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THE

CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY

A HISTORY

OF

ITS SUPPRESSION AND REVIVAL

BY

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THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY.

CHAPTER I.

Sovereignty.

IN all governments arises a fundamental question. Where does sovereignty reside? Is it in the king? Is it in the nobility? Is it in the people? As these questions are answered, government is a monarchy, an oligarchy, or a democracy.

All the old Oriental empires were autocracies. The king was supreme. He is proved a despot by the cuneiform tablets of Nineveh and Babylon and the hieroglyphic inscriptions of Egypt. Those ancient marvelous civilizations knew no law but a monarch's will. Roman emperors attained the same summit of supreme power. Julius, indeed, declined the crown, and Augustus the imperial name, but succeeding Cæsars, the Neros, the Domitians, the Caligulas, were both autocrats and divinities.

During the Middle Ages, over Europe, kings were sovereign by Heaven's authority. The people existed for the monarch. Law was his will. On the Continent growth of free cities was the first practical check to arbitrary royal pretension. By char-

ters and constitutions citizens limited oppressive kingly prerogative. The modern era of freedom began its grandest battle in Holland. Animated by the spirit of liberty, this little commercial republic not only burst its fetters, but shattered the vast Spanish empire. Always in England, from the era of the Conqueror, was a struggle by the people against the exactions of pope and king. After centuries of strife Henry VIII seemed to have concentrated in himself both the supreme political and pontifical power. He was at once civil and ecclesiastical tyrant. Yet beneath the surface the popular elements perpetually worked and advanced. However imperious Elizabeth in claim and manner, she never dared long to oppose her English democracy. Her successor, James, in his autocratic aspirations was an antic blunderer and a stupid failure. To support inherited tyranny his son, Charles, took the sword, and perished by the sword. In the reign of the last James was the final battle. He fled, and threw into the Thames his royal insignia. Democracy rose fresh and free and invincible from those baptismal waters. England was born anew. Her Parliament, in Lords and Commons, representing the people, repudiated the house of Stuart and enthroned the house of Orange. This act of 1688 was indeed revolution. It ended the struggle of centuries. It established that the crown was no more transmissible by divine right as an inheritance. It assumed in the English people the power to make and unmake kings, and in a democracy for all time vested the sovereignty of the Anglican empire.

But in our own America was the crowning work

of the long British struggle. England cannot emancipate herself from her past. Theoretically a democracy, she is socially and ecclesiastically an aristocracy. The United States emerged from the Revolution in all respects free. Every European fetter was shattered. Our Constitution is not only an instrument of government; it was intended by its framers to be a universal political creed confessing before the world that, rightfully, sovereignty is from the people, by the people, and for the people.

When we turn from State to Church we find three theories of supreme power, corresponding to monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. Where is ecclesiastical sovereignty? Is it an autocracy in the pope? Is it an oligarchy in bishops? Is it a democracy of all believers, including clergy and laity, and whom we will call the people? Before answering these questions the three theories of ecclesiastical sovereignty should be more fully stated.

I. THE PAPAL CLAIM.—Early as A. D. 496 Gelasius asserted for himself all political and pontifical power. His successors proclaimed their right to rule the world. Centuries before Hildebrand and Innocent III and Boniface VIII this was the uniform view of Roman pontiffs as implied or expressed in the Vatican Decree of Pio Nono. The papal system is an autocracy. It vests all sovereignty in its pontiff. He is source of power and grace. These, through him alone, flow to bishops, and from bishops to priests, and from priests to people.

II. THE EPISCOPAL CLAIM.—In this is the very genius of Anglicanism. Transferred to America, we can study it in the standards of the Episcopal

Church. According to these no man can be a lawful minister but by a bishop's hands. And but by a bishop's hands no man has lawful access to the communion. Hence, by a bishop's hands is the sole lawful way to salvation. Anglican episcopacy is an ecclesiastical aristocracy.

III. THE DEMOCRATIC CLAIM.—According to its view the communion of believers, lay and cleric together, constitute the Christian Commonwealth. As opposed to the autocracy of papacy and the oligarchy of episcopacy, the sovereignty of the Church is in the whole body of the disciples who compose the Church. All power, therefore, flows, not from ministers to people, but from people to ministers.

Barbarians are amused by noise and dazzled by splendor. As nations advance in civilization they are less attracted by ceremonial display. In the highest forms of social and political life the title to office is not birth, but worth. Such a supreme attainment in government implies sovereignty in the people. This is the ideal of our humanity. The law of progress seems advancing our race to a universal democracy. Is this, then, the consummation in the State? Political government will be a brotherhood of power founded on merit. But, if the State be a democracy, can the Church remain an autocracy or an oligarchy? Such civil and ecclesiastical antagonism would produce perpetual discord. Universal democracy in the State can only be harmonized with universal democracy in the Church. All that can be urged for the one can be urged for the other. We therefore might infer

that the ideal of humanity, both in Church and State, is the universal sovereignty of the people.

Let it be understood, however, that we are not to inquire as to the mere form of government. We would pass beneath the surface to the heart of the question. Where is the power that creates the form? Democracy may choose an hereditary autocracy. Democracy may prefer a titled oligarchy. Democracy may support an elective monarchy. But if democracy makes it can unmake; if it enthrones it can dethrone; if it establishes it can disestablish. The will of the people is the sovereignty of democracy.

We cannot settle by mere human reasoning a universal form of government for the Church. Nor for a principle will any authority be decisive except the word of Scripture. Now, in the Jewish Commonwealth Jehovah was King. Our inquiry does not pertain to the divine Monarch. What were His human instruments? We begin with Moses. Given in the light and by a voice from the burning bush, his rod was symbol of a supreme authority. He received his communications from the cloud of the divine Presence at the tabernacle. Face to face with Jehovah, by His command spake and ruled the great lawgiver of Israel. Moses was the autocrat of Heaven. Not in name, but in fact, he was king. And Joshua was invested with the power of Moses. Until Israel passed into Canaan, Jehovah, the invisible Sovereign, expressed His will from a visible glory through men who were virtual monarchs. But this was continued only during the miraculous and abnormal period of the Commonwealth. It was

necessary for the deliverance from Egypt and the passage through the sea and the journey in a wilderness, where a nation was educated by the lessons, and fed by the bread, and guided by the pillar, of Heaven.

After the transference to Canaan a revolution was made in the sovereignty of Israel. From Joshua to Saul the rulers were judges. These *shoftim* were itinerating presidents. For merit they were elected by the people. Heroism or wisdom guided in their choice. For five centuries Israel was a democracy. Sovereignty was in the people. At a time in earth's history when all other nations were ruled by despots; beneath the shadows of empires established and extended by Oriental tyrant-conquerors; sole witness for the rightful dominancy of the popular will; anticipating and prophesying the divine ideal of human government—the Jewish Commonwealth, under the shield of Jehovah, stood for ages, in the whole turbulent and inimical world, a solitary democracy.

But the plan of God was marred by the folly of man. Our modern archæology enables us to picture vividly the temptations of Israel to seek alliance with the powerful surrounding Gentile nations. How hard against appearances, threatened with peril, menaced by annihilation, to trust the invisible Jehovah! Enemies were seen, and God was unseen. Between mighty warring empires little Palestine was highway and battlefield. The Jew feared that he would be pulverized under the heels of imperial armies. Hence, wanting faith, he was terrified into seeking protection from Egyptian,

Assyrian, and Chaldean conquerors. They were to him the symbols of power. They meant for him security. They represented for him unity. Imitating the conquering Gentiles, for himself the Jew wanted a king.

Moses foresaw and foretold the change. He predicted that, in possession of the land, Israel would desire a monarch. We have the very words to be uttered: "I will set a king over me." In the language of the prophet we perceive the sovereignty of the people. The king of the nation was to be the choice of the nation. After five centuries the revolution came. Samuel was last of the *shoftim*. In him judgeship expired. He clung to the popular past. He resisted change in the rulership. He even rebelled against the permission of Jehovah and predicted evil as its result. What vivid colors impatience gave his picture of monarchic oppressions! "This shall be the manner of king that shall reign over you: He will take your sons, and appoint them unto himself, for his chariots and horsemen. He will take your daughters to be confectionaries, cooks, and bakers. He will take your fields, and your vineyards, and oliveyards. Ye shall cry out in that day because of the king which ye shall have chosen you."

Saul, the first monarch of Israel, although indicated by Samuel, was yet received and approved by the popular acclamation. When he fell by suicide David succeeded to the throne decreed him by Jehovah and for which he had been long anointed. But the son of Jesse held his scepter from the democracy. "And the men of Judah came." They

this second time poured the oil on his head that made "David king over their house." Afterward he was enthroned over the united Jewish Commonwealth. Who constituted him monarch? Was he a conqueror, holding by his sword? Did he have his scepter from his own volition? No. "All the elders of Israel came to the king to Hebron, and King David made a league with them before the Lord." The crown of Israel was conferred by compact with Israel. It was placed on the head of the monarch by the agreement of his people. In this arrangement between ruler and subject is the essence of democracy. David made a "league." A league? Where in Nineveh or in Babylon or in Egypt do we hear of a league between king and subject? A Sennacherib, a Rameses, a Nebuchadnezzar recognized in man no right but the submission of slaves. As opposed to these hoary tyrannies the monarchy of Israel was a sovereignty of the people.

We might argue that, if the Jewish Commonwealth was a democracy, much more is the Christian Church. But a question so fundamental can be settled only by sure proof from Scripture; and in seeking its determination we will turn to the Gospels and the Acts. These evangelical histories have a controlling authority. They contain those records of the Messiah which fulfill the prophecies of the Old Testament and furnish fact and argument and illustration for the Epistles of the New Testament. Hence, in eminence they transcend all the books of the Bible. On them converges light from its past, and from them diffuses light over the future. In

these evangelical histories, so supreme in importance and authority, we may surely expect guidance in searching for those principles which are in the foundation of the constitution of the universal Church.

Priest, Prophet, King! The offices indicated by these words are linked with the whole history of the Jewish Commonwealth. They reappear in the Christian Church. We will, therefore, consider its organization under three aspects:

I. PRIESTHOOD.—In the fixed and hereditary character of the Aaronical sacerdotalism we too often overlook a great fact. What did Jehovah say to the "children of Israel?" To the entire nation His words were, "Ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests." In the tent of the congregation of the people stood their altar, where sin was forgiven. There the guilty Jew slew the sacrificial animal through whose blood he received remission, and in many instances he partook the flesh. In Israel thus all were priests. Aaron and his sons were priests among priests. Of a kingdom of priests they were the official representatives, appointed and delegated by Jehovah.

The grand work of the Aaronical priesthood was atonement. Its end was forgiveness of sin—remission through the blood of sacrifice. In this we have the genius and object of the Mosaic dispensation. But notice. Priests never pronounced absolution. In the fourth and fifth and sixth of Leviticus we find sacrificial provision for many offenses. The animal is brought to the door of the tabernacle. It is slain by the offerer himself. A priest sprinkles

its blood on the altar, which stands in the tent of the people. Fire consumes the flesh. Then it is said, "His sin, which he hath sinned, shall be forgiven him." By whom? Not by the priest, but by Jehovah. The priest says not a word. Not once under the law was personal remission declared by the lips of a priest. And under the Gospel it was pronounced but by the Messiah. His apostles had not this power. Jesus alone gave absolution. It was proof of His sovereignty as Jehovah. Remission of sin presumes infallibility. Hence, Godhead claims it as its prerogative. Human infirmity may mistake. It may remit where Heaven retains, and retain where Heaven remits. Eternal life cannot be left to mortal contingencies. If my salvation depends on the word of man I am a slave to the will of man. I know that man may refuse absolution from whim or sell absolution for money. Hence, I will trust alone in the promise of the Scripture. And here Godhead assures me personal remission, through faith, for my personal transgression.

But did not Christ say to Peter, "Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven?" We must interpret this gift to Peter by the example of Peter. Never once did Peter declare personal forgiveness. To the Jews at Pentecost and to the Gentiles with Cornelius he assumed only to proclaim, through Christ, the universal terms of salvation. Nor after in his preaching did he more. And no apostle transcended his example. Always in the evangelical histories the ministers of the Gospel in general terms proclaimed

that those who believe in Christ are saved and that those who reject Christ are condemned.

Was not, however, Peter the rock on whom all disciples must build? Peter a rock! His Aramaic name Cephas is interpreted by the infallible John. What in its first chapter says the fourth Gospel? There the Aramaic Cephas is interpreted into the Greek Petros. But always, in both classic and scripture Greek, the word πέτρος means *stone*. Peter was *stone*, and not *rock*. Had Christ intended to found His Church on Peter the man He would have used the name of Peter the man. Only his name expresses the man. Rejecting his name, Christ rejected the man. For Πέτρῳ, the man *Peter*, our Saviour substituted πέτρᾳ, *rock*. Widely as their final letters, *omega* and *alpha*, do the words differ. The length of the Greek alphabet indicates immense divergence. A stone is part of a rock. Indeed, it is but a fragment, a broken portion, and usually worn and unfit for solid foundation. The Hebrew צוּר and סֶלַע of the Old Testament are in the Septuagint translated πέτρα, *rock*—never πέτρος, *stone*. Paul says that πέτρα, not πέτρος, was Christ. Hence, Peter, Πέτρος, was *stone*, fit only to be built on the foundation, while Jesus, Jehovah, in the New Testament as in the Old, is Himself the divine and everlasting Foundation—the Rock.

Even in the power to bind and loose we see, not an autocratic or oligarchic exclusiveness, but a privilege of the universal democracy. The authority in the sixteenth of Matthew conferred on Peter is, in the eighteenth, conferred on all disciples. Of this the meaning in the original of the word μαθηταί,

translated "disciples," is proof. Sometimes the context limits it to apostles. Not restricted, it has wide and varied applications. We will indicate a few. In John vi, 1–3, the disciples are the baptized; in John viii, 31, steadfast believers; in Acts i, 15, all Christ's followers, men and women; in Acts xi, 26, Christians. Now, in the eighteenth of Matthew the disciples come to Jesus. He discourses to them of universal duties. Nothing is said by Him of clerical vocation or work or privilege. The disciples He addressed were His company of followers. Yet to these all, as before to Peter, the Master said, "Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." After breathing on His *μαθηταί*, *disciples*, He exclaimed, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whosesoever sins ye remit they shall be remitted, and whosesoever sins ye retain they shall be retained." But from apostolic example we have seen that this power to bind and loose, to retain and remit, was exercised only in declaring, through our Saviour, the terms of salvation. Each disciple was authorized to proclaim the Gospel of eternal life. All who received Christ in the heart and glorified Christ in the life could recommend Christ by the lip. Here we have the duty and the privilege of the Christian Democracy.

