843) at Red Bank, New Jersey.

i. Cults and Utopias; a summary:

The hospitable American frontier received a variety of peculiar people whose desire it was to live apart and according to their own theories and ideals. The frontier, however, added its pressures of individualism and opportunity to the stresses of internal friction and brought an end to these experiments. They all sank into the main stream of American life, their ideals unrealized, but contributing their share to the democratic philosophy of the New World.



From a contemporary drawing

Robert Owen

Discussion #29: Religion in the Colonies; Dissent and Decline; The Great Awakening, part #1.

Reading: Introduction to the reading of Addendum H., p. 139; Addendum H. Jonathan Edwards, Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God.

B. The Colonial Period

1. European Calvinism and the American spirit of freedom, a summary:
 - a. As the common man freed himself from political absolutism, he became progressively dissatisfied with theological absolutism.
 - b. Calvinistic dictatorships in the colonial period met headon the rationalism of John Locke and the French philosophes.
 - c. The ideas of progress and of the importance of the individual undermined the old doctrines of election and predestination.
 - d. The emotional aridity of New England culture caused people to turn eagerly to evangelical Protestantism.
2. The "Gospel of Colonization" preached in England:
 - a. America as a mission field.
 - b. Protestant colonies needed to counter Spain's Catholic empire.
 - c. It was both piety and patriotism to expand the possessions of Protestant England.
 - d. Landless people could own their own lands in the New World.
 - e. The Colonies were a vent for surplus English population.
 - f. Vigorous colonies would increase trade and wealth.
 - g. While many emphasize the economic motives of the Puritan migration and the establishment of the Virginia Colony, analysis of primary documents reveals that the motives were primarily religious.
3. The religious character of the colonies
 - a. Virginia
 - (1) Motives for the founding of Virginia:
 - (a) The desire to find gold in North America as the Spaniards had in Central and South Americas.
 - (b) Promising native commodities, such as sassafras (a cure for syphilis and just about any and all other ills).
 - (2) Anglican Puritans (Puritans were a part of the Church of England at this early period).
 - (3) The influx of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians and Baptists in the 18th century.
 - b. New England
 - (1) The Pilgrims and the Plymouth Colony-Separatists who had been forced out of England and had found temporary refuge in Holland.
 - (2) A "holy state," patterned after Calvin's Geneva and a model for the world.
 - (3) Religious freedom for non-Puritans never suggested.
 - (4) The Massachusetts Bay Company. Charles I (1625ff) and Wm. Laud moved the Church of England toward Rome. A group of Puritan stockholders in the Massachusetts Bay Company, a corporation with proprietary and governmental rights confirmed by a new charter directly from the king, gained control of the company and voted to transfer the company to Massachusetts. Under Governor John Winthrop the Company began to establish

settlements along the coast. Before the end of 1630, they had established settlements around Massachusetts Bay at Dorchester, Roxbury, Watertown, Newtown (Cambridge), Charlestown, and Boston.

(5) New England Puritanism

- (a) Although most of the original colonists of New England were not Separatists, they wanted congregational church government.
- (b) The government was to enforce the commandments of God and to support pure religion. Accordingly, only church members could vote and taxes were levied to pay the salaries of the clergy. (The clergy themselves were not to take direct and active part in government.)

(6) Roger Williams and Rhode Island. Roger Williams, who arrived in 1631, was a Separatist and fell into disfavor with the Massachusetts fathers by taking the following positions:

- (a) The Church of England should be repudiated.
- (b) The Indians should be paid for the land taken by the English colonists.

(c) The separation of Church and State.

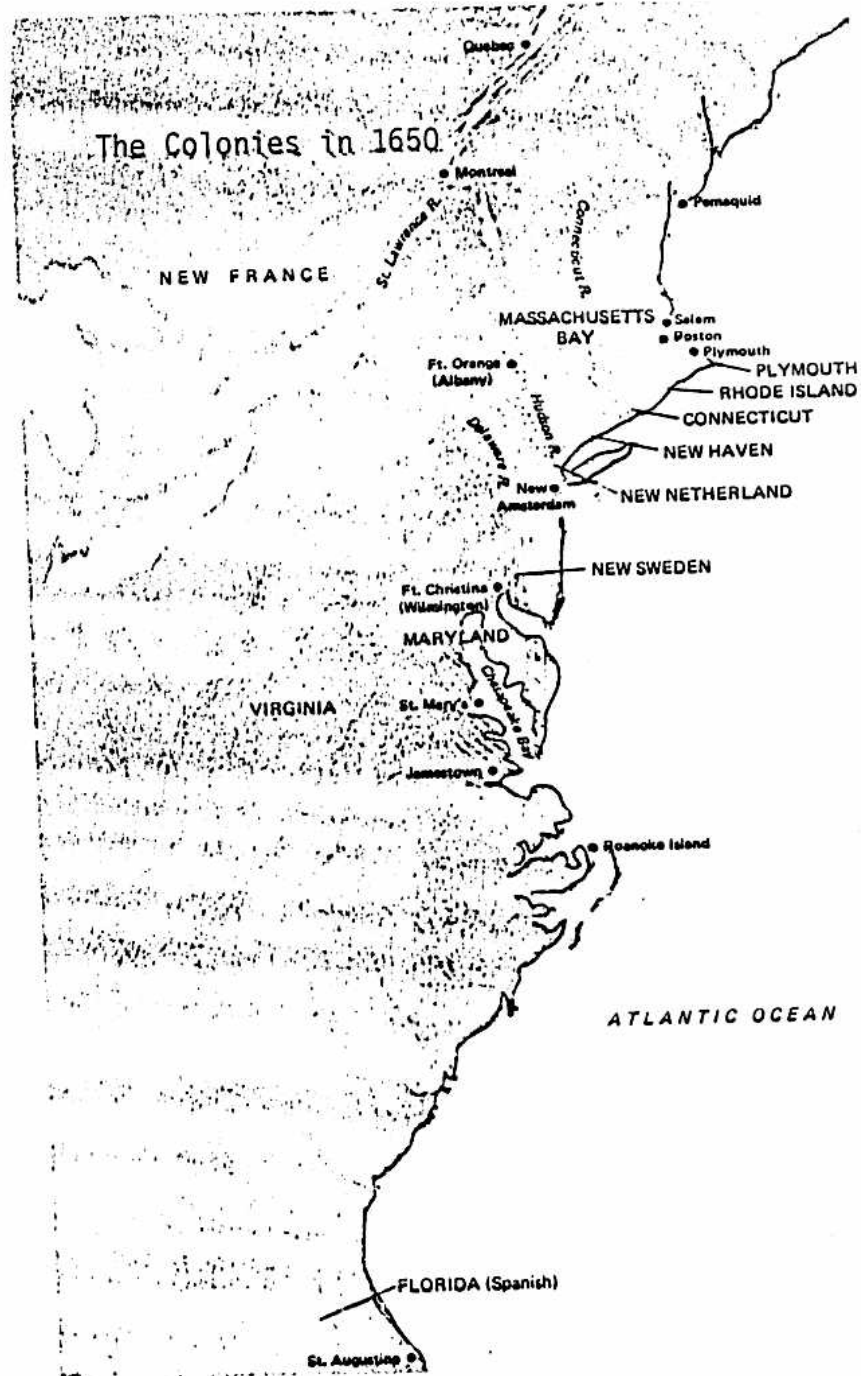
To preserve the unity of the Colony, he and those who agreed with him moved to Rhode Island in 1636. (Governor Winthrop banished him, although he was his good friend.) He received a charter for the colony from Parliament in 1644. The first Baptist congregation in America was established in Providence in 1639.

Because of the unique situation in Rhode Island, i.e. religious freedom, the colony became the gathering place of independent religious thinkers. Example: Anne Hutchinson was banished to Rhode Island from Massachusetts because she claimed direct revelations from God and taught that the Holy Spirit in the hearts of true believers relieved them of responsibility to obey the laws of God. She said that the Puritan emphasis on obedience and works led to the non-Calvinistic assumption that good deeds would get people to heaven.

c. Maryland

- (1) A proprietary venture, authorized by the king, involving aristocratic attempt at colonization.
- (2) George Calvert (Lord Baltimore) purchased rights (1620) in Newfoundland, but abandoned it because of the long winters. Calvert died in 1632, but his request for a charter farther south was granted to his son. He received 10 million acres on the Chesapeake Bay; this came to be Maryland. (named for Mary, queen of Charles I).
- (3) Maryland was to be a religious refuge for Catholics. Although official hostility to Catholicism had relaxed in England under Charles, Catholics were still required by law to take oaths and to attend religious services that conflicted with their beliefs. As it turned out, however, more Puritans came to the colony than Catholics.

- (4) The Calverts welcomed both Protestants and Catholics and tried to keep them from oppressing one another. When the Jesuits threatened to become too powerful, Baltimore (1641) forbade them to hold land in Maryland. The Puritan-dominated assembly (1649) consented to the famous Maryland Toleration Act, securing freedom of worship for all Christians, whether Protestant or Catholic, who believed in the Trinity. The Calverts upheld the act through successive generations and thus made their colony, like Rhode Island, a model of what the rest of America was one day to become.



II. Protestantism in America, 1607-1870

A. The beginnings: 1607-1730

1. The theological base of American Protestantism was Calvinism. The early colonists generally believed that God's law was the absolute standard for all human behavior; ecclesiastical, moral, social, and political.
2. The New England Puritans, and to a lesser extent Reformed Christians in the other colonies, used Covenant Theology as the paradigm for the construction of the state. Two early Americans who dominated the religious lives of their respective colonies in terms of Covenant Theology were:
 - a. Thomas Hooker (1586-1647) Connecticut
 - b. John Cotton (1584-1652) Boston
3. Dissent and decline
 - a. Dissent. Examples:
 - (1) Roger Williams (1603?-1683) previously discussed
 - (2) Anne Hutchinson (1591-1643) " "
 - b. Decline.
 - (1) The delicate theological distinctions of Calvinism began to blur and emphasis began to be placed on good works done in preparation for salvation.
 - (2) The gradual theological dilution of Puritanism was matched by a progressive cooling of the religious fervor that had characterized many of the country's first settlers. The second and third generation, in New England particularly, did not have the same enthusiasm for God that their fathers and grandfathers had had when confronted by spiritual deterioration in England. Toward the end of the 17th century, a heavy series of blows fell on the religious faith of the early Americans:
 - (a) War with the Indians saw the destruction of many lives and much property (1675-1678).
 - (b) In 1684 the English Parliament revoked Massachusetts's charter under which it had established its Puritan way of life.
 - (c) The hysteria over witchcraft in Salem in the early 1690's was a demoralizing influence and raised doubts as to the beauty and validity of Puritan society.

Examples of solid religious thought in the period of spiritual decline:

- (a) Boston minister Samuel Willard (1640-1707) published The Compleat Body of Divinity, a restatement of Calvinism and Covenant Theology, and the largest book published in America to that time. This work was the closest thing to a systematic theology that Puritanism's covenantal thought ever received.

- (b) Cotton Mather (1663-1728) battled for Puritan orthodoxy at the same time as he championed the new pietism from awakened Germany with its stresses on Christian activism and Godly feelings.

Decline of the Puritan code and ethic focused on certain emerging theological, philosophical, and moral trends.

Examples:

- (a) Arminianism, emerging especially from the Methodists.
- (b) Deism. Some, like the young Benjamin Franklin, poked fun at the efforts of old-guard Puritans to patch up old ways.
- (c) Worldliness. By 1700 the affairs of the land were dominated more by tavern life than by church life. Most people did not bother to seek church membership.

Increase Mather (1702): "Oh New England, New England! tremble, for the glory is going: it is gradually departing."

Thomas Bacon: "Religion among us seems to wear the face of the country, partly moderately cultivated, the greater part wild and savage."

American religion had entered into a period of sluggishness. This spiritual state paralleled the situation in England before the time of John Wesley, where gin addiction, rowdiness, and religious indifference were eating away at society.

4. Stirrings

- a. Theodore Frelinghuysen (1691-1747), minister of the Dutch Reformed Church in Raritan, New Jersey began to emphasize attitudes of the heart vs. orthodox theology.
- b. Gilbert Tennent (1703-1764), a Presbyterian neighbor of Frelinghuysen in New Brunswick picked up the cry and gave it even stronger language: repent and believe the gospel or suffer the fires of God's wrath.

B. The First Great Awakening, 1740f.

1. In the fall of 1740, George Whitefield made a remarkable tour (73 days; 800 miles; 130 sermons) through New England. Someone joked that Whitefield could bring an audience to tears simply by pronouncing the word "Mesopotamia." Benjamin Franklin attended a service in Philadelphia in order to measure the number of people Whitefield could speak to at one gathering with his marvelous voice. The rains of the First Great Awakening were falling, and, according to historian Edwin Gaustad, "nearly everyone got wet" in 1741-42.
2. Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758).
 - a. Pastor of Northampton, Massachusetts.
 - b. Beginnings of this the first revival of the century:

- (1) During a sermon on the wrath of God, the gallery of the church fell on the pews below. The occupants of the pews were saved only by the grace of God and the high backs of the pews.
- (2) In December 1734, a young woman described as the "greatest company-keeper in town" professed her penitence.

Tyler: "She was followed by many young people, the contagion spread to their elders, and soon salvation became the sole topic of interest. Regular business was almost suspended, and the meetinghouse and parsonage became the center of the town. It was a happy time for Edwards, for the millennium seemed at hand."

- c. Edward's famous sermon, "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God" is regarded as the monument and representative of the First Great Awakening (see Addendum H. Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God).

Introduction to the reading of Addendum H:

"While the people in neighboring towns were in great distress for their souls, the inhabitants of that town (Enfield) were very secure, loose, and vain," writes Benjamin Turnbull in his History of Connecticut. "A lecture had been appointed at Enfield, and the neighboring people, the night before, were so affected at the thoughtlessness of the inhabitants, and in such fear that God would, in his righteous judgment, pass them by, while the divine showers were falling all around them, as to be prostrate before him a considerable part of it, supplicating mercy for their souls. When the time appointed for the lecture came, a number of the neighboring ministers attended, and some from a distance. When they went into the meetinghouse, the appearance of the assembly was thoughtless and vain. The people hardly conducted themselves with common decency. The Rev. Mr. Edwards, of Northampton, preached, and before the sermon was ended, the assembly appeared deeply impressed and bowed down, with an awful conviction of their sin and danger. There was such a breathing of distress and weeping that the preacher was obliged to speak to the people and desire silence, that he might be heard. This was the beginning of the same great and prevailing concern in that place, with which the colony in general was visited." Turnbull heard this account from a minister, Mr. Wheelock, who was present when the sermon was preached.