And to this view on the cross Jesus gave awful significance. While He rent rocks, while He promised paradise, while He opened graves, while He shook His earth and darkened His sun, He also parted His temple's veil to show that the way into the holiest, no longer the privilege of one high priest,

was to be the heritage of the universal brotherhood of believers.

II. PROPHECY.—The Hebrew signifying *prophet* is from a root which means to *well forth*. Spontaneity characterizes the biblical conception. Prophecy gushes like a fountain or flows like a stream. Nor is the Hebrew idea expressed in either the Greek or the Latin or the English. Spontaneity in the prophet was opposed to rigidity in the priest. Antagonisms corrected each other. The original conception of freedom in the Hebrew harmonized with the liberty of Christianity, in which the office of the prophet was rather to preach than to predict. In the last of Matthew the grand function of teaching seems committed only to the apostles. The Master plainly addressed to the eleven His final command. If this were the whole Scripture on the subject the exclusive claim of apostolic succession would have a foundation.

Now, turn from the last of Matthew to the last of Luke. Jesus had risen. He joins two disciples near Emmaus. He enters the house. He breaks bread and vanishes. With hearts in a flame of love the two disciples return to Jerusalem. Whom do they meet? "The eleven gathered together, and *them that were with them*." Jesus appears in the midst. But not here as on the mountain. In Galilee He was seen by the eleven only; but now in Jerusalem by the eleven *and others*. On the eleven *and others* He sends the promise of the Father. The eleven *and others* He appoints His witnesses. And He commands the eleven *and others* to tarry in Jerusalem for the endowment of power.

In this supreme gift of the Holy Ghost the promise and command of Christ with apostles included disciples. In obedience to His word who assembled at Pentecost? Apostles only? No. The "disciples." We have their number. One hundred and twenty—men and women. On all descended the tongues of flame. On all fell the Holy Ghost. On all rested the power to preach. And Peter affirms that in this is fulfilled the word of Joel: "I will pour out my spirit on all flesh. Your sons and your daughters shall prophesy; on my servants and my handmaidens will I pour out my spirit." As all were authorized to proclaim through Christ the forgiveness of sins, so all are now endowed with power to make the message effectual. The sovereignty of teaching, as well as the sovereignty of priesthood, is thus proved to be in the whole body of believers who compose the universal Church.

III. KINGSHIP.—By this we mean the authority to govern. We inquire where in the Church is the sovereignty of legislation. Who made the law in the times of the apostles? Peter, as first pope? The eleven, representing bishops? Or the body of believers, whom we style the people? Let us turn to the first recorded act of ecclesiastical legislation. It was to elect an apostle. Nothing could be more important than to choose one of the companions of our Lord to be His official witness, whose testimony in time was to be in the foundation of the Church, and whose name in eternity would be celebrated in the songs of heaven. Such a function was transcendent in dignity and consequence. As first pope, does Peter appoint to the office vacant

by the suicide of Judas? Or shall the eleven as bishops elect a twelfth? Or shall all the believers act together in a choice which implies the loftiest exercise of sovereignty? Here we will certainly have proof whether in legislation the Church is an autocracy, an oligarchy, or a democracy. We read, "Peter stood up in the midst of the disciples." These were addressed by that primate. These numbered one hundred and twenty. Yet these appointed Joseph and Matthew and assigned by lot to the latter the grand office. The first supreme act of ecclesiastical kingship was by the sovereign people.

We have considered the election of a man. Now let us trace the establishment of a principle.

Paul and Barnabas had told at Antioch how God had opened the door of faith to the Gentiles. All were exulting together in the new liberty of the Gospel. On the minds of these disciples burst the bright vision of a world converted to Christ. But this joyful freedom and glowing hope excited suspicion and antagonism. Messengers appear with a Mosaic fetter. They insist that Gentile believers shall be circumcised. The Gospel they would load with the burden of the law. Flesh must prevail over spirit, and letter abridge liberty. In all lands, amid all conditions, down through all centuries, Christians, like Jews, must be circumcised. Baptism by water as a sign and seal of the Holy Ghost is not enough. Here, then, is forced on the young Church a question of supreme and eternal importance. Had Peter been pope his decree would have settled it. Why not refer it to James, first Bishop

of Jerusalem, or let the apostles together decide? Not so determined the Holy Ghost. The "brethren" at Antioch originate the process. From that city, on their embassy, depart Barnabas and others with Paul. At Jerusalem they are to seek direction from "apostles and elders," by whom they are received, and also by the Church. Peter states the question to the Council, and James declares his judgment. But by whose authority goes forth the decree? In the name of "apostles and elders and the whole Church" at Jerusalem. It is conveyed by Paul, Barnabas, Barsabas, and Silas, with "chief men among the brethren." And it is sent to the "brethren which are of the Gentiles at Antioch."

Here is a complete scriptural record of a legislative procedure of fundamental, universal, and everlasting consequence. Yet the inquiry originated with the whole Church at Antioch, was answered by the whole Church at Jerusalem, and the decree addressed to the whole Church at Antioch. From first to last apostles share authority with elders and brethren. All act together in discussion, decree, and declaration; however, with a wise, delicate, and reverential precedence of apostles, due the official witnesses of our Lord, on whose testimony He founded His Church. Paul was messenger; Peter was proposer; James was president. Yet in the entire transaction was guarded and expressed the sovereignty of the Christian people as an example of democracy for the universal Church. It is thus that our religion secures liberty against authority, and authority against liberty. Equally it restrains anarchist and tyrant. Under its influence authority

can never be oppression, and liberty can never be license. Christ alone harmonizes for humanity conservatism and progress.

But, it is urged, if sovereignty is in all believers each may teach, each may preach, each may administer. Such priesthood, prophecy, and kingship would prove chaos. Ignorance and fanaticism would rush into confusion and destruction. But against such democratic anarchy is a complete security. Above the universal Church is the sovereign Scripture. The Old Testament and the New have always set apart certain men for special functions. Many offices are exclusive. Ministers are elected whose sole vocation it is to preach the Gospel and administer the sacraments. According to the Scripture, these are to be both appointed and supported. The people cannot interfere with duties they have delegated. When our citizens elect legislators and judges and governors they vest their own powers in these their chosen representatives, and cannot resume them at pleasure. An office exclusive in Scripture must be exclusive in Church. In all doubtful questions of organization and worship liberty is reserved. Humanity, made free by faith, is yet bound by law. But in Scripture we have found the supreme authority in collective believers. Power flows, not from ministers to people, but from people to ministers. Sovereignty is in the people. The Church universal is a Christian Democracy.

CHAPTER II.

Preparations.

THE Christian Democracy began its life amid formidable enemies and obstacles. Its Messiah had been a carpenter. His chief agents were fishermen. His disciples were a mixed multitude. His witnesses after His resurrection were a few humble men and women. These assembled, not in palace or temple, but in a plain upper room. Pomp of worship was neither desired nor possible. Could art help their faith, promote their prayers, and call down the promised Spirit? All the magnificence of their temple, with its smoking altars, its clouds of incense, its chanting priests, its imposing ceremonial, was vain glitter in the eyes of men who sought power from heaven to convert a world. Baptized by the Spirit, these children of faith, made free in Christ, went forth over the earth to establish the universal dominion of their crucified and ascended Lord. Let us inquire whether the past of humanity gave encouragement to the aspiring expectation of the lowly disciples. And this leads us to consider:

I. THE JEWISH PREPARATION FOR THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY.

The old dispensation was to be terminated, yet perpetuated. It was to die and live. In the accidental and transitory it would perish, while surviving in the universal and the everlasting. Each type,

each promise, each prediction, each lesson of the Mosaic covenant became amplified, transfigured, and glorified in a divine Messiah exceeding all human and all angelic expectation. But how little such a consummation seems possible as we behold that Pentecostal company opposed by powers of men and demons! After ages of prophecy and symbol; after the miracles of Moses and the songs of David typifying and celebrating the Messiah; after the splendor of the temple and the ministry of the Baptist; after the life and death and resurrection of Christ, the incarnate God; after centuries of divine education and covenant—as the result of all that Jehovah in His eternal plan of salvation had done for His redeemed humanity, one hundred and twenty poor men and women waiting for the Holy Ghost!

But behind this spectacle of seeming failure history unfolds a wider scene. How insignificant an acorn! Yet it has an ancestry of majestic oaks reaching back to Eden, and will have a magnificent posterity, with sturdy trunks and overshadowing branches, extending until the close of time. We only realize the miracle of the acorn when we view the prolific glory in its past and its future. So in that Pentecostal room we perceive but the seed of Christianity. The soil of the world had long been preparing for it, and it will grow into a tree whose beneficent shadow will cover the nations.

The genius of Judaism was conservative. A people was chosen and isolated by circumcision that they might save from extinction faith in a personal God as Creator of the universe and perpetuate the promise and expectation of a Messiah. For ages

Israel was always tempted and often seduced by the idolatries of the Gentiles. War, famine, pestilence, captivity, all the judgments of Heaven, seemed powerless to preserve from the worship of demons and the adoration of images. It required the vigilance of Jehovah Himself to retain in His elect people loyalty to His commands. The old dispensation was absorbed in one supreme purpose of conserving in man the idea of God. Hence it had slight provision for spreading truth among surrounding idolaters. Yet at the appointed time came a change. The secondary and the incidental were made the primary and the effectual. Judaism, constituted to be exclusive, was now diffusive. Without any organic revolution, it yet became the universal leaven of humanity. Among all nations it prepared the way for Christianity.

The germs of this Judaistic adaptation existed even before circumcision. Abraham, father of the chosen, was connected with the two most cultured nations of the earth. He was born in Chaldea and sojourned in Egypt. Joseph and Jacob led the way to the land of the Pharaohs, where Israel dwelled nearly four centuries and where Moses was educated in the palace of Rameses. Kings of Nineveh, Babylon, and Egypt were continually marching their armies through Palestine. Shalmaneser deported ten tribes into Assyria. Sargon and Sennacherib and Assur-bani-pal were in frequent contact with the Jews. Never until recently, by the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, was it known how constantly and intimately the elect people, by conquest and commerce, were connected with the ancient Oriental

empires. Nebuchadnezzar took their city, burned their temple, and carried the flower of the Jews his captives to Babylon. In this most magnificent capital of the world Daniel and his friends ennobled and elevated their countrymen. Cyrus gave command to restore Jerusalem. But commerce, more than captivity, widely scattered the Jews. They swarmed in Alexandria. They were numerous, rich, and influential in Rome. They were successful traders and bankers among the powerful Gentile nations. All through the countries of the earth were prosperous Jews, as now in these our modern times. Thus a people most exclusive in their political and ecclesiastical constitution were forced out from their narrow land and, despite their inclinations and usages, changed from confined provincials into citizens of the world.

For these dispersed Jews the temple, while it stood, was a center. On its roll was the name of each Israelite, however distant from Jerusalem. Annually, too, the loyal son of Abraham sent his tax to the capital of his nation. Once in his life he was expected to visit his temple and kindle by his eye filial love in his heart. Thus this sacred edifice rose amid its mountains before all the nations a visible symbol of Jewish unity. Wholly different from the temple was the synagogue. It became cosmopolitan in its influence and an emblem of a dispersed Israel. In ancient as in modern times, the Jew often forgot his language and spoke the tongue of the people among whom he lived. But into whatever country he might wander he elected his rabbi and built his synagogue to be a

seat of worship and instruction, and always he sought to make proselytes to his faith; so changed was he by migration from his ancient isolation and indifference! With fervid zeal he would convert and circumcise the Gentiles.

Now, among the nations there were two classes who embraced Judaism:

1. *Proselytes of Justice.* These were Gentiles who not only renounced their gods, but accepted the whole Mosaic law. Submitting to circumcision, separated from their countrymen, often persecuted as apostates, they became identified in faith and feeling with the hereditary Jews. Usually they surpassed their masters, were narrow and furious bigots, and violent and venemous enemies to every other form of religion. But again we have,

2. *Proselytes of the Gate.* Amid all nations these furnished the most available point of contact with Christianity. They had abandoned idolatry. If they still frequented the temples they yet renounced their priests and mythologies. Receiving the fundamental truths of Judaism, they remained uncircumcised. They had turned from the gods of the Gentiles, and yet were not identified with the Hebrews by their characteristic rite. While mingling with idolaters, they believed in Jehovah. Between Jew and Gentile over the world they formed a universal bond. Their name signified their position. At the gate of the ancient city men waited for the news. Their place indicated expectancy. So these "proselytes of the gate," not yet walled away from the Gentiles, believed in the God of the Hebrews and were animated by the hope of their Messiah. Thus

in every nation men were made ready by Judaism itself to receive the Gospel.

Let us transport ourselves to Jerusalem. Here now center the preparations of the centuries. All promise and symbol and prophecy, like sun-rays focused by a lens, converge themselves into the Pentecostal feast following the death and ascension of Jesus. The world has been made ready for Christ, and now Christ is ready for the world. A festival of Jews is the grand occasion of the conversion of Gentiles. In the redeeming scheme Jews and Gentiles are inseparable. From every nation Israelites fill the streets of Jerusalem. Tents of overflowing strangers whiten the encircling mountains. The temple glitters in its splendor with all the gladness and glory of Pentecost. Contrasted with the noise of the multitude and the magnificence of the feast, one hundred and twenty Galilean men and women, unnoticed and insignificant believers in the crucified and risen Jesus, are praying for the Holy Ghost promised by their ascended Lord. After long waiting they hear a roar like a tempest. The room of assembly shakes with some strange violence. Tongues of flame are visible on the heads of these Galileans. All are filled with the Holy Ghost. All experience a new power of faith and light of love. All speak the languages of various and distant nations. Here is the beginning of that cosmopolitan democracy which distinguishes Christianity from Judaism and symbolizes the conversion of the world. We have no sectisms at Pentecost.