Edward's pupil Samuel Hopkins thus describes his preaching: "His appearance in the desk was with a good grace, and his delivery easy, natural, and very solemn. He had not a strong, loud voice, but appeared with such gravity and solemnity, and spake with such distinctness, clearness and precision, his words were so full of ideas, set in such a plain and striking light, that few speakers have been so able to demand the attention of an audience as he."

Discussion #30: The Great Awakening, part #2; The American Revolution as a Theological Event; The Big Picture at 1800; The Second Great Awakening, part #1.

Reading: Addendum I. Camp Meeting Revivalism

3. The Great Awakening as a theological event: 1730-1770

The Calvinistic doctrine that emerged in the Great Awakening was so modified by the work of Jonathan Edwards that it has ever since been called Edwardian.

a. The impetus: Edwards bent his mind to study the revival in the light of the Bible.

b. The distinctive character of Edwardian Calvinism.

(1) He reaffirmed the traditional Calvinistic doctrine of the inability of the unregenerate to will to love and serve God. He reminded all that God is the ultimate source of all good and the ultimate cause of everything. ("... He designedly orders all things.") This was in contrast to the functioning theology in the Puritan segments of the colonial churches that put much weight on the significance of human effort and activity.

(2) He also affirmed, however, that every contrite soul, properly motivated, can be made available to God for regeneration, which regeneration leads to true repentance and faith. This was inconsistent Calvinism and represented a very close approximation to Arminianism and Wesleyanism. This softened the doctrine of depravity and Predestination lost its horror.

c. The effects of Edwardian theology.

(1) The New Divinity.

For at least a century after his death in 1758, when Protestants talked about salvation, they did so in terms made famous by Edwards. The numerous followers of Edwards came to be known as men of the New Divinity. They constituted the dominant theological strand in America until the start of the nineteenth century. Examples:

(a) Samuel Hopkins (1721-1803)

(b) Joseph Bellamy (1719-1790)

(2) The wave of theological speculation created an atmosphere of dead scholasticism.

Jonathan Edwards, Jr., for example, saw his New Haven, Conn. church lose more than four-fifths of its membership. The people were not being nourished spiritually by the dry, rationalistic scholarship that they heard from this theologian of the New Divinity.

d. Resistance and opposition to Edwardian theology.

(1) "Old Calvinists," such as Ezra Stiles (1727-1795), president of Yale College

(2) Rationalists and Unitarians began to write off discussion of man's depravity and God's absolute sovereignty as antiquated remnants of the past.

4. The decline of the First Great Awakening

a. Factors in the decline:

- (1) In Edwards's congregation, the spell was broken when one of those "under conviction," but who found no joyful experience of salvation, committed suicide. A "dead time" in religion followed.
- (2) Some of the promoters of the Awakening employed flamboyant and excessive tactics. This provoked sharp antagonistic feelings among those who opposed the Awakening as an emotional contagion.
- (3) The Great Awakening led to schism and disruption in the old churches. Offended clergy pointed to the excesses and to the prevalence of "backsliding" among the newly-zealous.
- (4) Many of Edwards's parishioners openly rebelled against the rigors of his doctrine. His relation with the church was dissolved in 1750. (In 1757 Edwards was chosen president of the College of New Jersey--now Princeton--and died of smallpox in 1758, the year of his inauguration.)
- (5) The followers of Edwards came to be called New Lights, and the orthodox Genevans were called the Old Light clergy. They wasted their energies in controversy and, in doing so, lost for the old churches much of the traditional allegiance of the people.

b. Exceptions to the general decline.

When Whitefield returned to America a few years later, he found that the First Great Awakening had cultivated the soil for his kind of preaching (both negatively and positively). He was received as an angel of God, and his progress through the countryside was marked by greater and greater crowds and more and more emotionalism. He discarded dogma for drama. Entirely without notes, but with gestures, laughter, songs, and tears he carried his audience with him to the realm of pure emotion.

C. The American Revolution as a theological event: 1770-1800

The great public concern for independence and for the construction of a new nation also exerted an influence on the course of theology in the country. The hold of Calvinism on the Protestantism of the country was loosened in the following ways:

1. The idea of Total Depravity did not stand up well to the belief that individuals had the inherent capacity to shape their own destinies. Men felt that they could, of themselves, do something good and progressive.
2. The "new thinking" (French Rationalism, et al.) undermined the view of man in Calvinism. Progress, perfectibility, individual worth, natural rights, and the goodness of the natural man were substituted for the old ideas of abased man saved from eternal punishment only by the interposition of an arbitrary Providence.
3. The authoritarian spirit of the old, and sometimes reactionary churches, ran counter to the new spirit of freedom of thought.

4. Those who opposed Calvinism most strenuously became Unitarians or abandoned Protestant Christianity entirely. But the ideas of the new nation had their effect on believers who questioned the old orthodoxy but continued to identify themselves with the church.

D. The Big Picture at 1800

By 1800 America was moving west. There were at least six major developments underway that would permanently alter the ways in which Protestants thought about God.

1. The relative theological unity of Protestantism was beginning to break up.
2. Protestant theology was dominating American life less and less and cooperating with it more and more.
3. Much of the enthusiasm for the church and God's activity in America was being transferred to America itself.
4. Protestant theology was exporting fewer ideas into American culture and importing more from it.
5. Where before 1800 the mind (theology) of the church tended to control the life of the church, after 1800 the life exerted more control over the mind.
6. The western movement produced a general decline in religion and morals.
 - a. The absence of organized churches in many areas.
 - b. Pressures of survival on the frontier.
 - c. Religious habits are easily broken in a highly fluid society.
 - d. English Deism and French skepticism was popular on the frontier.
 - e. The lack of education on the frontier moved religion from reason to emotion.
 - f. Unbelief and immorality fed on one another. J. M. Peck, a traveler, recorded in his diary conditions in St. Louis in 1817:

"This class (Anglo-Americans) despised and villified religion in every form, were vulgarly profane even to the worst forms of blasphemy, and poured out scoffings and contempt on the few Christians in the village. Their nightly orgies were scenes of drunkenness and profane revelry. Among the frantic rites observed were the mock celebration of the Lord's Supper, and burning the Bible. The last ceremony consisted in raking a place in the hot coals of a wood fire, and burying therein the book of God with shoutings, prayers, and songs."

Missionaries sent out by the Connecticut Missionary Society described conditions along the Ohio River in 1813:

"Everywhere, but especially in the Ohio River towns, they found that the Lord's Day was polluted by such things as visiting, feasting, hunting, fishing, drunkenness, and swearing. Across the river in Kentucky, the people added gambling, duelling, and horse-racing."

E. The Second Great Awakening: 1800 ff.

1. In the west

- a. James McGready (1758-1817) and the revival in Logan County, Kentucky. In 1797, James McGready made a covenant with his congregation to persevere in prayer for an outpouring of the Holy Spirit:

"When we consider the word and promises of a compassionate God, to the poor lost family of Adam, we find the strongest encouragement for Christians to pray in faith; to ask in the name of Jesus for the conversion of their fellow men. . . With these promises before us we fell encouraged to unite our supplications to a prayer-hearing God, for the outpouring of his spirit, that his people may be quickened and comforted, and that our children, and sinners generally, may be converted. Therefore we bind ourselves to observe the third Saturday of each month, for one year, as a day of fasting and prayer, for the conversion of sinners in Logan County, and throughout the world. We also engage to spend one-half hour every Saturday evening, beginning at the setting of the sun, and one half hour every Sabbath morning, at the rising of the sun, in pleading with God to revive his work."

By 1800 McGready could report that a revival had begun and was spreading in Kentucky.

b. Camp meetings

In the first years of the new century, Presbyterians McGready, Barton W. Stone, and others organized camp meetings in Kentucky. Thousands of rough frontiersmen, emotionally starved and with spiritual longings, camped together for several days to hear preaching and to socialize. (It was a toss-up whether more souls were saved than conceived.)

The most spectacular was the meeting at Cane Ridge, August 1801. Estimates vary as to the number in attendance, from 10,000 to 25,000. A few contemporaries called the events as this assemblage, "the greatest outpouring of the Spirit of God since Pentecost." Ministers of all persuasions were scattered about the grounds and preached simultaneously. Participants could wander about and choose the speakers (both black and white) they wanted to hear.

(See Addendum I. Camp Meeting Revivalism)

The continuing effects of the camp meeting phenomenon:

- (1) A general concern for religion was created.
- (2) The protracted revival meeting was firmly infused into mainstream Protestant methodology.
- (3) Many churches enjoyed new growth and spirit, especially the Baptists and Methodists. The Methodists, largely to the credit of the circuit-riding preachers, became by the 1840's the largest denomination in America.
- (4) Religious individualism led to endless schism.
- (5) The American Restoration Movement is the substance of GHI 243 Restoration History.

Discussion #31: The Second Great Awakening, part #2; Religion on the frontier; General theological concepts; Protestantism at its peak..revivalism; Summing up: the nineteenth century to 1870.

Reading: No reading assignment.

2. In the east

- a. In 1787, "revivals" broke out at two small Presbyterian colleges in Virginia, now known as Hampden-Sydney and Washington and Lee. These were the first signs on the Eastern Seaboard of the Second Great Awakening. Barton W. Stone was among those students who became enthused about the Gospel.
- b. Religion in New England colleges
 - (1) For a time rationalism and secularism penetrated deep into the New England colleges that had served as a training ground for orthodox clergy. Yale college became a hotbed of radicalism. Students called each other by the names of French radicals and met to discuss progress, perfection, and the rights of man. In 1799 only four or five Yale undergraduates professed religion. A contemporary wrote: "A young man who belonged to the church in that day was a phenomenon--almost a miracle." Unitarianism dominated the faculty at Harvard.
 - (2) The revival in the colleges. Timothy Dwight, grandson of Jonathan Edwards, became president of Yale College in 1795. Intellectuals met their debating match in Dwight who argued persuasively for the trustworthiness of the Bible. In 1802 a student revival at Yale witnessed the conversion of one-third of the student body (75 out of 225). It touched off a series of awakenings which revived eastern colleges periodically during the next fifty years. These revivals helped furnish trained manpower to lead the evangelistic surge in the nineteenth century. Newly converted graduates from eastern colleges frequently went west to shepherd the enthusiastic but uneducated congregations.

There were fifteen periods of revival at Yale in the first forty years of the nineteenth century. In writing of the revival of 1802 a participant recorded:

"Wheresoever students were found--in their rooms, in the chapel, in the hall, in the college-yard, in their walks about the city--the reigning impression was, 'surely God is in this place!' The salvation of the soul was the great subject of conversation, of absorbing interest."

Jedidiah Morse tried to combat Unitarianism in the Harvard faculty. He failed, and established a new theological school devoted to orthodox teaching, Andover Theological Seminary. He fought any innovation to theology, i.e., any departure from Edwardian theology. The hill on which Andover sat came to be called Brimstone Hill. One day the headmaster of the

Academy dismissed classes with the remark: "There will now be a prayer meeting; those who wish to lie down in everlasting burning may go, the rest will stay." (Only two hardy boys departed.)

In the west, Oberlin College in Ohio and Knox College in Illinois were founded by men from New England. The former became famous for both evangelicalism and reform movements, such as abolition, temperance.

- c. Missionary, Bible, and tract societies. Other forces were created to push the gospel westward. Examples:
- (1) The American Bible Society (1816)
 - (2) The American Tract Society (1825)
 - (3) The American Home Missionary Society (1826)

One historian wrote: ". . . the whole voluntary society apparatus launched a great 'saturation' campaign to save the Mississippi Valley and thus to save the nation. The goal was a Bible for every family, a Sunday school in every neighborhood, a pastor in every locality, and tracts in abundance. . . The statistics tell an incredible story of Bibles shipped, tracts distributed, Sunday schools organized, and churches established."

F. Religion on the frontier

1. Revival on the frontier was sparked both locally and from the East.
2. The isolation of the frontier made settlers eager to participate in any kind of community life. They took advantage of revival meetings as social as well as religious occasions.
3. The Presbyterians were in a good position, having been long-entrenched in the Allegheny region. But because they (and the Congregationalists) insisted on transmitting culture to the frontier along with religion, they had less appeal than the Baptists and the Methodists.
4. The Baptist groups did well on the frontier because of the simplicity of their doctrine and organization, and their emphasis on lay preachers. Baptist preachers were indigenous, rather than coming from eastern colleges, and they were largely self-supporting.
5. The Methodist Church was the most vigorous in frontier evangelism. Their organization was autocratic and centralized, and their first American bishop, Francis Asbury, was an aggressive, restless, and incredibly active person, well fitted to direct a team of circuit-riding preachers. It was said that only crows and Methodist preachers could regularly be found out in the rain. Methodist doctrine, however, was exceedingly democratic, emphasizing the gospel of free will and free grace, the belief that men are equal before the Lord, and that each must obtain his own salvation through conversion.
6. The few Catholics in the West were served by itinerate priests, except in the French settlements. The Catholic church looked to immigration from Catholic countries to build their church, and this was insignificant until the purchase of Louisiana. There were almost no Episcopalians on the frontier.
7. Frontier worship was often emotional, informal, lively, and filled with theological excesses.

G. General theological concepts of American Protestantism in this period.

1. Creeds as rigid tests of fellowship.
2. Fixed distinction between clergy and laity.
3. The misconception of a "level Bible."
4. The doctrine of Total Depravity.
5. Conversion as an experience with "extraordinary accompaniments." (Dreams, sights, sounds, visions, feelings, direct voice of God, etc. This was true both of Calvinists and Arminians.) The general result of this was that emotional people got converted and people more given to logic and reason drifted off into skepticism.
6. Christian union was regarded as impossible and undesirable. Division was regarded as essential to the purity of the church. American religious liberty was exploited to the fullest.

H. Protestantism at its peak (1800-1870). . . Revivalism

1. The Methodists and Charles Finney
 - a. The Christmas Conference at Baltimore in 1784 created a distinctly American Methodism. Under the leadership of Francis Asbury and Peter Cartwright, it had emerged (by 1844) as the largest Christian body in America.
 - b. Charles Grandison Finney (1792-1875)
 - (1) Finney was converted in the Presbyterian Church, but became dissatisfied with the "Edwardian Model" of conversion. Rather than think of God as choosing the time and means of the sinners conversion, he taught that God had established laws of conversion parallel to all other laws, such as those of nature. He conceived of revivals not as miracles, but as phenomena that could be created and promoted by following certain rules. He popularized "New Measures," such as "protracted" meetings, the "anxious seat," and itinerate evangelists.

Finney, Revivals of Religion (Fleming H. Revell, 1868), p. 254:

"If you say to him (the awakened sinner), 'There is the anxious seat, come out and avow your determination to be on the Lord's side,' if he is not willing to do so small a thing as that, then he is not willing to do anything, and there he is, brought out before his own conscience. It uncovers the delusion of the human heart, and prevents a great many spurious conversions, by showing those who might otherwise imagine themselves willing to do anything for Christ, that in fact they are willing to do nothing."