Foreign Jews have lost their ancestral Hebrew,

In the city of their God, in the home of their fathers, in the seat of their temple, like their own Gentile converts, they are strangers. Unacquainted with the speech of the metropolis, not understanding the songs and prayers of the temple service, all feel together in their beloved capital the loneliness of the exile. Now, these Jewish and Gentile strangers from afar hear the baptized Galilean men and women, on whose heads were tongues of fire, speak the language in which they were born. They are arrested and amazed. How our native speech thrills us in a foreign land! But here these Galileans are witnesses for the Messiah. They testify of His death, His resurrection, His ascension. They speak with the power of the Holy Ghost. Elected and endowed for this supreme hour in the history of the world, Peter preaches Christ. Three thousand Jews and proselytes, men and women, citizens and strangers, are pierced in their consciences. They repent, they believe, they are baptized, they join the Galileans in their testimony. Here are the messengers of salvation who are to scatter over the world and establish the kingdom of Christ among all nations. What free and fearless and exulting witnesses—heroes of faith by the baptism of Heaven, apostles of love by the fire of the Holy Ghost! Surely in such a divine flame sectisms should perish forever. And when the Pentecostal preachers return to their own country they proclaim Christ in the speech of their own country. The faith and light and love which they obtained at Jerusalem they diffuse over the world. Under the new covenant the Church universal is the child of Pentecost.

II. THE GENTILE PREPARATION FOR THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY.

1. *Linguistic.*—The Hebrew of our Bibles exhibits two extremes. We find in it a primitive and abrupt simplicity, and also a structure that seems the elaboration of our advanced civilization. But always it has a sonorous majesty. Scripture chanted in the modern synagogue often elevates to the sublime. What, then, its effect poured forth from the lips of temple-priests, assisted by instruments, surrounded by imposing architecture, impressive with a thousand thrilling, historic memories? This grand Hebrew harmonized with the genius of the Old Testament. It was suitable for recording the creation of a universe, the lives of venerable patriarchs, the declaration of the law amid the terrors of Sinai, the miracles of the sea and of the wilderness, the denunciations of prophets, and those manifestations of Jehovah awful in their severe justice. Between the Mosaic dispensation and the Hebrew language was a significant congruity. But the old tongue was not adapted to the new covenant. For it the divine wisdom during ages was preparing a suitable language.

The genius of the Greek is opposite to the genius of the Hebrew. They differ as the flow of the river from the rush of the cataract. Grace and pliancy are substituted for sublimity and majesty. Where the swift torrent keeps within its deep and narrow channel of rocks, the wide stream spreads into the land its diffusive and fertilizing waters. Also, the language of Judea corresponded to its exclusive nationalism, while that of Attica had a cosmopolitan

adaptation. Greek became the universal speech of the Roman empire. It united various and distant nations in one vast linguistic commonwealth. Down to our own age it maintains itself on its native soil. It meets now the needs and peculiarities of our modern civilization, differing as much from the ancient as a locomotive from the Parthenon. It furnishes terms for arts and sciences as unknown to Pericles as the fountains of the Nile. It is not a dead, but a living, tongue, speaking daily in all parts of our progressive world. In grace, in fluency, in versatility it was designed and preserved to express for man the universal salvation. As the Hebrew for the old covenant, so the Greek for the new. The one was adapted to the law, and the other to the Gospel. The one resembles Sinai, and the other Calvary. The one conserved truth in a nation, and the other diffuses truth over a world. If we compare the Hebrew to the sublime displays about the apocalyptic throne, we may say that the Greek is like the emerald bow of grace by which its majesty is encircled.

Attica was the home of this language of the future, and Athens its brilliant center. In this inimitable city we find the versatile and diffusive energy of democracy. At Athens, as afterward in Holland, literature and art were founded on manufacture and commerce. And the free, fearless, republican enterprise expanded itself by conquest and colonization. The empire of Tyre over the Mediterranean, before it passed to Carthage, had been seized by Athens. Her ships planted her colonies in Asia, in Egypt, in Italy, in the Adriatic islands. Greek thus

was spoken in Tarsus, Antioch, Ephesus, Naucratis, Cyrene, Neapolis, Syracuse, and everywhere over and around the Mediterranean. This process of colonial extension was promoted by the sword of Alexander. His victories reached from Athens to Babylon and from the banks of the Nile to the shores of the Indus. Over the whole Oriental world the Macedonian conqueror carried the language of Homer, his oracle, and Aristotle, his preceptor. Alexander thus prepared Greek for the Roman empire. Nor was it used only in commerce and in literature. For two centuries after Christ, in the imperial capital, it was employed in the worship of the Church. Thus had the eternal Wisdom made way for Greek over the world as the language of the New Testament and for the diffusion of Christianity.

2. *Political.*—In the year B. C. 753 Romulus built his wall around the Palatine Hill. Its circuit was about a mile. So small was infant Rome! Yet from this feeble center grew the power which subdued the world. To conquer Italy required centuries of fierce wars, and during all her early career of victory civil strifes between plebeian and patrician were ever tearing the young Commonwealth. When ready, Rome began with Carthage her first great struggle for foreign conquest. The fight was for Sicily. Battle was to be on the Mediterranean, where the African metropolis was supreme. Her element was the sea. Along its shores and on its islands she had planted her colonies and guarded them with her triumphant navy. Yet in the first fight on her own domain the rude ships and sailors of Rome conquered the Carthaginian veterans.

Her dominion was predestined. Three wars ended the struggle. Italian valor triumphed; Carthage was destroyed; Rome ruled the Mediterranean. Other victories followed. Syria, Egypt, Greece, Macedonia, Gaul, Spain, Germany, Britain were incorporated with the Roman empire. Earth was a political unit. Latin sway, Latin law, Latin language, by a new and unexampled tie, bound together all civilized nations. From her golden milepost in her Forum as a center of earth's dominion, Rome ran out roads along which she sent her legions to conquer and her consuls to govern. The sea, more than the land, unified her empire. All the great nations of antiquity aspired to dominion along the Mediterranean. This was the conqueror's highway. This was as necessary for war as for commerce. Without this, imperial Rome could never have subdued or governed the world. Having her roads for her armies and the sea for her navies, she grasped with a resistless arm her universal scepter. Nor were these facilities for transportation less advantageous to Christianity than to herself. Highways by land and sea were as convenient for ministers as for soldiers. Also, the widespread Latin language assisted equally in conversion and government. In every region of the empire Roman citizenship was a shield under which Paul preached Christ, where he chose, in Roman speech. The political, universal Roman dominion was thus a prophetic symbol of the promised universal dominion of the Christian Democracy.

3. *Religious.*—Babylon, Nineveh, Egypt! Why did they perish? They were prodigals, wasted by

spiritual hunger. The soul of man must be fed. Idols cannot satisfy immortal needs. Empire after empire had tried their gods. But the human craving was not appeased. Every experiment had failed. With the decay of States idolatries lost their vigor. Faith in their national deities animated the ancient Assyrian and Egyptian conquerors. To their gods they ascribed their victories and erected their monuments. When their armies were overthrown and their provinces dissevered they abandoned their conquered gods. But when they lost faith in their gods their hearts failed, their arms grew weak, and their triumphs ceased. Ever atheism succeeded superstition, and, with its vain religion, perished empire. Humanity for ages had revolved in the same circle along which the Oriental nations were whirled to their inevitable ruin.

Now Greece and Rome were rushing to the catastrophe which had overtaken Babylon and Nineveh and Egypt. Strifes of war and commercial intercourse increased intelligence. Philosophy grew keen to detect impostures, but, no more than superstition, could attain satisfying truth. Nations saw at last how false their gods, how deceptive their priests, how fallacious their systems. Sophists declaimed, and satirists ridiculed, but, while they perceived the disease, they furnished no remedy. Tormented with doubt, Rome multiplied deities and filled her Pantheon with images of foreign gods; increased superstition, but intensified unbelief. Plebeian and patrician lost faith together. The emperor, himself a divinity, laughed at the duped multitude. However soaring and fascinating, Platonism despised

the masses and gave no relief to philosophers. Stoicism, with its rugged virtues, and Epicureanism, with its alluring pleasures, came to the same disappointing end. Judaism had become a husk; Gentilism proved itself a skeleton. In neither was the immortal life. Humanity exhausted its resources in this final experiment of Greece and Rome.

Repeated failures urge to despair. Men sought to silence their miseries by their lusts. The world became a carnival of sin. Monstrous now the lives of Roman emperors. The vices and crimes of these deities infect the race. Horrified by imperial example, the Senate yet imitates the corruptions of its Cæsars, and the populace is made loathsome in its wickedness. War is remorseless; slavery is cruel; even amusements are stained with blood. Public sports furnish no diversion without wholesale slaughter. Guilt is gigantic, and Rome a pandemonium. Yet in her very despair was hope. Multitudes, weary of the old, were ready for the new. Into this universal ferment of corruption was introduced the leaven of Christianity. Shall Scripture accomplish what ancient philosophies and mythologies have failed to achieve? Is Jesus the eternal and incarnate Life and Truth, or only a superior Bel or Budh or Jupiter, to be discarded like his predecessors when proved a failure? Will his religion meet the everlasting need of humanity? With the advent of Christ our world began this last experiment. Multitudes passed from the despair of paganism to a triumphant faith, which glorified life with hope and love and conquered death amid the

execrations of enemies and the flames of martyrdom.

Testimonies of numerous heathen authors enable us to understand the moral and religious condition of mankind at the era of Pentecost. Literature has never painted her pictures with such a glare of color.

"The multitude of women," Strabo says, "and the entire mass of the common people cannot be led to piety by the doctrine of philosophy. For this purpose superstition also is necessary, which must call in the aid of myths and tales of wonder. Such things the founders of states employed as bugbears to awe children."

Seneca wrote: "The whole vulgar crowd of gods which for ages past a Protean superstition has been accumulating we shall worship in this sense, namely, that we ever remember that the worship we pay them is due rather to good manners than to their own worth. All such rites the sage will observe because they are commanded by the laws, not because they are pleasing to the gods."

Such was the skepticism of cold and calculating philosophers and statesmen. But the multitude could not regard their deities with this cynical indifference. Ignorant men and women were tormented with irrepressible doubts and pitiable fears. These Plutarch describes with a master pen:

"Every little evil is magnified to the superstitious man by the scaring specters of anxiety. He sits out of doors wrapped in sackcloth and filthy rags. Temples and altars are places of refuge for the persecuted; but where all others find deliverance from

their fears the superstitious man fears and trembles most. His reason always slumbers; his fears always awake. Nowhere can he find escape from his imaginary terrors. These men fear the gods, and fly to them for succor. They flatter them, and insult them. They pray to them, and complain of them. The infidel has no belief in the gods; the superstitious man would fain disbelieve, but believes against his will, for he fears to do otherwise."

The "Clementines" describe graphically the conflicts of cultured minds. A noble Roman depicts his struggles in the apostolic age: "I was from my youth exercised with doubts, which entered my soul, I hardly know how. I was pale and emaciated. I resorted to the schools of the philosophers hoping to find some foundation on which I could repose, but I saw nothing but building up and tearing down of theories. I was dizzier than ever, and from the bottom of my heart sighed for deliverance. What shall I do? I shall proceed to Egypt and shall cultivate the acquaintance of the hierophants and prophets who preside at the shrines. Then I shall win over a magician by money and entreat him by what they call necromancy to bring a soul from the infernal regions, as if I were desirous to consult it about some business. But this shall be my consultation—whether the soul be immortal."

CHAPTER III.

Obstacles.

A DEMOCRACY in its human aspects, Christianity is, in its divine relations, a kingdom. Our Saviour—Creator and Redeemer—is its omnipotent Autocrat. How simple the formulas our incarnate God left us! Yet are they impressed with the majesty of the King of the universe. Sublime in its brevity His all-comprehensive prayer to His Father! Compare His few pointed and suggestive words in baptism and eucharist with the elaborate and enslaving liturgies of popes, bishops, and doctors! How valuable in contrast the forms bequeathed by the divine wisdom of the Redeemer! In its pure beginning Christianity was without temples and churches. Pomp was as foreign as the classic eloquence of orators, or the splendor of potentates, or the pageantry of ecclesiastics. Plebeian homes were the centers of worship and influence. In Christ all disciples were brothers, yet members of a royal priesthood and citizens of heaven. The outer Christian Democracy was to establish an inner spiritual kingdom by the power of the Holy Ghost, promised to restore in man the peace and joy of righteousness. True to itself, all external obstacles would be cast out of its path, like mountains into the sea. But, resembling Israel, soon Christianity clouded the brilliance of the divine ideal. Its

free spiritual democracy became legalized by Judaism and corrupted by paganism. Saints were substituted for gods, and demons chosen for patrons and mediators. Democracy was revolutionized into oligarchy and autocracy. Christianity, no longer intent on the salvation of the people, allied itself to kings and emperors. Centuries of bondage followed. The history of the Church grows dark with apocalyptic gloom. Corruption after corruption! Slavery after slavery! Woes after woes! Tempests, lightnings, and earthquakes! Vials of wrath and trumpets of judgment! But in the end victory —the drama of time concluding with a sunburst of millennial glory.

Having considered the preparations for the Christian Democracy, we will now review the difficulties by which it was confronted.

I. Universal Obstacles.

How hard to believe that an inscrutable personal Power created this universe! Matter from Spirit! It seems incredible. Philosophic natures shrink from the conclusion. Here is the root of intellectual skepticism. The multitude believe more easily in a visible image than in an invisible God. Hence their superstitions! Preaching is to propagate Christianity. But what difficulties embarrass the pulpit! Man lives in the present. His senses bind him to physical nature. His needs are in matter. His life in the body seems almost contrived to shut out the light from his soul. God, hades, hell, heaven—these men cannot see. They are impalpable. But how real, how pressing, how absorbing, our present

physical wants! The preacher, indeed, appeals to conscience, to fear, to love, to judgment, to deity, to everlasting interests and consequences compared with which time is a vanishing moment and earth a dissolving cloud. Yet human eloquence never aroused man to salvation, and the most difficult of all for the preacher is to use his natural powers, while relying only on the Holy Ghost. To save one, how hard! What, then, between Pentecost and Judgment to establish in billions of souls the spiritual, the invisible, the everlasting kingdom of God!

A world summoned to repentance—how repulsive to human nature! Men recoil from examining even the laws of their souls. What, then, to confess and forsake their sins! No antagonisms like those arrayed against the preacher! It is easy to dazzle with oratory. But the rarest and loftiest gift in the universe is that which brings men to salvation. Humanity seeks every conceivable escape from the very truths ordained by Heaven for its eternal deliverance. In the history of the Church, therefore, a humiliating and disappointing record of shifts and defeats, of compromises and retrogressions! Omnipotence in the slow progress of the ages alone conducts to the universal sway of the everlasting truth.

We must now hasten to

II. Particular Obstacles.

These were both Jewish and Gentile.

I. Jewish obstacles to the Christian democracy.

(1.) *Pharisees.*—Their sect originated in a movement to preserve pure in Israel its national life. Antiochus Epiphanes attempted to mingle Greek

customs with Jewish observances. Conservatism protested against these innovations, and Pharisaism was the result. Its name is derived from a Hebrew word which means to *separate*. The genius and history of the sect are indicated in its title. Exclusiveness was its characteristic. Tradition became its life and power. By additions to the Mosaic law the Pharisees perverted the oracles of God to their own avarice and ambition. Having built a wall around the fountain of eternal life, they locked its gate and kept its key. Without pay none entered. Every path to the kingdom of God ended in a money-chest. Ostentatious in dress, in alms, in fasts, in prayers, in innumerable paltry observances, the Pharisees gained the applause of the multitude, while neglecting mercy and justice and all that ennobles manhood. Blind by greed for praise and gold, they misled the nation and brought upon it the blood of the Messiah. More than sinners, more than publicans, more than Sadducees Jesus denounced Pharisees—"hypocrites," "painted sepulchers," "serpents," a "generation of vipers," "children of hell!" What words of condemnation, burning and blasting from the lips of infinite Love! Hence enmity, satisfied only with death! The hatred was carried by the Pharisee into all lands. Antagonism blazed wide as the world. Proselytes were foes fiercer than their Jewish masters. Often among the Gentiles Pharisaism kindled the fires of Christian martyrs. Nor is its hate peculiar to our age. The picture in Scripture is for all earth and all time. Pharisees were types of men representing a development in our universal human

nature, and hence reproduced in every period of history. Their lips are for God and their lives for themselves; they hate the truth they profess to love; they gain great fame by small formalities, and for time sell eternity.

(2.) *Sadducees.*—Zadok was their founder, and after the captivity. They were skeptics. In neither angels nor immortality had they faith. Sadducees were religionists without religion. Even the Pentateuch, which they professed to believe, they explained away. Having lost faith in existence beyond the grave, they made the most of the only life they expected to enjoy. They acquired wealth; they attained office; they indulged in luxury and lived in splendor. To them, in the dazzle of this world, God became dim and eternity obscure. But their earthly vision grew more keen. They represented the aristocracy of the Jews, made lordly and exacting by their consciousness of wealth and honor. By bribes and flatteries the Sadducees secured from their Roman tyrants the loftiest dignities of priesthood, with the control of the revenues of the temple. Thus the skeptics of the nation became the religious rulers of the nation. A cold and calculating aristocratic indifference arrayed itself in a garb of piety, made an affectation of purity, and received a veneration it did not deserve. Nor was its opposition restricted to Jerusalem. In every part of the earth it confronted the kingdom of Christ. Devoted to time and reckless of eternity, Sadduceeism typifies that universal skepticism in the dominant classes of all nations and ages which is the eternal foe to salvation.

(3.) *Priests.*—On its lofty terrace hundreds of feet above the valleys beneath towered the stately and magnificent temple. It was no longer the rude structure over which the returned captives wept when contrasting it with the glory of the building of Solomon. Herod, a hated Edomite, had lavished on the temple his royal wealth. The alien king beautified it with the choicest art of his age. Josephus represents it as a pile of silver glittering in the dazzle of the morning sun. Its cloisters were triumphs of architectural skill, and its gates and pillars were admired by Greeks and Romans accustomed to the Parthenon and the Capitol. And the gorgeous worship of the temple corresponded to the grace and beauty of its art. However the Jew might disregard his moral law, he did not fail to appreciate the splendor of his ceremonial display. Over the world the temple was the love and veneration of the nation. But in it the priests had a peculiar interest. Part of each year it was their home. They slept in its cloisters, they ministered at its altars, they led in its songs, and lived on its revenues. From birth to death they were identified with its wealth and its magnificence. It brought them occupation, support, and glory. Hence they formed an army of interested defenders. Yet this despised Nazarene, this uneducated provincial, this revolutionary innovator was against their temple! His priesthood would end their own, stop their pomps, desolate their altars, scatter their revenues and their worshipers. No marvel that the hierarchy resisted the Gospel! It fought for all that binds man to this present life. From Jerusalem to the

extremities of earth the Jewish priesthood battled Christianity.

II. GENTILE OBSTACLES TO THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY.

(1.) *Aristocracies.*—'Tis hard in our modern age to picture the ancient social conditions. Classes in Judea were separated by a caste system almost as remorseless as that of India. In Greece and Rome manual labor was the task of slaves. Mechanic toil was stigma. Earth's despised millions were beasts, created to bear the life burdens of the rich and powerful. War knew no mercy. Captured cities were pillaged and burned, while their inhabitants were flayed and killed, or, worse than torture and death, manacled for the conqueror. Humanity could little soften homes where the father was a despot, with legal power to divorce his wife, slay his children, and murder his servants. All the social and political laws and customs of the ancient life created in man a hardness which was a chief obstacle to the Gospel.

Neither democracy nor philosophy had mitigated human severity. Aristocratic pride was as stern and relentless in free and cultured Greece as in imperial Babylon. Socrates lived in the streets of Athens and mingled with its people. He was a plebeian by birth and instinct; and yet he introduced no popular sympathies into the system of which he was the ideal. The Platonic philosophy loved truth and beauty. It inculcated immortality and extolled virtue. It soared to sublime heights of speculation. Plato himself was refined and mild and just and imaginative. Yet he had no sympathy for the

vulgar. He believed that the rude multitude, chained by fate to matter, could never attain any lofty conceptions. To the masses of mankind, in his view, the ideas of eternal truth were naturally and inevitably unintelligible. Hence human progress was impossible. For man no golden future illuminated by hope and victory! The genius of the Platonic philosophy was that of aristocratic Gnosticism. Stoicism was even more severe and repellent. It taught its disciples with a haughty and frigid indifference to endure life's ills, and when these became insupportable to take a dignified refuge in suicide. To the imperious Roman it gave increased arrogance. He loathed the vulgar. Horace, son of a freedman, felt and expressed the patrician disgust. A system of disdain and despair, Stoicism hardened against Christianity. Between Jesus and Zeno were no points of contact. Nor was Epicureanism more accessible to the salvation of the Gospel. Its creed was pleasure. In the world's capital it encouraged gross sensuality and refined voluptuousness. Law, duty, eternal life—what cared the Epicurean butterflies, glittering in short sunshine from flower to flower, for such solemnities? A philosophy of indulgence, making this world its all, has no care for the judgment call of repentance and feels no need of remission through the blood of the cross.

Nor was it only philosophies that erected barriers between man and his Saviour. Society and government were essentially aristocratic. Rulers resented equality in sinfulness and salvation. They wanted no heaven with slaves and plebeians. They would acknowledge no accountability to a common

tribunal of judgment. Human brotherhood in guilt and in redemption were alike detestable. Pride had its symbol in the Roman Senate. Imperial haughtiness, surpassing patrician assumption and earthly conditions, claimed equality with the Olympian divinities. The whole ancient world was an aristocracy inimical to the Christian Democracy.

(2.) *Priesthoods.*—We are often more impressively taught by a fact than by a dissertation. Our modern archæology now furnishes visible proof of the wealth, power, and magnificence of the pagan hierarchy. The opposition it was able to offer Christianity, better than by any general statement, will be understood by the discoveries of an English architect who has exposed the whole life about the temple of Diana at Ephesus, and thus enables us to illustrate the vast resources of the heathen priesthood, fighting for its existence against the ministers of salvation.

Our explorer spent six years in determining the site of the buried structure. His long toil was rewarded by some inscriptions in the great theater which gave a clew to the place of the temple. These also proved that it had been amply endowed by the will of a rich Ephesian. He bequeathed the rents of lands, provided for the support of an army of dependents, gave directions for pompous processions and gorgeous ceremonials, and presented the goddess images of silver and of gold. The temple of Diana was not only a seat of worship, but the bank of Asia. Kings deposited their treasures within its sacred inclosures, guarded more securely by superstition than by soldiery. Approach to the

temple was through a splendid cemetery filled with costly monuments, on which were discovered most touching and affectionate inscriptions to the departed. Reverence for the priest was increased by veneration for the dead, and the magnificence of the structure gave glory to the hierarchy. It was built of white marble and supported by one hundred graceful pillars. The brilliant front caught the fresh splendors of each rising sun. Around the temple stood double rows of columns. An image of its goddess near the center was adored as a gift from heaven. Its friezes were in the noblest style of art, and its altar had felt the touch of a Phidias and a Praxiteles.

The temple of Diana at Ephesus, the temple of Minerva at Athens, the temple of Zeus at Delphi, the temple of Jove on the Roman Capitoline—what centers of influence for heathen priesthood! Over the universal hierarchy they shed the luster of their charms. But in all lands were edifices devoted to their gods, less famous than the temples we have named, yet depositories of riches and dazzling with splendors and illimitable in the affection and reverence excited for paganism.

Beside these imposing structures stood the messengers of Christianity. Without the aids of architecture, without the culture of music, without the pageantry of ceremonial, without any impressive visible symbol, without the charms of human eloquence, plain in appearance, simple in speech, direct in purpose, they speak of law and sin and repentance; they call to faith in a crucified Christ; they discourse of life's vanities, the awards of judgment,

and the solemnities of eternity. If their Gospel be true the gods of the people are myths. Their altars are to be hurled down, and their idols demolished. Gay festivals will be succeeded by the solemnities of Christian worship. The temples themselves, without priest or sacrifice or suppliant, will stand deserted monuments of a lying mythology. Everywhere over the earth the pagan hierarchy arose to avert such a catastrophe. It battled for life. It invoked its gods. It called to its aid states and armies. It met the ministers of truth with chains and flames and death. Heathen priesthood exhausted earth and heaven for victory over the Christian Democracy.

But behind all and above all oppositions were

(3.) *Emperors.*—Imperial Cæsars ruled the world. They were its autocrats and its divinities. To resist their authority was, in one act, treason and atheism. It was the guilt of crimes expiable only with death. Emperors, indeed, filled their Pantheon with foreign gods, but it was implied that the imperial deity was supreme on earth, as Jove in heaven. How hateful to these terrestrial divinities the very spirit of the Christian Democracy! Contest without compromise was inevitable. Jesus, as one god among many gods, Cæsars would allow. But not Jesus God alone, Jesus Creator of all, Jesus on the cross entitled to the throne of the universe! Between Jesus and Cæsar conflict was irrepressible. A grain of incense burned to Jupiter or emperor avoided the issue. One kiss from the lips, one bend of the knee, one motion of the hand was enough. Imperialism was often easily satisfied and dreaded the contest. Nor did thought-

ful Christians tempt martyrdom. Only fanatics courted flames, from which they shrank when they saw the blaze. But battle came. Roman imperial power impersonated the whole antagonism of earth and hell to the Redeemer. Impurpled Cæsars on the throne of the earth, and with all its energies and engineries of destruction at their command, were visible representatives of that Satan who, before the universe, led its dark spiritual forces for the overthrow of the Christian Democracy.

CHAPTER IV.

Persecutions.

BY simple truth how shall Christianity win the multitude? To make man believe in the unseen and submit himself to an invisible Creator and Redeemer is a superhuman work. And this against all his recoil from repentance, condemnation, and penalty! For our salvation the power of the Holy Ghost is indispensable. But there is a human agency which makes personal and visible the inscrutable Spirit. Testimony is the living energy of the Gospel palpable to eye and ear. Each disciple is a witness. Woe to him if he betray his trust! Bribes from earth and hell beset his path. How Satan tempts us to turn stones into bread, to seek applause on lofty pinnacles, and from high mountains to covet earthly kingdoms! Yet what victorious power when a true faith and a right life are expressed by honest lips! Without such confession pew and pulpit are alike the scorn of men and demons. Each disciple is under vow to testify for Christ. His breath, his brain, his heart, his moments as they fly mark him as a witness for One to whom he belongs. But what security for his sincerity? He may be deceived or he may dissimulate. How shall he know himself and assure others? Death is a test which all admit. And to this Christianity was brought by the persecutions. Flames

tried its witnesses. I may suspect the sleek and prosperous professor. When I see him steadfast in the fire I no longer doubt his integrity. As a system of belief in the invisible the Gospel would never have been successful by learning, eloquence, or argument. Even the divine agency was to be confirmed by the human testimony.

By love of enemies the primitive disciples witnessed most powerfully. To hate a foe was a heathen virtue. The ancients taught, "Kill to secure your safety or gratify your revenge." According to the pagan code of duty and honor, a man was to reward his friend and injure his enemy. As enforced by Christ, to Greeks and Romans the law of love seemed unreasonable and impracticable. But they saw it illustrated in the lives of His disciples. Words are breath; deeds are proof. The old world was weary of the cold and turgid discourses of philosophies which, when sound in theory, were forgotten in practice. Now they saw love demonstrated in the certainty of fact. Abstract command was shown possible by the actions of witnesses. Deeds impressed words. Testimony convinced skeptics. In the gloom of dungeons, weighed down by chains, exhausted by hunger, scourged by rods, torn by pincers, mangled by beasts, and scorched by molten metals, wearied, lacerated, bleeding, burning Christians prayed for their enemies. The last breath of life was intercession for those inflicting death. From cross and fire arose to heaven forgiving words of love. Such spectacles were overwhelming. Often the dying testimony was followed by instantaneous conversions. Heathen executioners became believ-

ers by their remorseless office. The headsman was seen to throw down his ax, confess himself a Christian, and suffer the death he was about to inflict.

No eloquence of Greek or Roman has surpassed the power of Tertullian where he pictures in words the spirit of the witnesses for his Master. Addressing the emperor, he cries:

"Thither we lift up our eyes; without ceasing, for our enemies we offer prayer—not the few grains of incense a farthing buys, not the blood of some worthless ox whose death is a relief. With our hands stretched out and up to God, rend us with your iron claws, hang us up on crosses, wrap us in flames, take our heads from us with the sword, let loose the wild beasts upon us, wring from us the soul beseeching God on the emperor's behalf!"

The joy of the martyr was another effectual testimony for Christianity. Courage paganism could show. Stoics courted death. To slaves the grave was a welcome refuge from oppression. Roman soldiers imperiled life with fearless heroism. On the arena gladiators fought, reckless whether they fell by the fang of the lion or slew him with the sword. How many brave men had dared death for freedom and shed immortal luster over the pages of Greek and Roman history! Disregard for life was, indeed, a characteristic of the age of persecuting Cæsars. But, weary of the ills of existence or in despair under his sufferings, the heathen submitted to his fate as inevitable, and often with hate in his heart and curses on his lip. Disciples of Jesus were radiant amid flames. They were victorious over racks and crosses. Hope of immortal life beamed

from their eyes and faces. A last breath was a song of triumph. The halo with which art crowned each martyr head was a symbol of a true conqueror. More brilliant than a crown of laurel this wreath of beams. Joy in death, attested by innumerable witnesses, won multitudes to Christ.