The church has always felt it necessary to have something of the kind to answer this very purpose. In the days of the

apostles baptism answered this purpose. The Gospel was preached and those who were willing to be on the side of Christ were called on to be baptized. It (baptism) held the precise place that the anxious seat does now, as a public manifestation of their determination to be Christians. 11

(2) The theology of Finney

- (a) Finney sought to combine elements of the American Reformed tradition and Wesleyan Perfectionism.
- (b) Finney taught that people had the ability within themselves to choose Christ and to choose to live the Christian life.
- (c) Christian perfection through the sanctifying work of the Holy Spirit. Finney became professor of theology at Oberlin College where Perfectionism was wedded to social reform.

(3) The preaching of Finney. Finney was the greatest evangelist of the nineteenth century before Moody. He preached in an emotional, terroristic, dramatic fashion. He was sometimes blunt, crude, extravagant, and abusive in his language. He preached against social ills as well as against spiritual sin. He was oratorical and pushed for a specific decision. Concerning results, a biographer states:

"During a service in which Charles Grandison Finney was preaching, a man who had brought a pistol to church with him to kill Finney tumbled from his seat crying, 'I am sinking into hell!' In Rochester, New York, nearly the entire bar of the city was converted; forty lawyers went into the ministry following Finney's efforts in that city. After hearing Finney a young and prosperous distiller in Auburn went to his warehouses, broke open the casks, and let the liquor flow into the streets. Throughout his life his preaching caused controversy. When Finney was called to Oberlin College as professor of theology, he agreed to come only if the school would be open to white and black students alike."

2. The Businessmen's Awakening (1857ff.)

In 1857 businessman Jeremiah Lamphier began the Fulton Street prayer meetings in New York City. A bell would ring if a man prayed or testified more than five minutes in these one-hour gatherings. The movement spread across the country. Telegraph companies allowed saints to send free telegrams to sinner friends urging them to be converted. (The South was unaffected by this revival.) Prayer meetings were followed by evangelistic campaigns and some six hundred thousand Americans turned to Christianity in this period.

3. The Civil War and after: revivalism under scrutiny

- a. Protestant unity had been badly shaken by social and theological divisions, yet it was the war that destroyed it utterly.
- b. During the war, revivals moved through the ranks, North and South.

- c. Johnny Reb and Yank shared a common evangelical faith, and often could be heard singing hymns together when the trenches or lines were close together.
 - d. Major denominations formally divided (to be discussed later).
4. Dwight L. Moody (1837-1899)
- a. This famous former shoe salesman was a pivotal figure in re-shaping the revival tradition in America during the last third of the nineteenth century.
 - b. Moody borrowed and expanded many of Finney's "New Measures." He held protracted services, used the "seat of decision," choosing not to call it the "anxious seat" after the Methodist pattern. He urged sinners to "come forward." He declared: "It makes no difference how you get a man to God provided you get him there."
 - c. Moody's theology. Church historian James Johnson: ". . . an Arminian up to the cross, but Calvinist beyond it."
 - d. Moody began the method of setting up local committees of laymen and ministers who assumed responsibility for organizing and preparing for the meetings. Moody and Sankey, his soloist, would arrive only a day before the campaign to make certain that all was in order. In later years as his operations grew, Moody took more of a hand in preparation. He attempted to standardize procedures.
 - e. Because he found that inquirers in his huge "hippodrome" services were receiving inadequate teaching and that the long-term benefits of mass evangelism were in question, he gave his latter years to founding schools where children and young people could be grounded in the faith. These were
 - (1) Northfield Seminary for Girls (1879)
 - (2) Mount Herman School for Boys (1891),
 - (3) The Bible Institute of Chicago (1889), now Moody Bible Institute.

I. Summing up: the nineteenth century to 1870

1. The desire to return to Christian roots combined with the desire to move with the prevailing spirit of nineteenth-century American culture helped shape a distinctive evangelical theology.
 - a. The desire to look back; examples.
 - (1) Confessional Lutherans such as Krauth and Walther returned to a renewed study of Luther and the Augsburg Confession.
 - (2) Old School Presbyterians such as Hodge reasserted the importance of Calvin and the Reformed theologies of the 17th century.
 - (3) The Campbell-Stone movement.
 - b. The desire to move with the times; examples.
 - (1) The Campbell-Stone movement emphasized a new spirit of religious independence.
 - (2) "American" Lutherans such as Schmucker adapted the revivalist tradition to Lutheranism.
 - (3) New School Presbyterians such as Henry B. Smith adapted revivalism to American revivalism.
 - (4) The Evangelical arm of the Episcopal Church went far to accommodate itself to American Protestantism.
2. American Protestantism in the 19th century was full of optimism.

Discussion #32: Protestantism in America, 1870-1930, part #1

Reading: L. 1349-1358; 1418-1427.

III. Protestantism in America, 1870-1930

- A. The general setting
 - 1. Transition from rural to ^urban society; agricultural to industrial economy.
 - 2. Advance of technology, travel, etc.
 - 3. America becomes a world power.
- B. Challenges of modern life and thought
 - 1. Evolution
 - a. Darwinism called into question the traditional way of understanding the Bible.
 - b. Darwinism implied that man himself is involved in evolution to the extent that a new philosophy was required. This was provided by Herbert Spencer, Systematic Philosophy (1862-1893).
 - c. The German "scientific" study of the Bible challenged the Evangelical mind. Germany was the mecca of American scholars.
 - 2. Changing values in American life
 - a. Immigration
 - b. The depersonalization of gigantic industrialism
 - c. The rise of materialism
- C. The liberal accomodation to modernity

By the 1920's, various Protestant theologians had developed a distinctly new religious perspective, known then as "Modernism," later as "Liberalism." Example: Shailer Matthews, The Faith of Modernism (1924):

"If we think of God as creating man through the process of a divinely guided evolution, we shall set forth salvation as a continuation of the processes by which humanity from its first days more and more has appropriated God's personal influence. . . The Modernist will not insist upon miracles, but he believes that God is active and mysteriously present in the ordered course of nature and social evolution."

- D. The task of traditional Protestant theology (Evangelicalism)
 - 1. To defend the name of true Christianity against the Modernists who wanted the sanction of Protestant tradition without the substance of Protestant faith.
 - 2. To maintain the vitality and integrity of evangelical theology in the face of the great changes in American life.
 - 3. To make a convincing response to new forms of thought, particularly evolutionary science.

E. Defenders of the Faith

1. Methodist: John Miley (1813-1895), Systematic Theology. He argued that the Christian faith rests on four sturdy pillars:
 - a. Proofs of God from nature
 - b. The truth of the Bible
 - c. Man's own religious character
 - d. The experiential facts of a religious life (It "works.")
2. Southern Baptist: Edgar Youngs Mullins (1860-1928), Why is Christianity True? Mullins argued for the truthfulness of the historic faith on the following grounds:
 - a. Physical nature
 - b. The New Testament
 - c. Christian experience
 - d. Christian history
3. Presbyterians:
 - a. Charles Hodge, What is Darwinism (1874)
 - b. B. B. Warfield (1851-1921) of Princeton Seminary. Warfield expanded his views on Scripture in several scholarly articles in the International Standard Bible Encyclopedia (1915).
 - c. J. Gresham Machen (1881-1937). Machen, a student of Warfield and later a professor at Princeton encapsulated the Presbyterian response to Modernism in a book Christianity and Liberalism (1923). Walter Lippman, famed journalist, called this book a "cool and stringent defense of orthodox Protestantism." In Machen's volume, Protestants of the 1920's, and also to the present, possessed a classic counter to the drift of Protestant Liberalism away from Christian truth.
4. The Fundamentals
 The most noteworthy response to Liberalism was that offered by a team of Evangelicals working in concert. Between 1910 and 1915 the Testimony Publishing Company, located on the grounds of Moody Bible Institute, produced twelve booklets that bore the collective title The Fundamentals. The project was financed by Lyman and Milton Steward, owners of the Union Oil Company of Los Angeles. The Fundamentals were sent without charge to pastors, evangelists, missionaries, theological professors, seminary students, and other religious leaders throughout the English-speaking world. Although a few of the articles were light-weight and therefore useless, the bulk of the nearly one hundred articles met the liberal challenge head on. When the word fundamentalist later became the party label for an anti-intellectual and intolerant approach to orthodoxy, many refused to read the solid and competent evangelical theology gathered in The Fundamentals.
5. Interdenominational Fundamentalism
 - a. Origin.
 Groups within the major Protestant denominations organized conferences or conventions to combat the abandonment of orthodoxy.

The term Fundamentalist came to be the label of any person or group who would publicly affirm allegiance to the "fundamentals of the faith" in opposition to Liberalism or even those who would manifest a generous, scholarly spirit of orthodoxy.

- b. The high water mark of Fundamentalism.
Fundamentalism reached its climax of intensity and publicity in the decade during and after World War I. A huge World Bible conference (1919) in Philadelphia led to the organization of the World Christian Fundamentals association. A campaign of great intensity was directed toward Liberals and evolutionists. Because of pressure from this powerful segment of Protestantism, antievolution laws were passed in Tennessee, Mississippi (1926), Arkansas (1928), and Texas (1929).
- c. The later history of Fundamentalism.
The Fundamentalist associations broke up or lost their drive, but they left a strong body of theological conservatism in most of the major Protestant denominations. (See discussion on Evangelicalism.)
- d. The Five Points of Fundamentalism.
 - (1) Plenary inspiration and inerrancy of Scripture
 - (2) The Deity of Jesus
 - (3) The Blood Atonement
 - (4) The Bodily Resurrection of Jesus
 - (5) The Premillennial return of Jesus
- e. The character or tone of Fundamentalism.
 - (1) Anti-scholarship
 - (2) Hyper-literalistic hermeneutics
 - (3) Evangelistic outreach
 - (4) Isolationism

F. Dispensationalism

- 1. John Nelson Darby (1800-1882) and the Plymouth Brethren
- 2. Scofield Reference Bible, 1909
- 3. J. E. Blackstone, Jesus is Coming
- 4. Association with Fundamentalism and low scholarship
- 5. Lewis Sperry Chafer (1871-1952), a student and colleague of Scofield, author of the 8-volume Systematic Theology (1947), "unabridged, Calvinistic, premillennial, dispensational," the best summation of dispensational theology. As the first president of Dallas Theological Seminary and editor of the journal Bibliotheca Sacra, Chafer has been the most influential dispensationalist theologian in the United States.
- 6. Principles of dispensationalism
 - a. The Old Testament as the hermeneutical norm
 - b. Selective hyper-literalism in interpretation
 - c. A sharp distinction drawn between national Israel and the Church
(Since the Church is not in the prophets, Messianic promises to Israel can be fulfilled only in national Israel and in the future.)
- 7. The significance of the term
Various divisions of God's dealings or dispensations have been proposed by dispensationalists, but the seven-fold plan offered by C. I. Scofield is the best known: Innocence (before Adam's sin), Conscience (to the time of Noah), Human Government (from Noah to Abraham), Promise (from Abraham to the Ten Commandments), Law (under the

Ten Commandments), Grace (from the time of Christ's first to His second coming), and Kingdom (the millennium). (See Addendum J.)

8. The influence of dispensationalism
 - a. Very strong in Baptist, especially independent Baptists, and Pentecostal groups (including the Assemblies of God).
 - b. Pockets of strength among churches of the Reformed tradition.
 - c. Represents a hermeneutic that is foundational to cultism.
 - d. Because futurism, rather than the plan of salvation, holds center-stage for many dispensationalists, it has often produced a climate of neurotic futurism.
 - e. Because dispensationalists tend to be enthusiastic about their views and tend to equate it with fidelity to Scripture, dispensationalism has a well-deserved reputation for divisiveness.
9. The character of dispensationalism
 Dispensationalism is a recent, minority view that represents a major departure from the Protestant theological heritage.

G. The Holiness Movement and Pentecostalism

1. Source: The Wesleyan theological heritage; second work of grace, perfectionism.
2. Methodism was torn by schism throughout the 19th century over the question of sanctification. Major groups rising from Methodism:
 - a. Wesleyan Methodist
 - b. Free Methodist
 - c. The National Holiness Association (1867)
 - d. The Church of the Nazarene
 - e. Church of God, Anderson, Indiana
 - f. Christian and Missionary Alliance
 - g. Assemblies of God
 - h. Pilgrim Holiness
 - i. Foursquare Church

See Addendum K. The Dividing of Protestantism

3. The crucial issue of Holiness theology: the work of the Holy Spirit in the believer. Working from the Augustinian concept of Grace as an infused moral force and conversion and sanctification as miraculous processes, holiness logically perceives of absolute moral perfection and has difficulty reconciling this doctrine with the way people really are.
4. Pentecostalism
 - a. The unsatisfactory results of the "second work of grace" (in terms of logical expectations) led many to look for another level of activity of the Holy Spirit in the believer.
 - b. A Holiness preacher Charles F. Parham of Kansas (1873-1929) began to teach that the believer could and the church should look beyond the "second blessing" to claim the miraculous manifestations witnessed by the Church in the Book of Acts. Parham set up a "school" in a building in Topeka, gathered about 40 students, and set them to the task of seeking the "Baptism of the Holy Ghost." On New Year's Eve, 1900, one of his students, Agnes N. Ozman, asked Parham to lay hands on her as she prayed. She began to speak in "tongues." Pentecostals look back on this moment as one

of the key dates in their history. They point to it as the first time since the days of the early Church that the Baptism in the Holy Spirit had been sought, where speaking in tongues was expected as the initial evidence. (The group that was praying in Topeka was praying specifically for "tongues" as a sign of the third blessing of the Spirit.

c. The Azusa Street revival

In 1906, one of Parham's black students, W. J. Seymour (d. 1923) received an invitation to speak at a black Holiness church in Los Angeles. He charged his hearers, "Anyone who does not speak in tongues is not baptized with the Holy Spirit." This confused his congregation, because they conceived of the Baptism of the Spirit as the second blessing or sanctification. Nevertheless he preached until "fire fell." Seymour rented an old Methodist church on Azusa Street and a "revival" was in progress there for over three years.