Persecution also advertised the religion of the cross. It made it known to all classes of society, and converted its patient and retiring submission into public spectacles of conquering faith and love. The recent explorations of Lanciani in Rome show that not only slaves and mechanics, but also many members of senatorial and imperial families, were baptized disciples of the Saviour and faithful unto death. It was persecution that brought Christianity beyond the sphere of plebeians to the notice of patricians and emperors. Accusations were tried before consuls, with appeal to the imperial tribunal. Government was forced to know the obscure sect it punished. And, while Christianity had to be recognized at the judgment seat by rulers and priests, their victims attracted the multitude by spectacles of flames. The means employed to destroy the faith was the most effectual agency of its extension. Its leaven of life was thus diffused from humble homes into temples and palaces. Prisons of martyrs were centers of influence wider than pulpits. Flames preached eloquently and convincingly. The triumphant words of Christian victors made more conversions, even in the superior classes, than sonorous orators.

For thirty years after the death of Christ Judaism and Christianity were confounded by paganism.

Under the toleration Rome granted the former the latter grew unnoticed. The law itself was a shield to the new faith until it became established in the world and could stand in defiance of enemies.

The first great persecution began under Nero. On the night of July 18, A. D. 64, a fire originated in the stalls of the Circus Maximus. It consumed seats and stagings, and then spread with terrifying rapidity. To check it firemen and soldiers worked in vain. Houses were torn down to arrest the flames. For six days and nights the fire raged, spread into the gardens of Mæcenas, and after being subdued burst out again and continued three more days its work of destruction. Of fourteen regions of Rome but four escaped unharmed. Nero was accused as the incendiary. We have no historic proof of his guilt. But, suspected of the crime and endangered by the populace, the reckless emperor accused the Christians. Possibly instigated by the Jews, he began a work of murder to divert attention. A carnival of blood ensued. Horrible and unexampled torments were employed. Martyrs were crucified, torn by dogs, killed in the tragic spectacles. In Nero's gardens, where now stand St. Peter's and the Vatican, the populace assembled to behold a brilliant but ghastly display which seems like a red midnight glare, ominous of the centuries of fiery torments before Christianity, under the old Rome and under the new. Huge torches blazed through the darkness. Like some infernal demon, Nero turned pain into sport, and of death itself made laughter. He smeared martyrs with pitch and set them on fire that their agonies, visible in the blaze,

might amuse the giddy and cruel Roman multitude.

This first persecution was a mere outburst of popular hate, stimulated by brutal imperial caprice. For fifty years there was no law by which Christians were killed. Their lives depended on the whim of rulers and the passions of the populace. An explosion might occur at any moment. The first legal enactment was caused by one of the most just of the consular governors and made by one of the most excellent of the emperors. In the view of its framers it was necessary, merciful, and equitable. We must remember that by Roman law Christianity was not only impiety, but treason, and, therefore, an offense both against religion and empire.

About the year A. D. 112 Pliny the Younger was proconsul in Bithynia. In this region the altars were abandoned and the temples deserted. Paganism seemed like one of its own decaying and desolate seats of worship. Its priests feared that their gods would be dethroned and their occupation gone. Accusations multiplied and crowds of Christians were forced before Pliny. The just and forbearing Roman magistrate was perplexed. He shrank from decreeing to ax and flame, and dispatched a letter asking instruction from the emperor. Trajan reflected and replied. His answer was the first imperial edict which regulated by law the trial and punishment of Christians. It provided (1) that they were not to be sought; (2) that when accused and convicted they were to be punished; (3) that if they sacrificed they were to be pardoned; and (4) that no anonymous accusations were to be received.

For more than a century this memorable edict of Trajan regulated the treatment of Christians. But it left them at the mercy of mobs and consuls. Life was a suspense. A storm might burst at any moment and thousands perish. A sword waved over the head of each disciple, ever ready to stop and strike. And it was under the philosophic Marcus Aurelius the most cruel blow fell. He changed the law into relentless severity. How mild and beautiful the words of this emperor! "Men exist for each other," he writes; "teach them or bear with them!" Have we not here the spirit of the Gospel? In theory the pagan is more merciful than the inquisitor. Our imperial philosopher is exalted as a moral model. We must judge him, not by his journals, which cost only time, ink, and parchment, but by his laws, which murdered and plundered the innocent. Barbarians were thundering on the confines of his empire. Gloom settled over Marcus Aurelius. His philosophy evaporated into mist, that grew red in a cloud of blood. After all his fair dreams he was not only an imperial failure, but an inciter to plunder and death. It is not certain that in his despair he did not turn from philosophy to heathenism and seek to propitiate his old gods by the blood of martyrs. Our lauded and speculative emperor invited persecution by an appeal to that avarice which, under the pretext of religion, has usually set in motion the machinery of death by which kings and priests have ground out gain to satisfy greed. Marcus Aurelius issued an edict ordering that the accusers of Christians should come into possession of their property!

Decius let loose the next tempest. He was the first to decree a general persecution. Like Trajan, he proposed to restore the old Roman glory. Ancient institutions were to be revived, the Senate was to regain its patrician honors, the censorship to be renewed, and Rome fortified and adorned so as to attract with its former splendors. With these political aspirations came the necessity of restoring the old paganism. Olympian gods will resume their thrones, their temples, and their dominion. But Christianity stands in the way of such a revival. Decius will obliterate it in blood. In A. D. 250 his imperial edict ordained that all Christians, without exception, should be required to perform the rites of the religion of the Roman State. The punishment of refusal was torture. Local magistrates were directed to fix a time within which Christians were to appear and sacrifice. Many fled, and their property was confiscated. Those remaining were terrified by threats. But soon the earthquake heaved beneath the Church. Pagan rage burst forth in different regions of the empire. The Bishop of Rome, Fabianus, suffered martyrdom. Cornelius was successor in office and in death. Next Lucius accepted the episcopate, but soon exchanged his miter for a martyr's crown. Rome's three faithful bishops sleep together in the Catacombs. Multitudes in the imperial capital perished by torture. Their numbers were nearly equaled in Alexandria. Here Quinta was dragged through the streets by her feet until she expired. Crucified side by side, a husband and wife for three days exhorted each other as they suffered. At Cæsarea perished Bishop

Alexander of Jerusalem, and in Antioch Bishop Babylas. The illustrious Cyprian was beheaded at Carthage. For ten years this Decian persecution continued, and ended when the emperor fell in a war with the Goths.

In A. D. 302–303 began the last fire-test of Christianity under imperial Rome. Diocletian had divided the empire between four rulers. Of these two were Augusti and two were Cæsars. But over all Diocletian retained the sovereign authority. Like Trajan and Decius, he, too, would restore the old Roman glory—not, however, by martyrdom of Christians. Diocletian was a wise and pacific emperor and, although of plebeian birth, had shown himself worthy of the imperial purple. It was Galerius, his associate, who, on a visit to the capital, urged him to kindle fatal fires. Diocletian hesitated, but consented to take counsel of the gods. Having yielded thus far, he was pushed onward until he brought over himself and his empire a cloud dark as death. The oracle of the Milesian Apollo gave the response the priests desired and, perhaps, dictated. Paganism triumphed for the hour, to perish by its own violence. Taught by experience, it sought to burn the Scriptures, destroy the churches, extirpate the ministers, and thus at its fountains exhaust Christianity. Angered by false reports, although averse to blood, Diocletian began in his own court and capital by ordering to torture. All who would not sacrifice were strangled. 1. An imperial decree directed the sacred books to be burned and the sacred edifices destroyed; 2. The clergy were commanded to be imprisoned;

3 and 4. The decrees were then extended to all Christians, who must sacrifice or die.

Now the Diocletian persecution surpassed all that preceded in extent and cruelty. Murders were wholesale. A Phrygian town was surrounded and burned. A whole Church was in one instance extirpated. Slaughter attained the rate of a hundred a day. Galerius ordered death by slow fire. A small flame was kindled under the feet of a victim. Water was dashed on him to prevent his too speedy death. He was calcined until his flesh fell from his bones. Hanging by their feet, the ears and noses of the martyrs were cut off, their eyes and tongues torn out, and when their bodies were consumed their ashes were cast into the sea to prevent veneration for their relics. About the sixth year this infernal violence expended itself. By endurance martyrs conquered priests and emperors. The Christian anvil wore out the pagan hammer. Imperial Rome was defeated. Diocletian, so long prosperous, died in awful gloom. Diseased by debauchery and tortured by fear, Galerius was a spectacle of suffering. Vermin swarmed over his loathsome flesh, while he raged like a demon. At last the expiring tyrant himself ended the persecution. On his deathbed Galerius confessed his failure, stopped the cruelties, decreed universal toleration, and supplicated the prayers of Christians.

But history must notice that dark, spectral colors crossed the brilliant glories of martyrdom. Even in prisons and flames spiritual pride was intensified into intolerant fanaticism. And this connected itself with the strifes for the episcopate mentioned

first by Clemens Romanus and of which we have glimpses through the mists of patristic ages. While the fires of the Decian persecution were raging at Carthage, bishops and presbyters were in a fierce contest which ended in the universal subversion of the Christian Democracy.

About two hundred years after Christ was born Cyprian, called Thascius. He was a rhetorician, wealthy and highly educated. Baptized A. D. 247, in the next year he was advanced to the episcopate. The new bishop gave all his property to the poor. But neither his charity, his piety, nor his brilliant genius prevented envy at his sudden exaltation. Religion had declined at Carthage. Luxury undermined faith and morals. Dross had mingled with the gold. In the Church were worldly men who sought gain and glory, even from martyrdom. Presuming on their superior piety, from their prison cells fanatical professors issued certificates recommending, almost commanding, unworthy persons to be restored to the communion. Some of these lapsed disciples had denied the faith by sacrifice to the emperor, and some had bought immunity by surrendering their Bibles to their persecutors. A wild, infectious, and pernicious enthusiasm was excited in the Church of Carthage. Popular clamor almost forced the bishop to respect the indiscriminate commendations of deceived and ambitious fanatics. Cyprian hesitated. He wisely maintained that the lapsed should not be restored until the storm had passed and each case could be examined and decided by the ecclesiastical authority. He yielded so far as to give the dying the sacrament.

But this concession, inconsistent with his position, instead of allaying, added fury to the tempest.

On a hill near Carthage lived Novatus, the presbyter. He was a man of fiery spirit who spurned the episcopal yoke. In him culminated the antagonism of the ecclesiastical strifes of two centuries. Novatus watched his bishop struggling in the storm and was not above taking advantage of his difficulties. In the heat of the persecution the rebel presbyter ordained the deacon Felicissimus. This was open and defiant revolt against the episcopal order. Carthage burst into strifes among Christians furious as the martyr flames kindled by a pagan emperor. Now the lapsed who were rejected by the bishop were received by the presbyter. Novatus was a leader of rebellion, and his Church a fiery center.

To meet the assaults of his presbyterial enemies Cyprian did not defend himself by urging the inherent wisdom of his policy toward the lapsed. In this he would have been strong and his vindication complete. But the bishop prevailed over the man. Cyprian stood, not on his argument, but his order. His episcopal authority was inviolable because established by God. Office, rather than reason, made him right. To support his prerogative he enforced his commands by his visions. A divine voice told him that the immaculate priesthood would be avenged. He now asserted as a universal law that, as the bishop is in the Church, so the Church is in the bishop. He said that whoever separated himself from the bishop separated himself from the Church. In the bishop, therefore, was the unity of the Church. Amid the Decian flames, a little more

than two centuries after the power and liberty of the Pentecostal baptism, was developed by Cyprian that view of episcopal prerogative which subverted the Christian Democracy and, after the Apostolical Constitutions, became the universal ecclesiastical law.

A schism arose at Rome in principle similar to that at Carthage, although in origin widely diverse. It was the Italian death-throe of the sovereignty of believers as established by the evangelical histories. Novatianus was a learned, pious, and influential presbyter. He attained peace after what was believed to be a fierce struggle with indwelling demons from which he had been exorcised. Fabianus, Bishop of Rome, ordained him presbyter. Now in the capital of the world started forth into a blaze of fury the question which had inflamed Carthage. Shall the lapsed be admitted to the communion? Novatianus took the rigid view, while Cornelius, bishop by the martyrdom of Fabianus, took the mild view. In Italy, as in Africa, bishop against presbyter and presbyter against bishop on the question of episcopal authority; while in regard to the policy toward the lapsed the positions of bishop and presbyter are completely reversed! In defiance of Fabianus was Novatianus ordained bishop. But the rebellion was not successful. As at Carthage, so at Rome and in all regions of the world, by the law and custom of both the Oriental and Occidental communions, episcopacy triumphed over the liberties of the Christian Democracy.

Out of the Diocletian persecution at the close of the third century sprang the Donatist schism. It,

too, originated in questions concerning the lapsed. As in the Decian persecution, arose a mild and a rigid party. A woman led the severe sectists. Lucilla, wealthy and powerful, possessed precious martyr relics, which she saluted affectionately and adoringly with public and private kisses. Her feminine zeal was infectious in its fanaticism. The rich lady had an enemy. It was Cæcilian, ordained Bishop of Carthage by Felix. At the house of Lucilla was held a meeting of her friends. In fact, the rich lady was in conspiracy against episcopal order, perhaps without intending rebellion. She called to her aid Numidian bishops. These consecrated her favorite reader, Marjorinus, charging that as Felix was an apostate traditor his ordination of Cæcilian was void. In this contest between Lucilla and her bishop we have the seeds of the Donatist schism.

The emperor Constantine interfered in this Carthaginian battle and directed an inquiry. He appointed Miltiades, Bishop of Rome, to preside over an episcopal commission. In the year A. D. 313 the case was tried. Five Gallic bishops, under Miltiades, constituted the ecclesiastical court. Ten bishops accused and ten defended. In attendance were fifteen Italian bishops. Against the accused Donatus was leader. Felix was tried on the charge of having betrayed the faith by delivering the sacred books to his persecutors. He was acquitted. Hence his ordination of Cæcilian was valid. The case was then appealed to the Council of Arles. Here, too, Cæcilian was vindicated. Marjorinus, his rival, soon after died; but the schism he represented had rooted

itself in North Africa. Donatus became its leader. He was a bishop without regular ordination, but energetic and eloquent, however errant in spirit and doctrine. In him we have an expiring protest, passionate, yet powerful, against the ecclesiastical suppression of primitive liberty. Donatism would have hurled away the fetter of apostolical succession. Often it flamed into fanaticism and rushed into wildest excesses. Mad violence invited against it repressive measures. Some of its frenzied enthusiasts sought for themselves the fame of martyrdom. They hurled themselves into flames and over precipices. With other eminent bishops of his sect, Donatus was exiled. Under Julian their churches and privileges were restored. But succeeding emperors renewed the persecutions. To heal the schism Augustine devoted his time, his strength, and his eloquence. In A. D. 411 a great convention assembled at Carthage. Two hundred and eighty-six Catholic bishops met two hundred and seventy-nine Donatist bishops. North Africa swarmed with bishops, Catholic and Donatist, differing but by seven in their numbers! So powerful was sectarian opposition to apostolical succession!