From this Azusa Street Mission went out teaching on the gifts and baptism of the Holy Spirit that has shaken the Christian world in the twentieth century. It deserves more than a passing notice that this movement, more than any other 20th-century development in evangelical theology, owes its origin and continued life to the spiritual vitality of Bible believers from the black community.

d. The theology of Pentecostalism

- (1) An extension of Wesleyan "Holiness"
- (2) The "Baptism of the Holy Spirit" as a third stage in the believers life, always marked by speaking in "tongues" and often marked by miraculous healing. Later Pentecostal leaders often revised this point to make the "baptism" the second work, relegating Sanctification to a gradual, life-long process rather than an immediate experience.
- (3) Arminian
- (4) Perfectionistic
- (5) Dispensational
- (6) Charismatic (claiming all the miraculous gifts of the Spirit)
- (7) The inclusion of healing and other miracles with salvation is often known as "Full Gospel."

e. Major divisions in Pentecostalism

- (1) In 1914 the Assemblies of God held that sanctification is a "finished work," separate from the "baptism" and broke off from the main body of Pentecostals.
- (2) About 1915 a "Jesus only" movement led to further controversy. The adherents of this view, who later formed the black Pentecostal Assemblies of the World and the white United Pentecostal Church, insisted that God the Father and God the Holy Spirit were only different names for Jesus. This "Pentecostal Unitarianism" was a major source of contention until its defenders separated into their own bodies.

f. Pentecostalism and the battle with Liberalism

Pentecostal enthusiasm, being subjective and experiential, as well as being isolated from the main body of Protestantism, escaped the traumas of battles with Liberalism. They were thus in a better position to expand during the 1930's than other Protestants who had been through the "religious wars." This oblivion to theological polemics has allowed the modern "charismatic" movement to associate with and, in some cases, absorb those whose theology is Liberal, as well as Roman Catholicism.

Discussion #33: Protestantism in America, 1870-1930, part #2; Protestantism in America, 1930-Present, part #1.

No reading assignment.

H. Revivalism

1. R. A. Torrey (1856-1928)

- a. Did not agree with Moody that the day of great revivals was over and that they were of questionable value.
- b. 1901 How to Promote and Conduct a Successful Revival With Suggestive Outlines:

"Revival is in the air. Thoughtful ministers and Christians everywhere are talking about a revival, expecting a revival, and best of all, praying for a revival. There seems to be little doubt that a revival of some kind is coming, but the important question is, What kind of revival will it be? Will it be a true revival, sent of God because His people have met the conditions that make it possible for God to work with power, or will it be a spurious revival gotten up by the arts and devices of man?"

(Torrey became the target of criticism for allegedly using "commercial tactics" in organizing his own campaigns in England.)

2. Billy Sunday (1862-1935)

- a. William "Billy" Sunday, a Chicago White Stocking baseball player, was converted in 1886 outside the Pacific Garden Mission in Chicago. A few years later he turned his hand to full-time revival campaigns. As a result, mass evangelism received a major boost. Unfortunately, it also received some unsightly blemishes.
- b. Sunday's career crested between 1914 and 1919 with campaigns in Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Boston, Los Angeles, Washington, and New York (a claim of 98,000 converts in the latter city).
- c. The style and content of Sunday's preaching
 - (1) Arch-conservative; fundamentalistic
 - (2) Emphasis on immediate and emphatic decision. He used the "sawdust trail."
 - (3) Emphasis on morality
 - (4) His language was straightforward, often bordering on the crude. "I want to preach the gospel so plainly that men can come from the factories and not have to bring along a dictionary." Examples:

"The bars of the Church are so low that any old hog with two or three suits of clothes and a bank roll can crawl through."

"You can find anything in the average church today, from a humming bird to a turkey buzzard."

"The Lord may have to pile a coffin on your back before He can get you to bend it."

"The safest pilot is not the fellow that wears the biggest hat, but the man who knows the channels."

"If a man goes to hell he ought to be there, or he wouldn't be there."

"When your heart is breaking you don't want the dancing master or the saloon-keeper. No, you want the preacher."

"I believe that cards and dancing are doing more to ~~dam~~the spiritual life of the Church than the grog-shops--though you can't accuse me of being a friend of that stinking, dirty, rotten, hell-soaked business."

"Whiskey is all right in its place--but its place is in hell."

1. "Character needs no epitaph. You can bury the man, but character will beat the hearse back from the graveyard and it will travel up and down the streets while you are under the sod. It will bless or blight long after your name is forgotten."

"Some people pray like a jack-rabbit eating cabbage."

"It won't save your soul if your wife is a Christian. You have got to be something more than a brother-in-law to the Church."

"The more oyster soup it takes to run a church, the faster it runs to the devil."

- (5) Interest in social ills, especially industrial oppression and the liquor traffic. Many historians credit Sunday with the passage of the eighteenth amendment. Excerpt from one of his famous "booze"-sermons:

The Saloon a Coward

As Dr. Howard said: "I tell you that the saloon is a coward. It hides itself behind stained-glass doors and opaque windows, and sneaks its customers in at a blind door, and it keeps a sentinel to guard the door from the officers of the law, and it marks its wares with false bills-of-lading, and offers to ship green goods to you and marks them with the name of wholesome articles of food so people won't know what is being sent to you. And so vile did that business get that the legislature of Indiana passed a law forbidding a saloon to ship goods without being properly labeled. And the United States Congress passed a law forbidding them to send whisky through the mails.

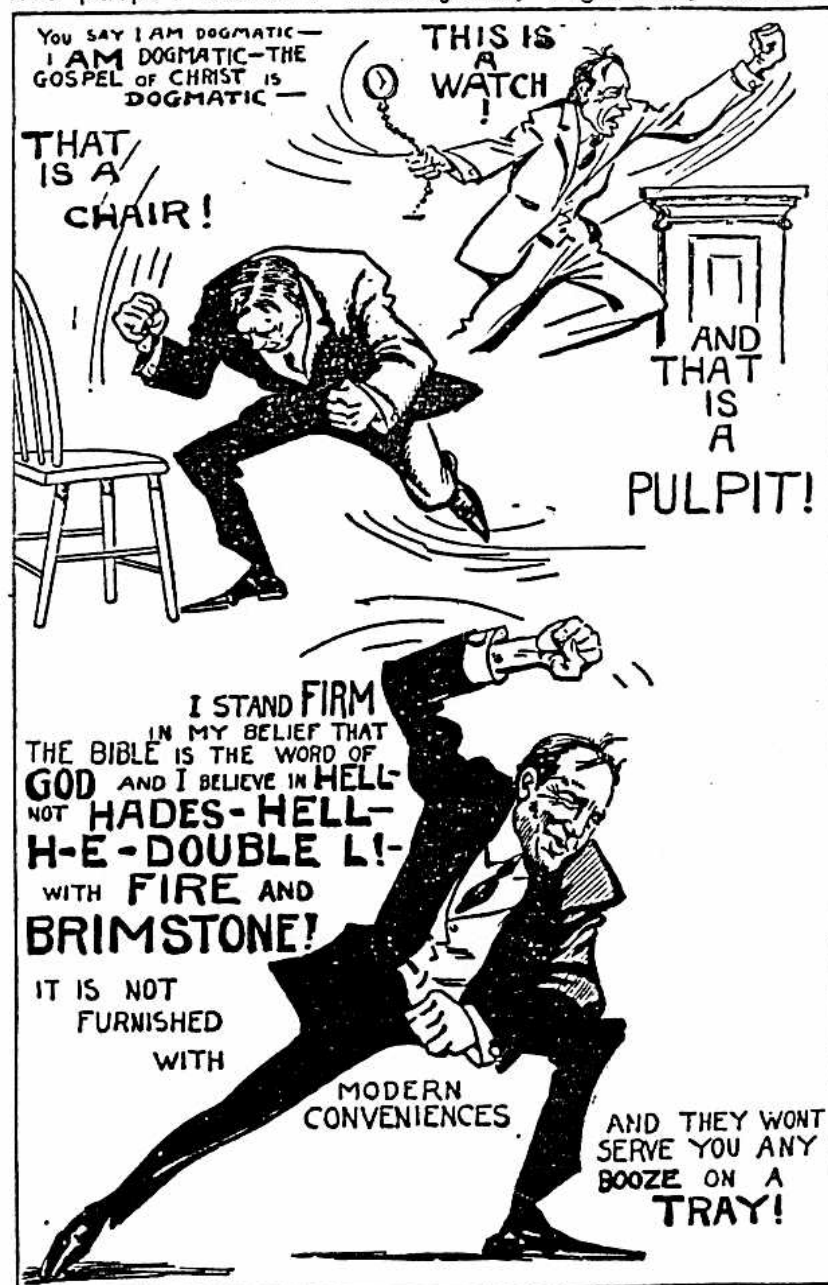
I tell you it strikes in the night. It fights under cover of darkness and assassinates the characters that it cannot damn, and it lies about you. It attacks defenseless womanhood and childhood. The saloon is a coward. It is a thief; it is not an ordinary court offender that steals your money, but it robs you of manhood and leaves you in rags and takes away your friends, and it robs your family. It impoverishes your children and it brings insanity and suicide. It will take the shirt off your back and it will steal the coffin from a dead child and yank the last crust of bread out of the hand of the starving child; it will take the last bucket of coal out of your cellar, and the last cent out of your pocket, and will send you home bleary-eyed and staggering to your wife and children. It will steal the milk from the breast of the mother and leave her with nothing with which to feed her infant. It will take the virtue from your daughter. It is

the dirtiest, most low-down, damnable business that ever crawled out of the pit of hell. It is a sneak, and a thief and a coward.

It is an infidel. It has no faith in God; has no religion. It would close every church in the land. It would hang its beer signs on the abandoned altars. It would close every public school. It respects the thief and it esteems the blasphemer; it fills the prisons and the penitentiaries. It despises heaven, hates love, scorns virtue. It tempts the passions. Its music is the song of a siren. Its sermons are a collection of lewd, vile stories. It wraps a mantle

about the hope of this world and that to come. Its tables are full of the vilest literature. It is the moral clearing house for rot, and damnation, and poverty, and insanity, and it wrecks homes and blights lives today.

(6) His pulpit manner: flamboyant, vigorous, athletic.



EVERY MUSCLE IN HIS BODY PREACHES IN ACCORD WITH HIS VOICE.

3. Revivalism loses its appeal
 - a. Billy's Sunday emotional preaching and bombastic speech reinforced a negative image of the revivalist in action. Sinclair Lewis's novel Elmer Gantry (1927) added a few finishing touches to the image.
 - b. Protestantism no longer dominated America's religious loyalties.
 - c. Revivalism was identified with Fundamentalism and this lost its appeal to those who gave more weight to education.
 - d. Revivalism was kept alive by such evangelists as John R. Rice.

I. Summary: The "Americanization" of Protestantism.

1. Revivalism. Where people previously were taught that the church was the primary agent of God's activity in the world, they now were faced with the novel situation in which local congregations were no longer the center of action.
2. Individualism
 - a. Many American Protestants began to consider the entire history of the church as one long tale of corruption. The "authority" of the past was rejected in many circles.
 - b. The concept of personal salvation often became private salvation. Neo-Calvinistic and Revivalist ideas downgraded the theological significance of the local church.
 - c. Individualism robbed the clergy of their authority.
 - d. Individualism decreased the feeling of the necessity of inter-denominational cooperation.
 - e. The local church became a voluntary association functioning to aid the individual Christian in practical goals such as spiritual growth and the gaining of converts.
3. Denominationalism
 - a. No particular denomination could sustain a claim to be the "true church."
 - b. Denominations and sub-groups proliferated.
 - c. Extra-church agencies eroded a high view of the church in that they were fully capable of performing the work of the church.

IV. Protestantism in America, 1930-Present

- A. The impact of the Great Depression
 1. A hostile national mood was directed by champions of secular humanism against "Fundamentalists."
 2. The Depression produced a crisis of confidence in theological liberalism. Mankind did not seem to be getting better and better.
- B. The resurgence of Evangelical Protestantism
 1. Evangelicalism was suffering the after-shocks of the Fundamentalist-Modernist controversy. Scholarly and reasoned Protestantism of the traditional and orthodox tradition had been painted black by the same brush used to discredit the Fundamentalists.
 2. Evangelical Protestantism had succeeded in maintaining considerable vigor through the 40's and 50's.
 - a. Through radio. Examples:
 - (1) Walter A. Maier "The Lutheran Hour"
 - (2) Charles A. Fuller "Old Fashioned Revival Hour"
 - (3) Joel Nederhood "Back to God Hour" (Christian Reformed Church)
 - b. Through periodicals. Examples:
 - (1) Sunday School Times

- (2) Christian Life
 - (3) Eternity
 - (4) The Reformed Journal
 - (5) Christianity Today
 - c. Revivalism: Example, Billy Graham
 - d. Colleges and seminaries. Examples: Asbury, Bethel, Calvin, Concordia, Conservative Baptist Seminaries, Dallas, Fuller, Gordon-Conwell, Reformed, Trinity, Westminster.
 - e. Scholarly publications. Examples:
 - (1) O. T. Allis, The Five Books of Moses (1949)
 - (2) E. J. Young, An Introduction to the Old Testament (1949)
 - (3) The New International Commentary on the New Testament
 - (4) Geerhardus Vos, Biblical Theology (1948)
 - (5) George Ladd, A Theology of the New Testament (1974)
3. Stability regained. An attractive and well-reasoned case for traditional Protestant orthodoxy was established. Examples:
- a. Edward J. Carnell (1919-1967) of Gordon and Fuller seminaries. Major works: Christian Commitment: An Apologetic (1957); The Case for Orthodox Theology (1959). In these he put Evangelicals and non-Evangelicals alike on notice that sane, reverent, evangelical theology could still be written in 20th-century America.
 - b. Bernard Ramm (b. 1916). His book The Christian View of Science and the Scripture (1954) punctured the myth that had pictured Evangelicals as unanimously hostile to the practice of modern science.
 - c. Carl F. H. Henry (b. 1913), professor at Fuller and Northern Baptist seminaries; founding editor (1956) of Christianity Today. Major works: Remaking the Modern Mind (1946); The Protestant Dilemma (1948).
 - d. John Warwick Montgomery (Lutheran, Missouri Synod). Major works: History and Christianity; The Suicide of Theology
 - e. Cornelius Van Til (professor emeritus at Westminster Theological Seminary). The New Modernism, 1946; The Defense of the Faith, 1955. His apologetic is called "presuppositionalism." Van Til offers the experience of conversion as the starting place in apologetics.

Reading Assignment: Addendum L. "Charismatic Unity in Kansas City," Christianity Today (August 12, 1977):36-37.

C. The Battle for the Bible

1. Until the early 1960's or so, Evangelical Protestants worked out of the consensus that the Bible was not only the "Revealed word of God," but that it was inerrant in the autographs. The Evangelical Theological Society (founded in 1949), had brought together scholars from the Reformed, Arminian, and dispensational quarters of the evangelical community on the affirmation: "The Bible alone, and the Bible in its entirety, is the Word of God written, and therefore inerrant in the autographs."
2. Issues which fractured Evangelical unity:
 - a. Modern tongues-speaking.
 - b. Dispensationalism. The founding of the state of Israel set off a passionate obsession with futuristic prophecy.
 - c. The ecumenical movement
 - d. The publication of the Revised Standard Version of the Bible (1952). (The fact that the National Council of Churches sponsored its translation created more suspicion about it than the quality of the text itself.)
3. The battle in the 60's and 70's; the "New Evangelicals"
 - a. In 1962 the faculty of Fuller Theological Seminary issued a new statement on the Bible: "All the books of the Old and New Testament, given by divine inspiration, are the written Word of God, the only infallible rule of faith and practice." (No statement of inerrancy.) They argued that the Bible did not intend to speak with modern standards of accuracy in mind. It existed to communicate the message of salvation. In 1975, Fuller's Paul King Jewett published a book Man as Male and Female in which he argued that Paul had erred in his discussion of male-female hierarchy by violating his more basic teaching on the equality of all people in Christ.
 - b. In 1973, Jacob A. O. Preus, president of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, at the governing convention of the church released a statement supporting a high view of biblical inerrancy. A 58% majority vote of the delegates approved a resolution that brought about the resignation of John H. Tietjen as president of Concordia, the denomination's seminary at St. Louis. Tietjen was suspected of compromise on the inerrancy question. In protest to this removal a large number of the school's faculty and students left to found a "Seminary in Exile."
 - c. Less spectacular debates are taking place among Southern Baptists, Presbyterians in the South, churches of the Campbell-Stone tradition and others.
 - d. Factors leading to the appearance of more liberal views of Scripture in evangelical circles:
 - (1) The renewed openness by Evangelicals to higher education.
 - (2) The use by "New Evangelicals" of the argument that inerrancy was a recent innovation, dating from the work of A. A. Hodge and B.B. Warfield in the 1870's and 1880's. ("Inerrancy" has been the common belief of Christians since N.T. days, although the word has not been used.
 - (3) Evangelical scholars have had their energies diverted to new translations of the Bible and have not had the time to produce the first-rate articles and books to deal with the issues.

Parentetical study: Factors leading to the extensive acceptance by Americans of the trustworthiness of the Bible.

1. Europeans came to North America had a high respect for the Bible and they created this tradition in American thought.
2. Periodic revivals in America have provided a reservoir of belief in Scripture and a defense against negative criticism of the Bible.
3. American Protestants have developed the fluid habit of creating new institutions when established ones seemed to compromise Christian orthodoxy, including an orthodox position on the Bible.
4. The confident rejection of the Bible that characterized an earlier day has given way to a general impression that the Bible is much more accurate and trustworthy than some had previously suspected. The contributions to the understanding of the relation of the Bible to ancient history by such scholars as those in W. F. Albright's "Baltimore school" of archaeology and the work of Ramsay in New Testament history and his refutation of the Tubingen School have dramatically increased confidence in the Bible.
5. Americans by the millions have found that the Bible speaks to the heart. They care about the Bible.

D. The Neo-Charismatic movement--the Pentecostal penetration of other churches in the 1950's and following.

1. The principal avenues of approach.
 - a. David du Plessis a leader in the Pentecostal church in South Africa came to America and began to make it his personal ministry to introduce the "Baptism in the Holy Spirit" to the leaders of major denominations, especially liberal and liturgical groups.
 - b. Demos Shakarian, a California dairyman, founded the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International. They publish three journals: Voice, Vision, and View, which feature a series of testimonies.
2. Episcopal Churches. Dennis Bennett, rector of St. Mark's Church in Van Nuys, California, introduced tongue speaking into his congregation in 1960, after professing to have received the gift himself. About 70 members are said to have received the gift subsequently. Dissension arose in the congregation and Bennett left, but became the rector of St. Luke's Church in Seattle, Washington. About one-fourth of all Episcopalian Churches are now charismatic.
3. Presbyterian Churches. Tongue speaking has been reported in the Bel Air Church in Los Angeles. The First Church in Hollywood, California, is the largest Presbyterian Church in the world. In 1972 there were over 600 members there who spoke in tongues. This phenomena has been reported in United Presbyterian Churches in Pennsylvania and in other parts of the United States.
4. Lutheran Churches. An article in Time magazine on July 10, 1964, reported that, at that time, at least 260 of the 5,239 American Lutheran Churches had "cells" of tongue speakers.

5. Roman Catholic Churches. A report in Christianity Today, March 31, 1972, reported the establishment of a Roman Catholic Pentecostal Parish at St. Charles, Illinois. In that year leaders in what is called the "Catholic Pentecostal Movement" held a national conference at Notre Dame University at which over 8,000 were present.
6. Other denominations. The Charismatic movement has penetrated Methodist, Reformed, Baptist, Christian, and other groups. Harold Bredezen, pastor of the First Reformed Church at Mt. Vernon, N.Y., received the gift of tongues at a Pentecostal camp meeting in Pennsylvania. He was the one responsible for the introduction of tongue-speaking into a campus group at Yale University. The very liberal and staid Hillcrest Christian Church (Disciples) in Toronto, Ontario, has been penetrated and many of its members speak in tongues, prophesy, see dreams and visions, and heal the sick.
7. Pentecostal penetration in the 70's. See Addendum L. "Charismatic Unity in Kansas City," Christianity Today August 12, 1977:36-37.

E. Neo-orthodoxy (see p. 94)

1. Other designations: dialectical theology; theology of crisis
2. The basic approach of Barth et al.
 - a. God did not and does not reveal Himself objectively in space-time.
 - b. The naturalistic version of space-time (evolution) is to be accepted.
 - c. God reveals Himself to man subjectively only (Existentialism). The Bible, therefore, is a divine revelation only inasmuch as men have recorded their experiences of God. (Inerrancy is irrelevant.)
 - d. These experiences are not subject to objective historical analysis.
 - e. There exists a dualism of historical vs. theological truth.
3. The penetration of Neo-orthodoxy into present-day Protestantism.
 - a. Neo-Orthodoxy has overshadowed classic Liberalism in the left wings of Protestantism.
 - b. In evangelical Protestantism, the mark of Neo-orthodoxy is seen in the "Battle for the Bible" (see p. 159). Many who deny the historical concept of inerrancy hold that Jesus is the final authority in Christianity rather than the Bible. The Bible becomes "a human witness to divine revelation." According to this view, revelation was not necessarily supernaturally present in the recording of the revelation.

Discussion #35: The Division of Protestantism, part #1.

Reading: L. 1477-1506

V. The Division of Protestantism

A. The primary motive(s) in separatism

1. To establish a purer church.

2. Roger Williams, prototype of American separatists.

When Roger Williams arrived in New England in 1631, he rejoiced to find such a pure expression of Christian faith and practice. Because the "purified" churches of New England would not break formal ties with the "corrupt" Church of England, Williams refused a ministerial call from the Boston church: "I durst not officiate to an unseparated people, as upon examination and conference, I found them to be."

Williams left Massachusetts Bay for the stricter separatism of the Pilgrims at Plymouth Colony. Here he was offended because some of the members of the Plymouth churches who returned to England for visits worshipped in Anglican churches there. When the leaders of the Plymouth Colony failed to accept his opinion on the matter, he returned for a time to Massachusetts. When he left for good and went to Rhode Island, Williams's separatistic views later led him to argue that one should not pray in the company of "nonbelievers." For a brief period he even restricted Christian fellowship to just his wife.

B. The Great Awakening and division

1. Charles Chauncy (1705-1787), a prominent Boston minister, rejected the theology of the Great Awakening (Edwardian revivalism), and his rejection laid the groundwork for Unitarianism and Universalism.

2. The four basic evangelical groups emerging from the Great Awakening.

- a. The most conservative; Old Calvinist Congregationalists in New England and Old Side Presbyterians in the middle colonies. This group affirmed traditional Reformed theology.
- b. New Light Congregationalists and New Side Presbyterians; shared the general Edwardian perspective. They had no serious objections to the way colonial churches were set up.
- c. The Separate or Strict Congregationalists felt that the established church was corrupt and, in order to see biblical teachings more strictly applied, separated from the established churches and began congregations of their own.
- d. The Baptists. They agreed with the theology of the New Lights, but could not unite with them because of other doctrinal differences.

Some of these divisions were later healed, but many, such as the Baptists, resulted in permanent division.

C. Division from the Great Awakening to 1800

From the Revolution, Americans took strong ideas about the sanctity of natural rights and the dangers of governmental interference in personal affairs. What could be more a natural right than the privilege of constructing a relationship with God on terms of determined by oneself? In keeping with the implications of this concept of freedom, American

Christians came gradually to assume that no denomination could be favored by law and that no law could interfere in the peaceable internal functions of the churches. This type of thinking strikes the 20th-century American as commonplace, but in the 18th century where a unified, legally established church was still the norm throughout the Western world, the American argument was a novelty. European Christians into the 19th century did not entertain the idea that they were capable of creating churches and charting their courses. The hardy individualism of Revolutionary thought encouraged the bent toward ecclesiastical separatism. Modern historians have called the idea of the church developing in this time "voluntarism." By this is meant the belief that churches originate or are supported by the voluntary acts of their members.

D. Division in the 19th century

1. Modernists vs. "Fundamentalists" (previously discussed)
2. The American Restoration Movement (discussed in GHI 243)
3. The Cumberland Presbyterian Synod of Kentucky separated from its parent body in 1813. These separating Presbyterians desired more active participation in the frontier revivals, looser education standards for ordination, and a revision of the strictly Calvinistic Westminster Confession.
4. The Free Methodists separated from the Methodist Church in 1860 when they concluded that the Wesleyan doctrine of perfection was not receiving proper attention.
5. The Reformed Episcopal Church divided from the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States in 1873 in order to proclaim a more strictly Reformed theology.
6. The Holiness-Pentecostal movement (previously discussed)
7. The Southern Baptists organized their own convention in 1845. The Baptist Board of Foreign Missions rejected the application of James E. Reeves of Georgia because he was a slaveholder. The SBC was set up as an independent convention.
8. In 1845 the Methodist Church divided between north and south because of differences over slavery.
9. In 1843 a group of Methodists calling themselves the Wesleyan Methodists divided from the main Methodist body. Their platform was a call for a return to the original Wesleyan standards for living and preaching.
10. In 1864 the Lutheran Church split between those who desired to accommodate European Lutheranism to American life and those who wished to retain the distinctive character of the European heritage. The General Synod continued to represent mostly American views; a new General Council was formed for those who maintained the opposing viewpoint.
11. The most complex series of ecclesiastical separations in the 19th century involved the Presbyterians.
 - a. Old Schoolers (not necessarily representing the Old Side Presbyterians of the 18th century) held

Syllabus incomplete here.

E. Division in the 20th century

For a complete catalogue of Protestant denominations and a brief history of each, see Arthur Carl Piepkorn, Profiles in Belief Vol. 2. New York: Harper and Row, 1978.

1. Presbyterians.

- a. In 1936 a group of Presbyterians under the leadership of J. Gresham Machen (see p. 150) separated from the northern Presbyterian church. The major issues were theological compromise by the parent body.
- b. Division of ~~the~~ this separatist Presbyterian body.
In 1938 Carl McIntire parted company with Machen. The issues:
(1) Machen rejected dispensationalism, McIntire adopted it.
(2) Machen wanted denominational control over mission work, McIntire was willing to employ interdenominational agencies.
(3) Machen felt that the Bible allows the use of alcohol, McIntire argued for abstinence.
(Machen allowed for latitude in practice, McIntire in doctrine)
In the final division, the Bible Presbyterian Church of McIntire became a distinct body from the Evangelical Presbyterians represented by Machen.
- c. In the 1960's, the Presbyterian Church of America separated from the PCS (Presbyterian Church in the United States or southern Presbyterian church). Again the issue was theological liberalism.

2. Baptists

- a. In the early 1920's, the Fundamentalist Fellowship and the Baptist Bible Union emerged to challenge the liberal tendencies of the Northern Baptist Convention.
- b. In the 1940's, the Conservative Baptist group split from the Fundamentalist Fellowship over the question of liberalism.

3. Lutherans

- a. Three main bodies represent Lutheranism in America.
 - (1) The American Lutheran Church
 - (2) Lutheran Church in America
 - (3) The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod
- b. In Dec. 1976, the more liberal forces (see "Battle for the Bible, p. 159) broke with the Missouri Synod to form the Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches.

4. The Independents

- a. Militant Fundamentalists and the "New Evangelicals."
Representatives of militant Fundamentalism still refuse to cooperate with the Billy Graham Association, the National Association of Evangelicals, Youth for Christ, or other interdenominational groups because the latter have not cut themselves off from all "impure" groups. Militant Fundamentalists call such organizations "New Evangelicals." Charles Woodbridge, a spokesman for this kind of Fundamentalism says: "New Evangelicalism advocates toleration of error. It is following the downward path of accommodation to error, cooperation with error, contamination by error, and ultimate capitulation to error."

- 100
- b. Two very loose organizations of separatistic Baptists, the Baptist Bible Fellowship, International, and the Baptist Missionary Association, have grown rapidly since WW II. These bodies place great emphasis on dynamic leadership of a forceful pastor. They have learned that the way to get a separatistic movement off the ground is to recruit an energetic pilot.

Parentetical discussion of American separatism:

1. In the proper zeal to defend the doctrinal purity of Christianity, separatists have sometimes given the impression that they have attained the whole truth and thus are able to leave behind those whose wisdom and fidelity have not come up to par. Perhaps too little attention has been given to Christ's ideal of unity.
2. Separating Christians have tended to overlook gradations of importance in Christian truth and practice. The Fundamentalist movement was, among other things, an attempt to isolate and identify the essential issues upon which a stand must be taken. Fundamentalists, however, have too-often been willing to separate over less-important matters.
3. Separation is sometimes the only way to rescue the Christian faith from corruption. Reformers-from-within have had a notable lack of success.

Reading: Addendum M: "Introduction," The Black Church Since Frazier.

VI. Protestantism in the black community

A. Before the Civil War

1. Methodists and Baptists, and to a lesser extent, Presbyterians, evangelized the slave community. Because of the local autonomy in Baptist churches and because of their use of lay preachers, the larger number of slaves were attracted to the Baptists.
2. Revivalism was attractive to the slave community.
3. Many slaves worshipped in segregated white congregations. Others had informal "congregations" connected to white churches. The leadership of the preacher was recognized as far as the white masters were willing to concede to him this role among the slaves. Although the masters were unwilling to tolerate any form of organized activities among the slaves, different members of the "congregations" played various roles according to their talents as singers or according to their ability to influence other slaves to get converted or attend religious services. White control of these congregations was never relaxed.
4. The "invisible institution."
Although all forms of organized social effort ~~were~~ forbidden, slaves were often permitted to "steal away to Jesus" and have private, informal services. Sometimes they were conducted in secret when they were not permitted, especially when abolitionist activity intensified. An ex-slave wrote of the "invisible institution:"

"Our preachers were usually plantation folks just like the rest of us. Some man who had a little education and had been taught something about the Bible would be our preacher. The colored folks had their code of religion, not nearly so complicated as the white man's religion, but more closely observed... When we had our meetings of this kind, we held them in our own way and were not interfered with by the white folks."