Now Augustine introduced a startling compromise. It conceded the whole claim of episcopacy as a divine, exclusive, and invariable order. Yet it does not seem to have been resisted at Rome or Carthage or Constantinople or in any part of the universal Church. Expediency is usually stronger than principle. Augustine proposed that if the Donatists would become Catholics, then the bishops of both parties should stand on the same level in

episcopal functions. A Donatist and Catholic bishop were to occupy their sees together, but whichever survived should be in the Catholic episcopate. Thus Augustine hoped to make all North Africa Catholic. However, the sectists refused his generous concession. As shown by the letters of Gregory the Great, Donatism survived down to the sixth century, a fanatical and mutilated, but protesting, witness for the evangelical Christian Democracy.

CHAPTER V.

Constantine.

THE death of Galerius removed from the earth an imperial monster. He was a demon mad for blood, and baffled only by physical and mental torments in his fiendish love of destruction. Now loathsome in his grave, the empire was relieved of an intolerable load. This persecuting tyrant was succeeded by his nephew, Caius Galerius Valerius Maximinus. In the year 311 he had made himself master of the Asiatic provinces, and ruled also over Egypt. He was a man of low origin, nor were his mean birth and rude dispositions concealed by his imperial purple. Maximinus was ignorant, violent, a devotee of gods, and a tool of priests.

Under the edict issued amid the death-agonies of Galerius, Christians came from mines and prisons and exile in distant lands to experience briefly the joy of liberty. The churches were full, and the temples deserted. Fresh vigor inspired the new faith, made unconquerable by suffering. But this victorious joy of the Christians excited fanatical rage in their heathen enemies. Priests, conjurers, and magistrates in united opposition begged the emperor that no foes of his ancestral gods should dwell or worship within the walls of cities. At Antioch their petition was enforced by a voice from the statue of Jupiter. The king of Olympus spoke

against Christ. Maximinus was not displeased with this intonation of the will of Jove. He caused at Tyre a writing to be made which expressed the whole spirit of the ancient paganism. In this the emperor directs the veneration of the people to the monarch of the gods whose chosen earthly seat was the Roman capital. He says: "That highest and greatest Jupiter, who presides over your famous city, who saved the divinities of your fathers, your wives, children, hearths, and homes from every pestilent infection, he it was who inspired your souls with this healthful purpose, revealing to you how noble and salutary it is to approach the worship of the immortal gods with becoming reverence." All the calamities of his empire Maximinus referred to the reckless and pernicious errors of Christians. "If they persist," he said, "in their accursed folly let them be banished." Another effort now to restore the splendor of paganism! Shall the torch be again kindled? Shall chain and prison and exile and confiscation be once more employed against the faith? Shall the horrors inflicted by Galerius be repeated under his nephew? Blood began to flow and flames to burn. Ominous the portents of terrible persecution! But by events in another region of the empire the tragic spectacles of martyrdom were arrested.

Constantine the Great was richly endowed with the most brilliant gifts of manhood. In person he was large and commanding, majestic in countenance, with a versatile and comprehensive intellect directed by an imperial will created for dominion. The times were ready for this masterful genius. He was to be

the agent of a revolution which was to shape the future of humanity to the close of its development. Constantine was the son of Constantius Chlorus, one of the Augusti of Diocletian, who resided in Britain. Helena, the mother of the greatest of emperors, was reputed to be the daughter of an innkeeper. Her illustrious son thus inherited the robustness of plebeians with a patrician dignity and refinement. His vast gifts had been educated at the court of Diocletian, where he seems to have been held as a species of hostage for the good conduct of his father, Chlorus. In the Nicomedian capital he must have witnessed scenes in the most terrible of all the persecutions, and been impressed with their cruel injustice. Fearing for his life, he resolved to escape from his splendid captivity. In an unguarded moment Diocletian gave his consent that the imperial youth should depart. Expecting a recall, Constantine prepared relays of swift horses, and was soon flying with his face toward the West. Nor was he too quick to leave or too fast in flight. Soon Diocletian dispatched messengers to bring back the fugitive. It was too late. Constantine was far in advance. He could not be overtaken. In that successful flight was the future of Christendom. The stumble of a horse, the delay of a groom, the treachery of a rider would have changed the course of the history of humanity.

In A. D. 306 Constantine was proclaimed the successor of his father. Against Maximian the young emperor turned first his arms. His eagles triumphed. Maximian was defeated and driven to suicide. The exulting victor presented a magnificent offering expressive of his gratitude to Apollo

in his temple at Augustodunum. By this brilliant gift Constantine ascribed his success to a Roman god. Was the imperial youth at this beginning of his military career a pagan? Or did he wish to secure by hypocrisy heathen support? Or was he yet vacillating between the old and the new? He had, most probably, been trained by his parents in the faith of the Christians.

In his path to the dominion of the world Constantine next encountered a more formidable rival. His implacable foe was Maxentius. This Cæsar was despicable, infamous, and detested. Consumed by lust and vanity, he deflowered the wives and daughters of illustrious senators until he became abhorred as a tyrant monster. But he possessed Rome. Hated and feeble in himself, he was yet powerful in the renown and wealth and army of the splendid capital of the empire. He represented the ancient paganism. He hoped in the national gods whom he honored. He was, therefore, accepted as the defender of the old Roman idolatry and commonwealth. Around him were priests, populace, and patricians. Strong in this support, he challenged war. Over Italy Maxentius commanded the statues of Constantine to be hurled from their pedestals to the earth. This was an inexpiable insult to imperial majesty.

Constantine resolved to strike the first blow. With forty thousand men he marched into Italy. Maxentius had one hundred and twenty thousand soldiers, and his other advantages were overwhelming. On his side were all the omens of victory. Constantine was awed by his peril. His soldiers

were mostly pagans in arms against their gods. Can they be trusted to fight against their priests and altars? Are they not led against Rome, their venerated imperial capital? Will they encounter the peril of vastly superior numbers? And their general is a youth without laurels or experience, who has just drawn his sword first in battle. In this desperate situation where shall Constantine seek help? We will see. The new hero marches boldly from the Alps into Italy toward Rome. On the Flaminian way at the Milvian Bridge he is a few miles from the capital. A crisis has come when he must have divine aid or perish. He cannot supplicate the deities of his enemies. He will turn, then, to the God of the Christians. Desire for victory, rather than faith, inspired his prayer. In this torturing suspense, just after the hour of noon, Constantine relates that he saw over the sun a glittering cross, and above it on the heavens the words, Τούτῳ νίκα—"By this conquer!" The emperor pondered over the celestial sign. Night came, and he dreamed. Now, he solemnly affirms that Christ revealed Himself and commanded him to make a banner resplendent like that in the sky. In obedience to the vision a glittering ensign was prepared. This was the *labarum*. It lifted on its flaming folds the cross in sight of the army. On the helmet of the emperor shone a cross. On the shield of each soldier was a cross. Wherever battle raged floated and flashed a cross. The cross became the symbol for Constantine of faith and victory.

But beyond the Tiber was Maxentius. He was the defender of heathen gods, priests, altars, tem-

ples, traditions, and his empire's capital. Face to face stand paganism and Christianity. The battle is for the dominion of the world. Terrible the shock! The army of Maxentius is shattered and defeated, and he is hurled into the Tiber from a bridge near where now stands the modern Ponte Molle. On the hill of the Capitol Constantine plants the cross. Here in his own temple Christ displaces Jupiter. The victorious emperor on the Esquiline built the Lateran Cathedral and erected the vast monumental baths whose ruins yet give honor to his conquering name. It was on the twenty-seventh of October, A. D. 312, that the conflict of the Milvian Bridge occurred, and ever after this triumph of his arms the cross was Constantine's battle symbol. He erected in the Roman Forum his statue. Grasped by his right hand was his standard of victory, with the inscription, "By this salutary sign, the true symbol of valor, I freed your city from the yoke of the tyrant." The conqueror converts the emblem of our salvation into an inspiration for war. Years after, in his capital on the Bosporus, he gave his standard a more spiritual significance. At the entrance of his imperial palace was an immense picture of the emperor. His *labarum* was in the hand of Constantine. Beneath his feet, pierced by arrows, writhed the dragon Heathenism.

Galerius had died on his bed in agonies of disease. Maximian after defeat perished by suicide. Maxentius was drowned at the Ponte Molle in Tiber. Maximinus while arming for new conflicts died at Tarsus. Of the six rivals claiming empire after Diocletian's death four had been removed from the

path of Constantine to the throne of the world. His brother-in-law Licinius alone remained. Early in the year A. D. 313 the two emperors met in friendly consultation at Milan. They agreed to issue a remarkable decree—the first edict of universal toleration ever proclaimed in the history of the human race. It is a magnificent testimony to the statesmanship of Constantine. How wonderful that the man who was to complete the extinction of the Christian Democracy and fetter the Church to the empire, and whose sons would be tyrants over bishops, should make the first movement toward liberty of faith far in advance of the progress of the world! The edict of Milan was published on June 13, 313, in Nicomedia, the capital of the Oriental division of the empire. Its chief provisions were: (1) Each subject of the empire was at liberty to choose his own religion; (2) all property of Christians confiscated during the persecutions was to be restored; (3) compensation to innocent purchasers was to be made from the imperial treasury; (4) all officials were enjoined faithfully to execute the edict.

The peace between Licinius and Constantine could not continue. A trembling world felt war to be inevitable. Between paganism and Christianity drew near the final struggle. One emperor was a patron of the old gods, and the other their declared foe. Each impersonated his religion. In the same army the cross glittering over the Christian soldier was the abomination of the pagan. Towns, cities, provinces, kingdoms were divided. Even in his own court each sovereign feared treachery. The

empire must henceforth be either pagan or Christian. Licinius, perhaps, precipitated the catastrophe. He forbade assemblies of bishops; he hindered Christian education; he sent worshipers to the fields; he appointed pagan officers; he permitted persecution, as in the case of the Forty Martyrs at Sebaste. But Constantine, on his side, was equally ready for the irrepressible conflict.

Priests and augurs excited Licinius to defend their gods and destroy their enemies. Before proceeding to war he conducted the officers of his court and army to a sacred grove. Candles burn before the divine images. The place is awful with all the imposing rites of pagan ceremonial. Above the altar rises the smoke of sacrifice. In the name of his deities Licinius makes this solemn appeal: "Here stand the images of the gods whose worship we have received from our fathers. But our enemy, who has impiously abandoned the sanctuaries of his country, worships a foreign God, who has come from I know not where, and dishonors his army with the disgraceful sign of his God. If the foreign thing which we now deride come off victorious we, too, shall be obliged to acknowledge and worship it and we must dismiss the gods to whom we vainly kindle these lights. But if our gods conquer, as we doubt not they will, we will turn ourselves after this victory to the war against our enemies."

The significance of the struggle was as fully realized by Constantine. His life, his faith, his empire were involved. To a guard of fifty soldiers he committed the *labarum*. It moved the symbol of victory. The army saw in it a sign of the presence

of Divinity. Imagination surrounded it with a halo of awe, and it inspired men in strifes of deadly battle. One bearer, terrified, giving the *labarum* to a comrade, fled. The coward fell transfixed by arrows, while the new ensign with his flaming standard was unharmed amid peril and slaughter. Often struck, the staff was uninjured. Thus the cross of our salvation, beautiful emblem of eternal peace, urged grim warriors to carnage for victory!

On the third of July, A. D. 323, Licinius was defeated at Adrianople. The siege of Byzantium followed. Crispus, eldest son of Constantine, commanded the fleet and, entering the Hellespont, conquered Amandus, the pagan admiral. At Chrysopolis was the final battle. Here, too, Licinius was vanquished. He fled to Nicomedia. At the intercession of his wife Constantia, his life was spared; but in A. D. 324 he was ordered to death. All enemies were subdued. Constantine was master of the world.

Imperial policy soon violated the edict of Milan. Humanity was not ready for religious toleration. Constantine himself led in a departure from the wise provisions of his own decree. His sons followed his example. It was ordered: "The heathen superstition must cease; the temples everywhere must be closed; he who offers sacrifice shall be struck down with the avenging sword; his property shall fall to the State treasury." We see in these statutes that gain is the end of all persecutors, whether pagans or inquisitors.

Before his battle with Maxentius, Constantine affirms he saw over the sun, and then in vision, a

cross which became his sign and inspiration of victory. Was it illusion, or imposture? At the close of his life, with slight motive for deception, the emperor related to his friend Eusebius as facts the spectacles which appeared to his eye and in his dream. We need not explain them into miracle. They belong to a not infrequent species of psychological phenomena. Powerful mental impressions control the senses, not only of individuals, but of multitudes. Proof shows that the eye sees what is intensely conceived. In abnormal conditions soul dominates vision. A cross blazed vividly before the mind of the agitated emperor. His mental image he transferred to the sun. Excited by the glowing picture, he magnetized his army into his faith. We can adduce psychological facts as wonderful as those involved in the vision of Constantine.

Was the great emperor a Christian? After his victory over Maxentius his imperial influence was for the new faith. He associated with clergymen, studied doctrinal questions, convened the Nicene Council, and seemed devoted to the Church. But not until thirty years of profession was he baptized. Eusebius paints a brilliant picture of the ceremony. Constantine suffers from a disease pronounced incurable. Imperial purple cannot hide the ghastly traces of his fatal malady. On his brow falls the shadow of eternity. Vanity earth's empire compared with the immortality of heaven! Awed by the everlasting future, Constantine stands at the font in the glittering robes of baptism whose white symbolizes holiness. He is immersed in the consecrated water in the name of the Trinity. He is signed with

the cross. He feels on his brow the anointing chrism, and he professed to experience in himself the ineffable joy of forgiveness, the purity of regeneration, the hope of immortal life. If we are to believe his testimony, he glowed with the love and light of a Christian's faith. And the magnificence of his imperial funeral, which followed soon, gave solemn interest to a baptism preparative for death. Eusebius wrote the account of his emperor. The eloquence of the bishop encircles Constantine with the halo of the sage, the hero, and the saint.