5. The church among free blacks.

a. Source of free blacks:

- (1) Twenty Negroes were sold to the Virginia settlers by a Dutch man-of-war in 1619. These were indentured servants and not slaves. They were apparently freed after seven years. Some of them acquired land and established a community of free blacks in America.
- (2) Children born of free blacks.
- (3) Mulatto children born of black mothers.
- (4) Children of free black and Indian parentage.
- (5) Mulatto children born of white servants or free women.
- (6) Slaves who were set free.

b. Location of free blacks.

The blacks who were free before the Civil War were concentrated in the areas where the plantation system either had not taken root or had died out. The majority were concentrated in the cities, both North and South.

c. Baptist churches among free blacks.

The oldest or next to the oldest black Baptist church to be established in the United States was due to the efforts of George Liele, a slave born in Virginia about 1750 and taken by his master to Georgia before the Revolutionary War. As the result of accompanying his master, who was a deacon, to church he was converted and baptized. Because of his "unusual ministerial gifts," he was permitted to preach on the plantations and later he was liberated by his master to carry on his work as a minister. His master was killed in the Revolutionary War and when the heirs raised some questions about his free status, Liele followed the British when they evacuated Savannah. Before leaving Savannah, he baptized Andrew Bryan and some other blacks who became the founders of the African Baptist Church in Savannah. Bryan and his brother were severely persecuted, including whippings and torture. His master came to his defense, and he was permitted to conduct his services in a barn. Through the assistance of influential friends he was able to collect funds in order to purchase a lot upon which he built a church building. When his master died, the heirs of the estate gave him an opportunity to purchase his freedom. The church however, remained under the control of the heirs of his master's estate and the worship of the communicants continued to be supervised by whites. When Bryan died in 1812, he was the acknowledged and respected leader of the religious life of blacks in Georgia.

Independent Baptist churches were established by blacks in Southern states, Maryland, Virginia, Georgia, and Kentucky, and in Northern cities, Boston, New York City, and Philadelphia.

d. Methodism among free blacks.

Outstanding black preachers embraced the Methodist faith and were pioneers in establishing congregations among their fellow slaves and freedmen. One famous black preacher, known as Black Harry, accompanied Asbury in some of his work. He was declared by Dr. Benjamin Rush to be the greatest orator in America.

Richard Allen in 1794 organized, under the original name of the Free African Society, churches after the Methodist form of worship. This group came to be called the African Methodist Episcopal Church. The church was formally established in Philadelphia in 1816. The break came as a result of Allen and other blacks being mistreated at the St. George Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia. Black attendance had increased and they were removed from the seats around the wall and ordered to sit in the gallery. Mistaking the section of the gallery which they were to occupy, Allen and the others were almost dragged from their knees as they prayed. They left the church and together with other black members founded the Free African Society.

e. Blacks and the Episcopal Church.

Absalom Jones, one of those mistreated in Philadelphia with Allen, led the majority of the dissidents in the organization of the African Protestant Episcopal Church. Peter Williams was the first black to be ordained a priest in the Protestant Episcopal Church. His father, Peter Williams, Sr., a sexton for a number of years at

the John Street Methodist Church (an integrated congregation), joined the general movement away from white churches and, along with others formed the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church.

B. After the Civil War

1. After the Civil War, the small black membership which remained in the Methodist Episcopal Church South was permitted to organize a separate body. Thus, there came into existence the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in Jackson, Tennessee, in 1870. In these various Methodist and Baptist church organizations, nearly a half of the blacks remained up into the 1960's.
2. The black church after the '60s. See Addendum C. Eric Lincoln, "Introduction," The Black Church Since Frazier (New York: Schocken Books, 1970), pp. 103-110.

VII. Ecumenicity and Reunion

Among ecclesiastical groups of the more liberal persuasions, there has begun and there continues a program to encourage and develop external unity among and between groups that represent denominational divisions within and from the Protestant tradition. The general approach is to speak of "unity in Christ" without addressing specifics concerning the view to be taken concerning the Deity of Christ or concerning a doctrine of salvation. The emphasis is generally upon social action rather than evangelism. Many within this movement have aligned themselves with socialism in recent decades.

A. The Ecumenical Movement

1. In modern times the way was prepared for the EM by cooperative undertakings in the field of foreign missions, home missions, and social service, by international youth movements, i.e., YMCA, YWCA, Student Christian Federation, and Evangelical Alliance.
2. A new chapter began in 1910 when the World Missionary Conference met in Edinburgh under the chairmanship of John R. Mott. The continuation committee of this meeting became the International Missionary Council which held its most significant world meetings in Jerusalem (1928) and Madras (1938). At the Edinburgh Conference, foundations were laid for the Faith and Order movement, which at its world meetings in Lausanne (1927) and Edinburgh (1937) gathered the churches to discuss problems of faith and order about which churches are divided.
3. The World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches was formed in 1914 in order to mobilize the churches for common action in the realm of international relations.
4. Late in 1919 and early in 1920 Nathan Söderblom of Sweden issued an appeal to the churches to enter into cooperation in the field of "life and work," that is, of social and moral action. This and other appeals led to the Stockholm Conference on Life and Work (1925), which was followed by the Oxford Conference (1937) on

Church, Community, and State.

5. The movements for Life and Work and the movement for Faith and Order joined to form the World Council of Churches.
 6. The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America.
 - a. The National Council of Churches is the official interdenominational organization of 25 Protestant denominations and four Eastern Orthodox bodies. It came into being in Cleveland, Ohio, Nov. 1950. It is a merger of eight interdenominational bodies:
 - (1) Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America
 - (2) Foreign Missions Conference of North America
 - (3) Home Missions Council of North America
 - (4) International Council of Religious Education
 - (5) The Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada
 - (6) National Protestant Council on Higher Education
 - (7) United Council of Church Women
 - (8) United Stewardship Council
 - b. The National Council includes more than 143,949 local congregations (1952).
 - c. The governing body is the General Assembly, which meets biennially. It consists of approximately 600 delegates officially named by cooperating denominations.
 - d. The NCC functions through four major divisions:
 - (1) Christian Education
 - (2) Christian Life and Work
 - (3) Home Missions
 - (4) Foreign Missions
 - e. The National Council Outlook is the official organ.
- B. Examples of churches joining in an organic unity
1. The United Church of Christ (1957). Evangelical and Reformed Church and the General Council of the Congregational Christian Churches.
 2. The United Methodist Church (1939). Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and the Methodist Protestant Church.

Addendum A: The Sale of Indulgences by Tetzel

Instructions issued by Albert of Mainz.

The first grace is the complete remission of all sins; and nothing greater than this can be named, since sinful man, deprived of the grace of God, obtains complete remission by these means and once more enjoys God's grace; moreover, through this remission of sins the punishment which one is obliged to undergo in purgatory on account of the affront to the Divine Majesty is all remitted, and the pains of purgatory completely blotted out. And although nothing is precious enough to be given in exchange for such a grace -- since it is a free gift of God and grace is beyond price -- yet in order that Christian believers may be the more easily induced to procure the same, we establish the following rules, to wit:

In the first place, every one who is contrite in heart, and has made oral confession, shall visit at least the seven churches indicated for this purpose, to wit, those in which the papal arms are displayed, and in each church shall say five Paternosters and five Ave Marias in honour of the five wounds of our Lord Jesus Christ, whereby our salvation is won, or one Miserere, which psalm is particularly well adapted for obtaining forgiveness of sins....

The method of contributing to the chest for the construction of said fabric of the Chief of the Apostles.

Firstly, the penitentiaries and confessors, after they have explained to those making confession the greatness of this kind of plenary remission and of these privileges, shall ask them for how large a contribution, in money or in other temporal goods, they would wish, in good conscience, to be spared this method of full remission and privileges; and this is to be done that they may be more easily induced to contribute. And because the conditions of men, and their occupations, are so various and manifold, and we cannot consider and assess them individually, we have therefore decided that the rates can be determined thus, according to recognized classifications....

(Then follows a graded schedule of rates: kings and their families, bishops, etc., 25 Rhenish gold guilders; abbots, counts, barons, etc., 10; lesser nobles and ecclesiastics and others with incomes of 500, 6 guilders; citizens with their own income, 1 guilder; those with less, $\frac{1}{2}$. Those with nothing shall supply their contribution with prayer and fasting, 'for the kingdom of heaven should be open to the poor as much as the rich'.)

The second principal grace is a 'confessional' (confessional letter) replete with the greatest, most important and hitherto unheard of privileges....

Firstly, the privilege of choosing a suitable confessor, even a regular of the mendicant orders....

(The other privileges include the power given to this confessor to absolve in cases normally 'reserved' for the Apostolic See.)

The third important grace is the participation in all the benefits of the Church universal; which consists in this, that contributors toward the said building, together with their deceased parents, who have departed this world in a state of grace, shall now and for eternity be partakers in all petitions, intercessions, alms, fastings, prayers, in each and every pilgrimage, even those to the Holy Land; furthermore, in the stations at Rome, in masses, canonical hours, mortifications, and all other spiritual benefits which have been, or shall be, brought forth by the universal, most holy Church militant or by any of its members. Believers who purchase confessional letters may also become participants in all these things. Preachers and confessors must insist with great perseverance upon these advantages, and persuade believers not to neglect to acquire these benefits along with their confessional letter.

We also declare that in order to obtain these two most important graces, it is not necessary to make confession, or to visit the churches and altars, but merely to procure the confessional letter....

The fourth important grace is for those souls which are in purgatory, and is the complete remission of all sins, which remission the pope brings to pass through his intercession, to the advantage of said souls, in this wise: that the same contribution shall be placed in the chest by a living person as one would make for himself. It is our wish, however, that our subcommissioners should modify the regulations regarding contributions of this kind which are given for the dead, and that they should use their judgement in all other cases where, in their opinion, modifications are desirable.

It is, furthermore, not necessary that the persons who place their contributions in the chest for the dead should be contrite in heart and have orally confessed, since this grace is based simply on the state of grace in which the dead departed, and on the contribution of the living, as is evident from the text of the bull. Moreover preachers shall exert themselves to make this grace more widely known, since through the same, help will surely come to departed souls, and the construction of the church of St. Peter will be abundantly promoted at the same time....

Addendum B: The Ninety-Five Theses, 1517.

(The theses were posted on the door of the Castle Church in Wittenberg on 31 October 1517. This was the usual procedure for giving notice of such disputations, which were a regular feature of University life, and there was nothing dramatic in the action. Luther was confident that he would have papal support when he had exposed the evils of the traffic in indulgences.)

A disputation of Master Martin Luther, Theologian, for the elucidation of the virtue of Indulgences.

From a zealous desire to bring to light the truth, the following theses will be maintained at Wittenberg, under the presidency of Rvd. Fr. Martin Luther, Master of Arts, Master of Sacred Theology and official Reader therein. He therefore asks that all who are unable to be present and dispute with him verbally will do so in writing. In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

1. Our Lord and Master Jesus Christ, in saying 'Repent ye, etc.,' meant the whole life of the faithful to be an act of repentance.

2. This saying cannot be understood of the sacrament of penance (i.e. of confession and absolution) which is administered by the priesthood.

3. Yet he does not mean interior repentance only; nay, interior repentance is void if it does not externally produce different kinds of mortifications of the flesh.

4. And so penance remains while self-hate remains (i.e. true interior penitence); namely right up to entrance into the kingdom of heaven.

5. The pope has neither the wish nor the power to remit any penalties save those which he has imposed at his own will or according to the will of the canons.

6. The pope has no power to remit guilt, save by declaring and confirming that it has been remitted by God; or, to be sure, by remitting the cases reserved to himself. If he neglected to observe these limitations the guilt would remain.

7. God does not remit the guilt of any without subjecting him to be humbled in all respects before the priest, God's vicar.

8. The canons of penance are imposed only on the living, and nothing ought to be imposed on the dying in accordance with them.

9. Hence the Holy Spirit does well for us through the pope, by always making exception in his decrees, in the case of the article of death and of necessity.

10. Those priests who, in the case of dying, reserve canonical penances for purgatory, act ignorantly and unrightly.

11. That tares concerning the changing of canonical penance into penance in purgatory seem surely to have been sown when the bishops were asleep.

12. Canonical penances were of old imposed not after absolution but before, as evidence of true contrition.

13. The dying pay all their dues by their death and are already dead to the laws of the canons, having relaxation from their jurisdiction.

14. Any deficiency in spiritual health or in charity on the part of a dying man must needs bring with it fear, and the greater the deficiency the greater the fear.

15. This fear and dread is enough of itself (to pass over all else) to effect the penance of purgatory, since it is but little removed from the dread of despair.

16. In fact, the difference between Hell, Purgatory, and Heaven seems to be the same as that between despair, almost despair and confidence.

17. It seems certain that for souls in purgatory charity is increased in proportion as dread is diminished.

18. It does not seem to be proved, either by any arguments or from Scripture, that such souls are debarred from earning merit or from increasing in charity.

19. Nor does this seem to be proved; that they are sure and confident of their own blessedness; or, at least that all are so, though we may be quite sure of it.

20. The pope by his plenary remission of all penalties does not understand the remission of all penalties absolutely, but only of those imposed by himself.

21. Therefore those preachers of indulgences are in error who allege that through the indulgences of the pope a man is freed from every penalty.

22. For he remits to souls in purgatory no penalty which they had been bound, according to the canons, to pay in this life.

23. If any complete remission of penalties can be given to any one it is sure that it can be given only to the most perfect; that is, to very few:

24. And therefore it follows that the greater part of the people is deceived by this indiscriminate and liberal promising of freedom from penalty.

25. The same power over purgatory which the pope has in general, is possessed by every bishop and curate in his particular diocese and parish.

26. The pope does well in giving remission to souls, not by the power of the keys (he has no such power) but through intercession.

27. Those who assert that a soul straightway flies out (of purgatory) as a coin tinkles in the collection-box, are preaching an invention of man (*hominem praedicant*).

28. It is sure that when a coin tinkles greed and avarice are increased; but the intercession (*suffragium*) of the church is in the will of God alone.

29. Who knows whether all souls in purgatory wish to be redeemed? (Remember the story told of S. Severinus and S. Paschal.)