We have viewed the bright colors of the picture; mingled amid these are shades dark with death. Toward his life's close Constantine was filled with gloom. Black specters of suspicion pursued the miserable man. Blood was on his life. He had forced Maximian to suicide. He had put to death his own son, Crispus. He had slain his nephew. He had killed his brother-in-law Licinius, once his imperial associate. After sacrificing his son on the testimony of his second wife, Fausta, he gave Fausta also to the executioner. We do not know all the facts. The members of his family slain by the emperor may have conspired against his life or throne. But we should restrain eulogy. A cloud is over Constantine. He is before that infallible Judge who weighs slave and king in the same balance of everlasting justice.

As a ruler no man in history is more illustrious than the son of Chlorus. Renouncing paganism, he wisely recognized it as a fact to be tolerated in his government. His conciliation was the only policy possible. It brought magnificent success.

Under the leadership of Constantine Christianity became the triumphant religion of his empire. From flames and dungeons and impoverishment it arose to mold the administration of him who won and wore the diadem of the world. By convening the Council of Nice Constantine stamped himself on that creed which was to become the universal symbol of the faith of Christendom. He built, too, the city of beauty and glory in whose dazzle of splendor even Rome was for a time obscured, which retains his victorious name, which is a center of the Greek Church and the Mohammedan dominion, and about whose possession as a capital of empire revolve some of the most stupendous questions connected with the future of humanity.

We must explain in detail the influence of Constantine on the organism of the Church. He completed in its polity the ecclesiastical revolution which began in the first century, was successful in the time of Cyprian, and became law by the provision for ordination in the Apostolical Constitutions. By him all previous tendencies from democracy to oligarchy and autocracy were extended and perpetuated. He secularized the Church. Hereafter it exhibits the pomp and pretension of the empire. This we see in the lordly assumptions of episcopal titles, so different from the scriptural and apostolical simplicity. Eusebius and Chrysostom call bishops princes and governors. *Summi sacerdotes*, *pontifices maximi*, *principes sacerdotum*—"highest priests," "greatest pontiffs," "chief of priests"—become usual designations. Bishops were also styled *papæ*, *patres patrum*, and *episcopi episcoporum*—"fathers,"

"fathers of fathers," and "bishops of bishops." Their increased prerogatives corresponded to their pompous episcopal titles:

1. In regard to presbyters, bishops had absolute and independent authority. 2. Bishops tried presbyters, while presbyters never tried bishops. 3. Bishops only had power to grant presbyters license to preach, and, strictly, permission was necessary in each particular instance where the function was exercised. 4. Baptisms could be regularly performed only in the church of the bishop, where ample provision was made for the sacrament. 5. Confirmations admitting to the eucharist were by bishops. 6. The worship of each church in his jurisdiction was under the sole control of the bishop, who could compose liturgies and change the form, but not the doctrine, of creeds. 7. Bishops had the absolute right to receive and disburse all ecclesiastical revenues, so that deacons and presbyters and subordinate functionaries and all charities were paid from the episcopal treasury. 8. Bishops had their power confirmed by civil laws, were appointed judges to try causes, and thus dispensed justice under imperial authority as officers of the empire.

In an ascending scale, similar to that in the State, ecclesiastical rulers arranged their titles, jurisdictions, and prerogatives. The Church was made an ally and an agent of the empire. Metropolitans were established in the chief cities, from which they took name and rank. Each over his district had independent authority, ordained his own bishops, convoked synods over which he presided, supplied

vacant sees, and had superintendence of the general interests of his province.

Highest in this splendid hierarchical system were patriarchs. They, too, imitated the custom of the empire and, as archpriests, styled their districts dioceses. Of these there were thirteen, with their capitals at Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesus, Cæsarea, Thessalonica, Sirmium, Milan, Carthage, Lyons, Toledo, and York. Two of these overshadowed all others and were highest above the ecclesiastical world. After contesting the struggling claims of Alexandria, Ephesus, and Antioch, by the decree of Chalcedon Rome and Constantinople were declared supreme and equal. One was exalted as the ancient, and the other as the actual, capital of the empire, and between them began a conflict for superiority.

Patriarchs in their dioceses (1) ordained metropolitans; (2) called synods and presided; (3) censured metropolitans; (4) absolved great criminals; (5) received appeals from synods and metropolitans, with power to reverse their inferior decrees; and (6) as officers of the empire published the imperial laws. Hence the civil title "exarch" was sometimes applied to metropolitans. The sixth Novel of Justinian shows how ecclesiastics were required to perform political functions in the intimate alliance of Church and State. It provides, "The patriarchs of every diocese shall publish these our laws and notify them to the metropolitans."

Amid these revolutionary changes from scriptural democracy to episcopal oligarchy the Bishop of Rome watched the world and ever pressed his claim

to ecclesiastical autocracy. The pope asserted sovereignty over East and West. Greek as well as Latin owed him allegiance. He must be acknowledged head of the universal Church, and throne and crown kings and emperors.

As early as A. D. 347 a council at Sardica ordained that, on appeal to the Bishop of Rome, he could reconsider the case and appoint judges for a second hearing or, taking the initiative, himself institute the ecclesiastical inquiry. In the Council of Ephesus, A. D. 431, the legate of Pope Celestine asserted the sovereignty of his pontifical master. He said: "It is a thing undoubted that the apostle Peter received the keys and power of binding and loosing which in Peter still lives, and exercises judgment in his successors now and always." At the Council of Chalcedon Pope Leo's legate styled his lord "head of all Churches," affirming that "Peter spoke in him." The pontiff himself exclaims: "As being see of the blessed Peter, thou, Rome, art made head of all the world, so as to have wider rule by religion than by the power of earthly domination." Hilary, Leo's successor, calls himself "vicar of Peter, unto whom forthwith after the resurrection the keys of the kingdom belonged for the illumination of all." Pope Gelasius, A. D. 496, in a letter to Faustus, wrote in the lofty, autocratic strain assumed centuries afterward by Hildebrand, Boniface, and Innocent III: "Things divine are to be learned by secular potentates from bishops, above all from the vicar of the blessed Peter." And in a letter to the emperor Gelasius says: "There are two authorities by which the world is governed, the

pontifical and the royal, the sacerdotal order being that which has charge of the sacraments of life and from which thou must seek the causal of thy salvation. Hence in divine things it becomes kings to bow the head to priests, especially to the head of priests whom Christ's own voice has set over the universal Church." Also in A. D. 501 Symmachus, from his pontifical throne at Rome, asserts his universal sovereignty: "The pope is judge as God's vicar, and can himself be judged by no one!"

Nor must we deny that the imperial authority often accentuated the papal claim. The emperors Gratian and Valentinian, A. D. 378, gave ecclesiastics liberty of appeal to Rome. If the charge was against a metropolitan the pope had original jurisdiction. In A. D. 380 the great Theodosius wrote: "All nations governed by us should steadfastly adhere to the religion taught by St. Peter to the Romans." He and Theodosius II rebuked resistance to the Roman bishop. Without his approbation other bishops were to do nothing. The universal clergy must obey him as supreme ecclesiastical ruler. Justinian's Code in A. D. 529 confirmed Gratian's decree. Phocas, the Greek emperor, A. D. 606 or 607, acknowledged the see of Rome to be above the see of Constantinople. He gave the pope the Pantheon, over which the Greeks before had jurisdiction. Finally, in A. D. 800 Charlemagne confirmed the universal papal supremacy. The pallium became the gift of popes to metropolitans. It was the official sign of Rome's ecclesiastical sovereignty over all nations.

Yet it must be observed that these grants from

emperors to popes implied the superiority of the imperial power. This, above all, was the sovereign jurisdiction over Church and State. Emperors convened and controlled the great Ecumenical Councils. At Nice, A. D. 325, its Council was summoned by Constantine; at Constantinople, A. D. 381, its first Council by Theodosius the Great; at Ephesus, A. D. 431, its Council by Theodosius II; at Chalcedon, A. D. 451, its Council by Marcian. The second Council of Constantinople, A. D. 553, was convened by Justinian, and the third, A. D. 680, by Constantine Progonatus.

Nor was the ecclesiastical supremacy of emperors mere theory. In their ordinary government they exercised jurisdiction over patriarchs, popes, metropolitans, bishops, and other clerical functionaries. At will they appointed, degraded, exiled, and even executed. Witness the deposition and banishment of Athanasius, Nestorius, and Chrysostom! How savage was the imperial tyranny toward illustrious ecclesiastics! Let one fact stand for many instances! Eighty clergymen complained of ill usage to the emperor Valens. He placed them in a vessel which the crew fired and abandoned. All perished together in the flames.

By the Justinian Code bishops were legalized in their oligarchic power. As a coordinate governing authority the college of presbyters vanished, and with them every trace of the original Christian Democracy. Laics had no more influence in the Church than sheep, created to be shorn. History recalls the deeds of few persons below the episcopal ranks. Usually about a miter shone the halo of the saint.

Bishops not only usurped title to holiness, but to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, alone attending Councils, executing decrees, controlling revenues, directing worship, and by their mandates impressing the episcopal will on every act of religion. Yet the ecclesiastics themselves were servile agents of imperial power. Justinian was sovereign. He claimed the world for his empire. Like his edict for the State, his creed for the Church was universal law. His imperial anathema had pontifical authority. Legislating for Rome and Constantinople, he ruled East and West as his dominion. Magistrates and ecclesiastics were alike servants of his caprice. Under Justinian Church and State constituted a united empire.

Charlemagne was as autocratic as Constantine or Justinian. He was crowned, indeed, in A. D. 800 by Leo III, the Roman pontiff. Yet, receiving his diadem from the pope, he exercised imperial sovereignty over all ecclesiastical persons, questions, and interests. In return for his magnificent dotation to Leo he assumed the power of legislating as despotically for the clergy as the laity. His institutes command the Church. His invasions were to conquer heathenism by the sword. His sign of subjugation was baptism. Unbelief with him, as with Mohammed, was extermination. Ecclesiastics, like soldiers, were employed as instruments of worldly dominion. By the victories of his armies Charlemagne became legislator for Church as well as empire. He placed himself above the pope and condemned the image worship which the pope approved. The emperor, a more than pope, presided

at a Council of Frankfort which rejected a decree of a Council of Nicæa. He claimed sway over the whole extent of the old Roman imperial dominion, including the Oriental and the Occidental Church. Charlemagne was the autocrat of Christendom.

During the mediæval ages the pope and the emperor were in perpetual war. Ecclesiastical sovereignty was disputed, not only in cabinets, but on battlefields. For a time pontiffs triumphed. At the close of the tenth century France, England, and Germany held their crowns from Innocent III, who was the ecclesiastical autocrat of the great European nations. But, whether popes or emperors were in the ascendant, there was not visible a fragment of the original democratic constitution of the Church. Always bishops maintained their power. In many countries the State was ruled, not by an armored, but a tonsured, aristocracy. Cabinets were composed of ecclesiastics. Diets supplanted legislatures. Bishops governed as princes and fought as warriors. Under clerical rule Europe was a virtual hierarchy. Above prelates, above kings, above emperors, on the throne of the world sat the Roman Pontiff.

While Innocent III realized fully the dream of the sovereignty of the world, it was reserved for Boniface VIII most openly and defiantly to arrogate to himself both the pontifical and the imperial dominion. Rome at his jubilee is crowded with pilgrims. All the power and wealth and magnificence of Europe are about Boniface. In his robe and crown, blazing in gold and purple and glittering with jewels, he ascends the throne of Constantine.

The dominion of the world is symbolized by his sword, scepter, and diadem. Boniface shouts, "I am Cæsar! I am emperor!" By the Vatican Decree of Pio Nono Boniface is infallible. It was reserved for our own century to consummate the papal autocratic system and pronounce in the Roman Church the extinction of the Christian Democracy.

CHAPTER VI.

Liberty.

WE have traced through centuries the suppression of the Christian Democracy. But a decay in the outer organism presumes corruption in the inner life. It is the soul which animates and governs the human body. Destroy the spiritual force and you stop the external movement. Henceforth we are to consider those living truths which can alone preserve the freedom of the ecclesiastical organism.

In man liberty is the unconquerable spirit. You cannot chain this with the fetters which bind his flesh. It gains vigor in dungeons and soars above flames. Only the force in heroic souls ever made invincible the brave men who have fought and won the battles of civil liberty. But the power of the Church is not a human inspiration. It is the breath of the Holy Ghost. He characterizes our dispensation. He was promised by the glorified Master. He dwells with men to give freedom and victory. "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." Creeds, confessions, liturgies, organizations are not enough. These belong to the ecclesiastical body; the life is the Holy Ghost. From Him comes the freedom of the Church. But His presence is always associated with certain truths. We cannot separate the Spirit of God from the doctrine of God. Lib-

erty of soul springs from knowledge of Scripture. Thus we are impelled to consider those truths which are in the very life of the Christian Democracy. Where can we find them in their perfection? Surely in the form inspired by the Holy Ghost! Beginning with Scripture as the divine ideal, we find its doctrines in the Church—not a development toward perfection, but first a corruption toward extinction, and then a deliverance at the Reformation from the decays of death into a liberty which, we trust, will brighten into universal millennial glory.

Beneath all in human nature is its sense of guilt. Each man at the root of his being feels something wrong. To this universal consciousness Christianity makes its prime appeal. But my condemnation of myself is graduated by my moral standard. I measure myself by myself, by my neighbor, by my social code, by the light of nature. With certain doubts I acquit myself. Yet, unless I petrify my conscience, I am not satisfied. Again I measure myself; but now by the law of God, by the Christ of God, by the Spirit of God. I find in myself guilt and bondage. It required the search-light of eternal truth to show me as I am. Here the Gospel meets me with the promise, through faith, to remit my sin and bring me from bondage into liberty. Forgiven, I receive the Holy Ghost. With that gift I am equipped for eternity. Remission of sin is the prime grace which assures all else needful for my salvation, and is essential to that spiritual freedom without which the Christian Democracy cannot exist.

Let us turn again to the fourth, fifth, and sixth of Leviticus! We find there that the sin of ignorance

brought guilt. A touch of the unclean brought guilt. A vow to do evil brought guilt. A fraud on a neighbor brought guilt. For remission Jehovah provided altar and priest. Blood, He said, was "life." Blood, He said, was "atonement." Blood, He said, must be shed before the tabernacle, accepted by the priest, sprinkled on the altar. Then of the honest and believing offerer it is affirmed, "His sin that he hath committed shall be forgiven him."