30. No one is sure of the truth of his contrition, much less about the consequence of plenary remission.

31. A man who truly buys his indulgences is as rare as a true penitent, that is, very rare.

32. Those who think themselves sure of salvation through their letters of pardon will be damned for ever along with their teachers.

33. We must especially beware of those who say that those pardons of the pope are that inestimable gift of God by which man is reconciled to God.

34. For these gifts of pardon apply only to the penances of sacramental satisfaction which have been established by man.

35. Those who teach that contrition is not needed to procure redemption or indulgence are preaching doctrines inconsistent with Christianity.

36. Every Christian who is truly contrite has plenary remission both of penance and of guilt as his due, even without a letter of pardon.

37. Any true Christian, living or dead, partakes of all the benefits of Christ and the Church, which is the gift of God, even without letters of pardon.

38. Still the pope's distribution and pardon is not to be despised, since it is, as I have said, a declaration of divine remission.

39. It is very difficult, even for the most learned theologians, to emphasize, in their public preaching, the bounty of indulgences and, at the same time, the need for true contrition.

40. True contrition asks for penance and accepts it with love; but the bounty of indulgences relaxes the penalty and induces hatred of it. Such at least is its tendency.

41. Apostolic pardons are to be preached with caution lest the people should suppose that they are more important than other works of charity.

42. Christians must be taught that it is not the intention of the pope that the buying of pardons is to be regarded as comparable with works of mercy.

43. Christians are to be taught that to give to the poor or to lend to the needy is a better work than the purchase of pardons.

44. And that because through a work of charity, charity is increased and a man advances in goodness; whereas through pardons there is no advance in goodness but merely an increased freedom from penalty.

45. Christians are to be taught that a man who sees a brother in need and passes him by to give his money for the purchase of pardon wins from himself not the indulgences of the pope but the indignation of God.

46. Christians are to be taught that unless they have an abundant superfluity of means they are bound to keep back what is needful for their own households and in no wise to squander their substance on the purchase of pardons.

47. Christians are to be taught that the purchase of pardons is a matter of free choice, not of commandment.

48. Christians are to be taught that in dispensing pardons the pope has more desire (as he has more need) for devout prayer on his behalf than of ready money.

49. Christians are to be taught that the pope's pardons are useful if they do not put their trust in them, but most harmful if through them they lose the fear of God.

50. Christians must be taught that if the pope knew the exactions of the preachers of indulgences he would rather have S. Peter's basilica reduced to ashes than built with the skin, flesh and bones of his sheep.

51. Christians are to be taught that the pope (as is his duty) would desire to give of his own substance to those poor men from many of whom certain sellers of pardons are extracting money; that to this end he would even, if need be, sell the basilica of Saint Peter.

52. Confidence in salvation through letters of indulgence is vain; and that even if the commissary, nay, even if the pope himself, should pledge his soul as a guarantee.

53. They are the enemies of Christ and of the people who, on account of the preaching of indulgences, bid the word of God be silent in other churches.

54. A wrong is done to the word of God when in the same sermon an equal or a longer time is devoted to indulgences than to God's word.

55. This must needs be the intention of the pope; that if the granting of pardons, which is an affair of little importance, is celebrated with a single bell, with single processions and ceremonies, then the Gospel, which is the most important thing, should be preached with the accompaniment of a hundred bells, a hundred processions, a hundred ceremonies.

56. The treasures of the church, whence the pope gives indulgences, are neither sufficiently designated nor known among the people of Christ.

57. It is at least clear that they are not temporal treasures, for they are not scattered abroad but only collected by these numerous sellers of indulgences.

58. Nor are they the merits of Christ and the saints, for these, without the pope's aid, work the grace of the inner man and the crucifixion, death and descent to hell of the outer man.

59. Saint Lawrence said that the poor were the treasures of the Church, but in speaking thus he was using the language of his own time.

60. Without rashness we say that the keys of the Church, given by the merit of Christ, are that treasure.

61. For it is clear that for the remission of penalties and the absolution of (special) cases the power of the pope alone suffices.

62. The true treasure of the Church is the sacrosanct Gospel of the glory and grace of God.

63. But this is deservedly most hated, since it makes the first last,

64. Whereas the treasure of indulgences is deservedly most popular, since it makes the last first.

65. Thus the Gospel treasures are nets, with which of old they fished for men of riches.

66. The treasures of indulgences are nets, with which they now fished for riches of men.

67. Indulgences, according to the declarations of those who preach them, are the greatest graces; but 'greatest' is to be understood to refer to them as producers of revenue.

68. They are in fact of little account as compared with the grace of God and the piety of the cross.

69. Bishops and curates are bound to admit the commissaries of the apostolic pardons with all reverence.

70. But still more are they bound to apply their eyes and ears to the task of making sure that they do not preach the figments of their own imagination instead of the pope's commission.

71. If any one speaks against the truth of the apostolic pardons, let him be anathema and accursed.

72. But blessed be he that strives against the wanton and disorderly preaching of the sellers of pardons.

73. As the pope justly inveighs against those who by any device contrive the detriment of the business of pardons,

74. So much the more he intends to inveigh against those who use the pretext of pardons to contrive the detriment of holy charity and truth.

75. To hold that papal pardons are of such power that they could absolve even a man who (to assume the impossible) had violated the mother of God is to rave like a lunatic.

76. We say, on the contrary, that papal pardons cannot take away the least of venial sins, as regards guilt.

77. To say that not even if Saint Peter were pope could he give greater graces, is a blasphemy against Saint Peter and the pope.

78. We say, as against this, that any pope, even Saint Peter, has greater graces than these, to wit, the Gospel, virtues, graces of administrations (or of healings), etc. as in I Cor. xii.

79. It is blasphemy to say that the cross adorned with the papal arms is as effectual as the cross of Christ.

80. Bishops, curates and theologians who allow such teaching to be preached to the people will have to render an account.

81. This wanton preaching of pardons makes it hard even for learned men to defend the honour of the pope against calumny, or at least against the shrewd questions of the laity.

82. They ask: Why does not the pope empty purgatory on account of most holy charity and the great need of souls, the most righteous of causes, seeing that he redeems an infinite number of souls on account of sordid money, given for the erection of a basilica, which is a most trivial cause?

83. Why do requiems and anniversaries of the departed continue, and why does he not return the benefactions offered on their behalf, or suffer them to be taken back, since it is now wrong to pray for the redeemed?

84. What is this piety of God and the pope, in allowing the impious and hostile to secure, on payment of money, a pious soul, in friendship with God, while they do not redeem of free charity a soul that is of itself pious and beloved, on account of its need?

85. The penitential canons have long been repealed and are dead in effect and by disuse. Why then are dispensations from them still conceded by indulgences, for payment, as if they were still in full force?

86. The pope's riches at this day far exceed the wealth of the richest millionaires (cuius opes sunt opulentissimis Crassis crassiores), cannot he therefore build one single basilica of S. Peter out of his own money, rather than out of the money of the faithful poor?

87. What does the pope remit or dispense to those who through perfect contrition have the right to plenary remission and dispensation?

88. What greater good would be gained by the Church if the pope were to do a hundred times a day what he does once a day; i.e. distribute these remissions and dispensations to any of the faithful?

89. If the pope by means of his pardons now seeks the salvation of souls rather than payment, why does he suspend letters and pardons formerly granted, since they are equally efficacious?

90. To suppress these careful arguments of the laity merely by papal authority, instead of clearing them up by a reasoned reply, is to expose the Church and the pope to the ridicule of the enemy and to render Christians unhappy.

91. Now if pardons were preached according to the spirit and mind of the pope all these questions would easily be disposed of; nay, they would not arise.

92. And so let all those prophets depart who say to Christ's people 'Peace, peace' and there is no peace.

93. And farewell to all those prophets who say to Christ's people 'the cross, the cross' and there is no cross.

94. Christians are to be exhorted to endeavour to follow Christ, their head, through pains, deaths, and hells.

95. And so let them trust to enter heaven rather through many tribulations than through the false confidence of peace.

Addendum C: The Augsburg Confession, 1530

(The first of Lutheran symbolical statements arose as the result of the Colloquy at Marburg, an abortive attempt by Philip of Hesse to reconcile the positions of Luther and Zwingli. Luther drew up fifteen articles as a basis of reunion, and on the failure of the conference these were revised as the Articles of Schwabach and became the basis of Lutheran doctrine. In 1530 they were expanded into the Confession of Augsburg, written by Melancthon as a statement of the Lutheran case at the Diet summoned by Charles V. The Confession is a lengthy document and it is only possible to include here a few of its statements on points which were the principal matters of controversy at the time.)

II. Of Original Sin.

They teach that after the fall of Adam all men, born according to nature, are born with sin, that is, without the fear of God, without confidence towards God and with concupiscence, and that this original disease or flaw is truly a sin, bringing condemnation and also eternal death to those who are not reborn through baptism and the Holy Spirit.

They condemn Pelagians and others who say that the original flaw is not a sin and who argue that man can be justified in God's sight by his own strength of reason, so as to lessen the glory of the merit and the benefits of Christ.

III. Of Justification.

They teach that men cannot be justified in the sight of God by their own strength, merits or works, but that they are justified freely on account of Christ through faith, when they believe that they are received into grace and that their sins are remitted on account of Christ who made satisfaction for sins on our behalf by his death. God imputes this faith for righteousness in his own sight (Romans iii and iv).

IV. Of the Church.

They teach that the one Holy Church will remain for ever. Now this Church is the congregation of the saints, in which the Gospel is rightly taught and the sacraments rightly administered.

And for that true unity of the Church it is enough to have unity of belief concerning the teaching of the Gospel and the administration of the sacraments. It is not necessary that there should everywhere be the same traditions of men, or the same rites and ceremonies devised by men....

X. Of the Lord's Supper.

They teach that the body and blood of Christ are truly present and are distributed to those who partake in the Lord's Supper; and they reject those that teach otherwise.

XI. Of Confession.

They teach that private absolution is to be retained in the churches although it is not necessary to enumerate all sins in confession, because it is impossible, as the psalmist says 'Who understands his offences?'

XIV. Of Orders.

They teach that no one ought to teach publicly in churches, or to administer the sacraments, unless duly called.

XV. Of the Rites of the Church.

They teach that those rites are to be preserved which can be preserved without sin and which are of service for tranquillity and good order in the Church, as fixed holy days, feast-days and such like.

But men are warned that traditions devised by man to propitiate God and to acquire grace and make satisfaction for sins are opposed to the Gospel and the teaching of faith. Wherefore vows and traditions concerning foods and days, etc., devised for the production of grace and satisfaction for sins, are useless and contrary to the Gospel.

XVIII. Of Free Choice.

They teach that human will has some liberty in the accomplishment of civil righteousness and in the choice of things which are subject to reason. But without the Holy Spirit it has no power of accomplishing the righteousness of God, or spiritual righteousness 'because animal man does not perceive the things which belong to the spirit of God': but these came into being in our hearts when the Holy Spirit is conceived through the Word....

They condemn Pelagians and others who teach that we can love God above all things by the strength of our nature alone, without the Holy Spirit; and that we can perform the commands of God in respect of the substance of the actions. For although nature may in some way be able to accomplish the external works (for it can restrain the hands from thefts or from murder), nevertheless it cannot gain the interior motions: fear of God, confidence towards God, chastity, patience, etc.

XIX. Of the Cause of Sin.

They teach that although God is the creator and preserver of nature, yet the cause of sin is the will of evil persons, namely of the devil and impious men, which, without God's help, turns itself away from God....

XX. Of Faith and Good Works.

Our people are falsely accused of forbidding good works. For their writings on the Ten Commandments and other matters of similar import bear witness that they give useful teaching concerning all kinds of life and the various duties--what kinds of life and what works in each creation are pleasing to God. The popular preachers (concionatores) in former times taught too little on these subjects; for they only stressed certain childish and unnecessary works--fixed holidays and fasts, fraternities, pilgrimages, worship of saints, rosaries, monasticism and such-like.

A. Of Faith.

... Our works cannot reconcile us to God or merit remission of sins and grace and justification. This we obtain only by faith, when we believe that we are received into grace on account of Christ....

... Men are warned that the word faith does not signify merely the knowledge of an event (the devils and impious men have that), but it signifies a faith which believes not in an event merely, but also in the effect of an event, namely this article, the remission of sins, i.e. that we have, through Christ, grace, righteousness, and remission of sins...

B. Of Good Works.

Moreover our people teach that it is necessary to do good works, not in order to trust to merit grace thereby, but because of the will of God... Because the Holy Spirit is received through faith, and hearts are renewed and put on new affections so that they can accomplish good works. For Ambrose says: 'Faith is the mother of good will and righteous action.'...

Hence it is readily seen that this doctrine is not to be accused of preventing good works, but much rather to be praised because it shows how we can do good works....

Addendum D: Calvinism.

Extracts from Christianae Religionis Institutio.

(The first edition of the Institutio was published in 1536, when Calvin was twenty-six. It was several times revised, but there was no development in Calvin's thought after the first edition. Calvin's genius was for organization rather than theological speculation.)

Book II. Chap. i....Therefore original sin is seen to be an hereditary depravity and corruption of our nature, diffused into all parts of the soul....wherefore those who have defined original sin as the lack of the original righteousness with which we should have been endowed, no doubt include, by implication, the whole fact of the matter, but they have not fully expressed the positive energy of this sin. For our nature is not merely bereft of good, but is so productive of every kind of evil that it cannot be inactive. Those who have called it concupiscence have used a word by no means wide of the mark, if it were added (and this is what many do not concede) that whatever is in man, from intellect to will, from the soul to the flesh, is all defiled and crammed with concupiscence; or, to sum it up briefly, that the whole man is in himself nothing but concupiscence....

Chap. iv....The old writers often shrink from the straightforward acknowledgement of the truth in this matter, from motives of piety. They are afraid of opening to blasphemers a window for their slanders concerning the works of God. While I salute their restraint, I consider that there is very little danger of this if we simply hold to the teaching of Scripture. Even Augustine is not always emancipated from that superstitious fear; as when he say (Of Predestination and Grace, *4, 5) that 'hardening' and 'blinding' refer not to the operation of God, but to his foreknowledge. But there are so many sayings of Scripture which will not admit of such fine distinctions; for they clearly indicate that God's intervention consists in something more than his foreknowledge....In the same way their suggestions as to God's 'permission' are too weak to stand. It is very often said that God blinded and hardened the reprobate, that he turned, inclined, or drove on their hearts....And no explanation of such statements is given by taking refuge in 'foreknowledge' or 'permission'. We therefore reply that this (process of hardening or blinding) comes about in two ways. When his light is removed, nothing remains but darkness and blindness; when his Spirit is taken away, our hearts harden into stone; when his guidance ceases, we are turned from the straight path. And so he is rightly said to blind, to harden, to turn,

those from whom he takes away ability to see, to obey, to keep on the straight path. But the second way is much nearer the proper meaning of the words; that to carry out his judgments he directs their councils and excites their wills, in the direction which he has decided upon, through the agency of Satan, the minister of his wrath....

Book III. chap. xxi. No one who wishes to be thought religious dares outright to deny predestination, by which God chooses some for the hope of life, and condemns others to eternal death. But men entangle it with captious quibbles; and especially those who make foreknowledge the ground of it. We indeed attribute to God both predestination and foreknowledge; but we call it absurd to subordinate one to the other. When we attribute foreknowledge to God we mean that all things have ever been, and eternally remain, before his eyes; so that to his knowledge nothing is future or past, but all things are present; and present not in the sense that they are reproduced in imagination (as we are aware of past events which are retained in our memory), but present in the sense that he really sees and observes them placed, as it were, before his eyes. And this foreknowledge extends over the whole universe and over every creature. By predestination we mean the eternal decree of God, by which he has decided in his own mind what he wishes to happen in the case of each individual. For all men are not created on an equal footing, but for some eternal life is pre-ordained, for others eternal damnation....

Book IV. Chap. xiv. Concerning Sacraments....It is convenient first of all to notice what a Sacrament is. Now the following seems to me to be a simple and proper definition of a Sacrament. An external symbol by which the Lord attests in our consciences his promises of goodwill towards us to sustain the inferiority of our faith, and we on our part testify to our piety towards him as well in his presence and before the angels as in the sight of men. Another way of putting it, more condensed but equally sound, would be: A testimony of God's grace to us confirmed by an external sign, with our answering witness of piety towards him....

Chap. xvii. Concerning the Sacred Supper of Christ.... That sacred communication of his own flesh and blood by which Christ pours his life unto us, just as if he were to penetrate into the marrow of our bones, he witnesses and attests in the Supper. And that he does not by putting before us a vain or empty sign, but offering there the efficacy of his Spirit, by which he fulfils his promise. And in truth he offers and displays the thing there signified to all who share that spiritual feast; though only by the faithful is it perceived and its fruits enjoyed....If it is true that the visible sign reality, then, on receiving the symbol of the body, we may be confident that the body itself is no less given to us.

Addendum E. The Supremacy Act of 1559

(This act repealed the Heresy Act of Philip and Mary and their Repealing Act, revived ten Acts of Henry VIII, including those on Annates and Appeals, and renewed the Supremacy Act with the change of title from Supreme Head to Supreme Governor, with the implication rather of administrative than of legislative power.)

And to the intent that all usurped and foreign power and authority, spiritual and temporal, may for ever be clearly extinguished, and never to be used or obeyed within this realm, or any other your majesty's dominions or countries, may it please your highness that it may be further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, spiritual or temporal, shall at any time after the last day of this session of Parliament, use, enjoy, or exercise any manner of power, jurisdiction, superiority, authority, pre-eminence or privilege, spiritual or ecclesiastical, within this realm, or within any other your majesty's dominions or countries that now be, or hereafter shall be, but from thenceforth the same shall be clearly abolished out of this realm, and all other your highness's dominions for ever; any statute, ordinance, custom, constitutions, or any other matter or cause whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

And for the better observation and maintenance of this Act, may it please your highness that it may be further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and every archbishop, bishop, and all and every other ecclesiastical person, and other ecclesiastical officer and minister, of what estate, dignity, pre-eminence, or degree soever he or they be or shall be, and all and every temporal judge, justice, mayor, and other lay or temporal officer and minister, and every other person having your highness's fee or wages, within this realm, or any your highness's dominions, shall make, take and receive a corporal oath upon the evangelist, before such person or persons as shall please your highness, your heirs or successors, under the great seal of England to assign and name, to accept and to take the same according to the tenor and effect hereafter following, that is to say:

'I, A.B., do utterly testify and declare in my conscience, that the queen's highness is the only supreme governor (*italics supplied*) of this realm, and of all other her highness's dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal, and that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state or potentate, has or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority ecclesiastical or spiritual, and forsake all foreign jurisdictions, powers, superiorities, I shall bear faith and true allegiance to the queen's highness, her heirs and lawful successors, and to my power shall assist and defend all jurisdictions, pre-eminences, privileges, and authorities granted or belonging to the queen's highness, her heirs and successors, or united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm. So help me God, and by the contents of this book.'

Addendum F. The Westminster Confession of Faith, 1643

Following is an outline of the Westminster Confession of Faith with excerpts.

This confession was drawn up in 1643 by the Assembly of Divines to which was entrusted the task of organizing the new Establishment. In 1689, when Episcopacy was abolished in the Church of Scotland, it became the official formulary of that Church, to which, until 1910, all ministers had to subscribe. Subscription is now made to the "fundamental doctrines" of the Confession as a "subordinate standard" of the faith. It holds an historic place in English-speaking Presbyterianism.

I. Of the Holy Scripture

. . . The authority of the Holy Scripture. . . dependeth not on the testimony of any man or Church; but wholly upon God (who is truth itself) the author thereof. . . Our full persuasion and assurance of the infallible truth and divine authority thereof is from the inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness, by and with the Word, in our hearts. . . Nothing is at any time to be added—whether by new revelations of the Spirit or traditions of men. . . The Church is finally to appeal to them. . . The infallible rule of interpretation of Scripture is the Scripture itself. . .

II. Of God and of the Holy Trinity

III. Of God's Eternal Decree.

God from all eternity did, by the most wise and holy counsel of His own will, freely and unchangeably ordain whatsoever comes to pass. Yet so as thereby neither is God the author of sin or is violence offered to the will of the creatures. . . By the decree of God, for the manifestation of His glory, some men and angels are predestinated unto everlasting life, and others foreordained to everlasting death. . . Neither are any redeemed by Christ. . . but the elect only. The rest of mankind God was pleased. . . to pass by, and to ordain them to dishonour and wrath. . .

IV. Of Creation

V. Of Providence

VI. Of the Fall of Man, etc.

Our first parents . . . so became dead in sin and wholly defiled in all the faculties and parts of soul and body. They being the root of all mankind, the guilt of this sin was imputed, and the same death in sin and corrupted nature conveyed, to all their posterity. . . whereby we are utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all good, and wholly inclined to all evil. . .

VII. Of God's Covenant with Man

VIII. of Christ the Mediator

IX. Of Free-Will

. . . Man, by his fall into a state of sin, hath wholly lost all ability of will to any spiritual good. . . When God converts a sinner and translates him into the state of grace, He freeth him from his natural bondage under sin; and by His grace alone enables him freely to will and to do that which is spiritually good. . .

XI. Of Justification

Those whom God effectually calleth, He also freely justifieth. . . by imputing the obedience and satisfaction of Christ unto them. . . They are not justified, until the Holy Spirit doth in due time actually apply Christ unto them. . . Although they can never fall from the state of justification, yet they may by their sins fall under God's fatherly displeasure. . .

XII. Of Adoption

XIII. Of Sanctification

XIV. Of Saving Faith

The grace of faith, whereby the elect are enabled to believe to the saving of their souls, is the work of the Spirit of Christ in their hearts, and is ordinarily wrought by the ministry of the Word; by which also, and by the administration of the sacraments and prayer, it is increased and strengthened.

XV. Of Repentance unto Life

. . . Although repentance be not to be rested in as any satisfaction for sin, or any cause of the pardon thereof, which is the act of God's free grace in Christ; yet is it of such necessity to all sinners that none may expect pardon without it.

XVI. Of Good Works

Good works are only such as God hath commanded in His holy Word-and not such as, without the warrant thereof, are devised by men out of blind zeal or upon any pretence of good intention. . . Works done by unregenerate men-although, for the matter of them, they may be things which God commands. . . are sinful and cannot please God. . . And yet their neglect of them is more sinful and displeasing unto God.

XVII. Of the Perseverance of the Saints

They whom God hath accepted. . . can neither totally nor finally fall away from the state of grace; but shall certainly persevere therein to the end and be eternally saved. . .

XVIII. Of Assurance of Grace and Salvation

. . . This certainly is not a bare conjecture and probable persuasion grounded upon fallible hope, but an infallible assurance of faith-founded

upon the divine truth of the promises of salvation, the inward evidence of those graces unto which the promises are made, the testimony of the spirit of adoption witnessing with our spirits. . .

XIX. Of the Law of God

XX. Of Christian Liberty, and Liberty of Conscience

. . . God alone is Lord of the conscience; and hath left it free from the doctrines and commandments of men, which are in anything contrary to His Word or beside it, in matters of faith or worship. So that to believe such doctrines or to obey such commands out of conscience, is to betray true liberty of conscience. . . For their publishing of such opinions or maintaining of such practices as are contrary to the light of nature, or to the known principles of Christianity. . . are destructive to the external peace and order which Christ hath established in the Church, they may lawfully be called to account, and proceeded against by the censures of the Church and by the power of the civil magistrate.

XXI. Of Religious Worship, and the Sabbath Day

The Sabbath is then kept holy unto the Lord, when men, after a due preparing of their hearts, and ordering of their common affairs beforehand, do not only observe an holy rest all the day from their own works, words, and thoughts, about their wordly employments and recreations; but also are taken up the whole time in the public and private exercises of his worship, and in the duties of necessity and mercy.

XXII. Of Lawful Oaths and Vows

XXIII. Of the Civil Magistrate

. . . It is his duty to take order, that unity and peace be preserved in the Church, that the truth of God be kept pure and entire, that all blasphemies and heresies be suppressed, all corruptions and abuses in worship and discipline prevented and reformed, and all ordinances of God duly settled, administered and observed. For the better effecting whereof, he hath power to call synods, to be present at them, and to provide that whatsoever is transacted within be according to the mind of God. . .

XXIV. Of Marriage and Divorce

XXV. Of the Church

The Catholic or universal Church, which is invisible, consists of the whole number of the elect. . . The visible Church, which is also Catholic or universal under the Gospel, consists of all those throughout the world that profess true religion, together with their children. . . This Catholic Church hath been sometimes more, sometimes less, visible; and particular Churches--which are members thereof--are more or less pure. . . There is no other head of the Church but the Lord Jesus Christ. Nor can the Pope of Rome in any sense be head thereof; but is that Antichrist, that man of sin, and son of perdition that exalteth himself in the Church against Christ and all that is called God.

XXVI. Of the Communion of the Saints

XXVII. Of the Sacraments

The grace which is exhibited in or by the sacraments, rightly used, is not conferred by any power in them; neither doth the efficacy of a sacrament depend upon the piety or intention of him that doth administer it, but upon the work of the Spirit, and the word of institution, which contains, together with a precept authorizing the use thereof, a promise of benefit to worthy receivers.

There be only two sacraments ordained by Christ our Lord in the gospel, that is to say, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord: neither of which may be dispensed by any but by a minister of the Word lawfully ordained.

XXVIII. Of Baptism

Baptism is a sacrament of the New Testament, ordained by Jesus Christ, not only for the . . . admission of the party baptized into the visible Church, but also to be unto him a sign and seal of the covenant of grace, of his ingrafting into Christ, of regeneration, of remission of sins, and of his giving up unto God, through Jesus Christ, to walk in newness of life: which sacrament is, by Christ's own appointment, to be continued in his Church until the end of the world. . . Dipping of the person into the water is not necessary; but baptism is rightly administered by pouring or sprinkling water upon the person.

Not only those that do actually profess faith in and obedience unto Christ, but also the infants of one or both believing parents are to be baptized.

Although it be a great sin to contemn or neglect this ordinance, yet grace and salvation are not so inseparably annexed unto it, as that no person can be regenerated or saved without it, or that all that are baptized are undoubtedly regenerated.

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The sacrament of baptism is but once to be administered to any person.

XXIX. Of the Lord's Supper

. . . In this Sacrament Christ is not offered up to his Father, nor any real sacrifice made at all . . . Worthy receivers, outwardly partaking of the visible elements. . . do then inwardly by faith, really and indeed, yet not carnally and corporally, but spiritually, receive and feed upon Christ crucified.

XXX. Of Church Censures

XXXI. Of Synods and Councils

XXXII. Of the State of Men after Death

XXXIII. Of the Last Judgement

Addendum G: The Tridentine Profession of Faith, 1564

(This profession of faith is recited publicly by all bishops and priests, and it is the symbol imposed on all converts to Roman Catholicism.)

I, (name), with steadfast faith believe and profess each and all the things contained in the Symbol of faith which the holy Roman Church uses, namely, "I believe in One God, etc. (the Nicene Creed is repeated here).

I most firmly acknowledge and embrace the Apostolical and ecclesiastical traditions and other observances and constitutions of the same Church. I acknowledge the sacred Scripture according to that sense which Holy Mother Church has held and holds, to whom it belongs to decide upon the true sense and interpretation of the holy Scriptures, nor will I ever receive and interpret the Scripture except according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers.

I profess also that there are seven sacraments. . . I embrace and receive each and receive each and all of the definitions and declarations of the sacred Council of Trent on Original Sin and Justification.

I profess likewise that true God is offered in the Mass, a proper and propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead, and that in the most Holy Eucharist there are truly, really and substantially the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and that a conversion is made of the whole substance of bread into his body and of the whole substance of the wine into his blood, which conversion the Catholic Church calls transubstantiation. I also confess that the whole and entire Christ and the true sacraments is taken under the one species alone.

I hold unswervingly that there is a purgatory and that the souls there detained are helped by the intercessions of the faithful; likewise also that the Saints who reign with Christ are to be venerated and invoked; that they offer prayers to God for us and that their relics are to be venerated. I firmly assert that the images of Christ and of the ever-Virgin Mother of God, as also those of other Saints, are to be kept and retained, and that due honour and veneration is to be accorded them; and I affirm that the power of indulgences has been left by Christ in the Church, and that their use is very salutary for Christian people.

I recognize the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church as the mother and mistress of all churches; and I vow and swear true obedience to the Roman Pontiff, the successor of blessed Peter, the chief of the Apostles and the representative (vicarius) of Jesus Christ.

I accept and profess, without doubting, the traditions, definitions and declarations of the sacred Canons and Oecumenical Councils and especially those of the holy Council of Trent; and at the same time I condemn, reject and anathematize all things contrary thereto, and all heresies condemned, rejected and anathematized by the Church. This true Catholic Faith (without which no one can be in a state of salvation), which at this time I of my own will profess and truly hold, I, (name), vow and swear, God helping me, most constantly to keep and confess entire and undefiled to my life's last breath, and that I will endeavor, as far as in me shall lie, that it be held, taught and preached by my subordinates or by those who shall be placed under my care: so help me God and these Holy Gospels of God.

(In 1877, after Vatican I, there was added a statement of Papal Infallibility.)