Nor was the consequence slight of remission under the Mosaic law. David exclaims, "Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered!" Delivered from guilt through faith in the blood of sacrifice, what joy in the king! Jehovah is his rock, Jehovah is his salvation, Jehovah is his sun, his shield, his glory. He glows with the hope of immortality, and would kindle earth and heaven into his rapture.

Under the New Testament "without shedding of blood is no remission." Our Saviour made His cup symbolic of His blood shed for remission. Remission was the grand promise of His covenant, assured by the Holy Ghost. Remission is implied in His very name, Jesus. Remission was preached by the apostles. Through remission we call God Father. In heaven the everlasting song of the redeemed takes its melody of love from remembrance of the remission of sins in the blood of the Lamb.

Always the law illustrates the Gospel. Atonement was not the pain of the sacrificial animal. Torture the lamb, and is his blood more efficacious? Without a pang let the lamb expire, and the virtue

of his blood remains. Not then in pain is the power of sacrifice. Moses and Paul and Christ say that remission is through blood. Life for life is law and Gospel—under the old covenant symbolic life, but under the new, life made infinite by Godhead!

Turn to the first verses of John's Gospel! Christ is Word, Creator, God; Christ is made flesh; then, Christ is Lamb bearing sin.

Now look to Colossians! It, too, speaks of Christ. Through His blood remission! Who is He? By Him "all things were created, in the heavens and on the earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers," and "by Him all things consist."

We examine Hebrews. Atonement is the theme of the Epistle. It opens with Godhead and creatorship. Christ made the worlds. Christ is worshiped by angels. Christ is called God. Christ founded earth and spread out heaven. And Christ, too, is my "Brother," my "flesh," my "bone," in whose blood I have remission.

In the first great song of the Apocalypse Christ is Creator. But in the universal anthem Christ is Redeemer. Heaven and earth hymn together remission through the blood of Christ, as Lamb in the midst of the throne of His creation. This is the everlasting note, softest and loudest and sublimest in the song of our salvation.

In Scripture one uniform sequence—Godhead, creatorship, incarnation, atonement. For time and eternity these are bound together. What God has joined let not man put asunder! Read the earthly life of Jesus! About the feebleness of His humanity

are the miracles of His divinity. His cross is no exception. His pain is the pain of a man. His cry is the cry of a man. His death-blood is the death-blood of a man. But Jesus is not less God. On His cross He shakes the earth He called out of chaos. He rends the rocks He laid in His world's foundations. He parts the veil of the temple He filled with His glory as Jehovah. He darkens the sun He hung in the heavens. He opens graves and promises paradise, that we may know Him as God of life and death and eternity.

Remission through faith in the blood of this Christ begins my liberty. But my bondage to my evil self must be broken. This is the work of the Holy Ghost. How stupendous His revolution within me! My visible, earthly existence dates from my birth. Out of it flows my eternal future. What a translation from my darkness to the light of an illimitable universe! How affecting my first faint cry announcing that another immortal unit has been added to the sum of human existence! All creation serves the infant. Billions of stars watch over him. The sun floods him with the light of life. A globe's atmosphere brings air to his lungs, sounds to his ears, from land and sea breezes for his comfort. Earth and ocean nourish his flesh. A universe waits on the babe. His existence involves, not only the pains and joys of time, but the possibilities of eternity.

To illustrate the stupendous change of birth our Saviour employs the sublime image of the atmosphere. It infolds a world. In its vast circumference how mighty its invisible movements! Home

of the lightning, seat of cloud and tempest, this free, quick, powerful, irresistible, universal air is the symbol of the Holy Ghost brooding over humanity in that regenerating energy of God which completes the liberty of man.

Christ calls Himself Son of the Father. The Holy Ghost is sent by the Father. In baptism and benediction the names of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are used together. Also the Father is styled God, the Son is styled God, the Holy Ghost is styled God. To each are ascribed the acts of God and the worship of God. Each, then, is God. Yet God is one. This leads to the doctrine of the Trinity, which reconciles all difficulties. In nature God is one, and in Persons three. A mystery? Not more than myself. I am matter and spirit. United in me are the visible and the invisible, tangible and intangible, audible and inaudible, ponderable and imponderable, mortal and immortal. How? I cannot tell. Yet I know that my spirit inhabits my body, seeing through my eye, hearing through my ear, tasting through my tongue, touching through my finger, smelling through my nostril, thinking through my brain, thrilling along every nerve, moving every muscle, trembling with emotion, soaring in imagination, treasuring in memory, investigating with reason, deciding through the conscience, choosing with the will, and, while dwelling in flesh, aspiring to God.

Cause and effect in point of time coincide. If one be eternal the other is eternal. See the fountain! for it to exist is to flow. See the sun! for him to exist is to shine. See the universe! for it to exist

is to gravitate. Had the fountain existed forever it would have flowed forever. Had the sun existed forever he would have shone forever. Had the universe existed forever it would have gravitated forever. Father, Son, and Holy Ghost have existed forever. Each, then, is essentially and eternally in nature one, while three Persons are in the same Godhead from everlasting.

Before the glow of Pentecost had passed Christianity was confronted with questions touching the Trinity. Judaism, paganism, and philosophy sought to entangle and overwhelm her preachers. Tempted from the simplicity of faith and forgetting the promise of the Spirit, they wandered into mazes of vain speculations. Truth was obscured and liberty lost. It required centuries to recover and express the true doctrine of the Godhead, and the relations of its Persons to humanity. Our work henceforth will be to trace the struggles through mists and clouds back to the light of truth and liberty.

Other questions were inevitable. Perils beset the way to their solution. What is man's relation to Scripture? God reveals Himself in His own words. His language, it would seem, ought to be the best possible. The first disciples had no creeds, no liturgies, no treatises, no systems, no definitions. Sermons were not elaborate discourses, but plain biblical expositions. Yet faith was invincible and life pure and joyful. Even when the flesh was fettered the spirit was free. Liberty suffered when the human was made necessary to explain the divine. Tradition binds and blinds souls. Is the fallible essential to know the will of the Infallible? Then is

the fallible exalted to the level of the Infallible and the Infallible degraded to the level of the fallible. Inspired and uninspired are equal. I have turned from God to man. If mortal aid be indispensable, then mortal error is inevitable. While taught by the Holy Ghost the liberty of the Christian Democracy rested, not on the sands of human opinions, but on the everlasting rock of Holy Scripture.

As a sky full of stars, the Bible shines with promises. I find them suited to every condition of my life. Between them and me is interposed no barrier. I am invited to believe. I am threatened if I distrust. I am asked and warned in Jehovah's words. All is set forth as personal between my God and myself. He, the Infinite, condescends to me the finite. His oath attests His covenant. Solicited by the Almighty, I hear, I believe, my sin is remitted, my nature is regenerated, I receive the Holy Ghost. The promises of my Bible are conditioned but on my faith, without regard to time or place or person or environment. Free they are as light and air. Nor do they resemble the flash of the cloud and the roar of the thunder. The wild and dazzling displays of the electric fluid in the heavens are not so striking as the spectacle presented by science when she stores the mystic element, carries with her the magazine for use, and at will propels a machine or illuminates a city. And silent as the light, yet powerful as the lightning, the promises of the Bible brighten and energize souls amid life's practical duties. On the land and on the sea, amid loss, gain, pain, and joy, in the face of peril and death, where no eye sees and no ear hears,

I feel the power of liberty by faith and am lifted to the communion of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Then I will turn from man to God, and from Him will be separated neither by time, nor space, nor place, nor priest, nor pope, nor patriarch, nor rite, nor creed, nor canon, nor custom, nor ordinance, nor sacrament, nor demon, nor angel, nor by anything in this universe of the Omnipotent.

This view of faith seems inculcated in Old Testament and New. But Paul most fully unfolds those truths of his divine Master which have in them eternal life. As a starting point of history we will therefore try to exhibit the doctrine of the great apostle of the Gentiles. Remission, he teaches, follows faith in the blood of Christ. With this come regeneration, adoption, and assurance by the Holy Ghost. Witnessed forgiveness and spiritual birth, identical in time, differ in nature. Justification is remission by God, and regeneration renewal in man. Justification releases from guilt, while regeneration restores to holiness. Justification is through the blood of Christ, and regeneration by the Spirit of Christ. Taught thus by Paul, all my relations to the Church are determined. Always and everywhere believing, I experience the full power of the Gospel. I no longer depend on time or place or man. I am free. Ministries of the Church I receive as helps to my faith, but not as fetters to my liberty. My last appeal is to Holy Scripture, with the best human aids I can command, under the guidance of the Holy Ghost. The doctrine of Paul is the sole barrier against sacerdotalism and ecclesiasticism. Departing from his immortal

truths, the Christian Democracy endured the slavery of ages.

Authority is from Christ our Head. He is first in all. He is Author of the Word. He is Founder of the Church. If we know what Christ speaks we know what His Word speaks and what His Church speaks. After His ascension Christ speaks in two ways. For a few years He spoke by the lips of His apostles; afterward He spoke by the pens of His apostles. But lips and pens testified the same truths. Lips and pens were under the same guidance. Lips were never against pens, and pens never against lips. Oral or recorded, it was the same Gospel. Truth written was to preserve truth oral. Spoken only, the word was left to all the infirmities of human memory and to all the corruptions of human pride, folly, greed, ambition, and knavery—that is, was at the mercy of tradition. Therefore the pen was made to supplement the lip. The permanent letters of the volume were deemed more trustworthy than the passing utterances of the orator. Ink lasts longer than breath. As all could not be recorded, we are to presume that the Holy Ghost knew what was best to be recorded and how it should be best recorded, and are to be content with what He omitted and with what He retained, and to let no man and no communion interfere with our personal liberty to believe and obey and be saved.

Of Christ or Church what essentials do fathers know except from the Scriptures? What do liturgists know, what do ecclesiastics know, what do popes and patriarchs know, what do councils know?

We, as they, have the Bible. This is the sun, and they but the planets and asteroids about the central light, to catch in their little urns a few rays which reach us from them, often in the feeble glimmer of the ages, but which show us how necessary it is for us to seek our illumination directly from the beams of the word everlasting. When truth was hidden from synods and doctors, yet in lowly hearts and homes, in obscure cells, amid the valleys of the Alps, on the banks of the Rhine and the Rhone, were believers in Jesus who drew their faith from the Bible. Each century before Luther had its Waldo or Wyclif or Huss whose light was the divine word. In no age was the world without witnesses. The German reformer who began a new era of faith and liberty gathered into his lamp, not only beams from the Scripture, but also many a ray transmitted through saints and martyrs, to be at last lifted high to guide the human race to its millennial freedom and development.

The word of God is the sun of faith. We have no other sure light. Each man is accountable for its use. He must have a care. While I read my Bible I must not neglect myself. I must ask the oil of grace for my lamp or it will go out. I must trim it or it will burn doubtfully. I must carry it cautiously or I may dash it to fragments. I must hold it properly or it will blind my own eyes. I must follow its rays lest I stumble into the outer darkness and perish with the silly virgins. History is about to teach us her solemn lesson. If a few may err, then many may err. We will see that pious and eloquent teachers lost the way, misled their disciples,

and at last involved the Church Catholic in mediæval midnight. Christ had forewarned His doctors. He told them that only the little child could enter His kingdom. Humility is the condition He imposed. That wanting, the door is shut. Not place, but grace, admits to our King. The rich ruler was refused, and the humbled Peter received. Publicans and fishermen came within, while priests and scribes stayed without. By a law of the realm, the poor and obscure more usually find entrance than princes and kings. A crown may hide the light everlasting. So may the cowl of a fasting, flagellant monk. With a proud heart the keys of the pope give no admission. History shows that tiara and scarlet have been the badges oftener of error than of truth. The lawn of the bishop has not saved him from idolatries and persecutions. Doctors and divines, blind themselves by pride of office, have become guides to the everlasting darkness. Puffed by pontifical pride, history points to popes who have made themselves too large for the door of the kingdom. Protestant pulpits, like Roman altars, may become waymarks to error and perdition. What strifes and bitterness among the sects that sprang out of the Reformation! One law is universal—until we forsake all for Christ a mist is over the Bible. The pope may drop from his Catholic chair a wandering star forever. Face to face with his Judge, he may find when too late that he should have cut off the hand that held the keys and the foot that received the kisses. Rank and sect make no difference with our Master. Betrayed by greed and bigotry into revenge and persecution, the Protestant is no nearer

the kingdom than the Catholic he brands as papist and idolater.

In the apostasy of the Christian Democracy history will repeat to us the language of Christ, "Search the Scriptures!" Omit no help! Scholarship has its place. Our Master employed the genius of a learned Paul, as well as the energy of an untutored Peter. The faith of Luther might have illuminated his cell, but never would have shone over a world without the knowledge that enabled him to translate and expound the Scripture. From the Hebrew and Greek originals Zwingle and Calvin drew immortal truth. The brightest light of the English Reformation came from the universities. Our Bible connects itself with all learning, and in all ages scholars have been its best defenders and noblest martyrs.

History will give us another warning. What men seek in the Scripture they find. Intention controls search. Let us turn to the Bible! If gifted minds seek in it reputation they will find reputation; if learning, learning; if profit, profit; if intellectual stimulant, also the keenest and loftiest intellectual stimulant. It has been invoked to justify war and consecrate slaughter. As the landscape takes color from the light, the Bible may take hue from ourselves. We may project ourselves into Scripture and bring ourselves out of Scripture. We will behold thus in history blind mortals deluding themselves by drawing from the well of everlasting truths only the pitiable pitchers they let down. The teacher must follow where the Master leads, if it be to pain and death. Then only will he know. Let

his cry be, "Show me eternal life!" Seeking salvation, he will find salvation.

Behold the flower in the morning sun! A flood of beams is around it. To vitalize brilliance and turn light into verdure one species turns its face to the orb of life. A stubborn stem would deprive it of its wealth of glory. And so a resisting will keeps the soul from the light of the divine word. Although free from vice, although upright in duties, although faithful in ecclesiastical observances, although liberal and magnanimous, although orthodox in creed and eloquent in exposition, still, stiff in the pride of a mere human wisdom, a man may shut from himself those beams of truth which alone nourish the life everlasting. We see the principle in nature. In plant and animal food perpetuates identity. The same light, the same air, the same dews and rains and soils here make an oak, and there make a thistle. Laurel and pine grow out of the clefts of the same rock into the same atmosphere and the same sunshine. The food nourishing a man might have been converted into a wasp, a gorilla, or an anaconda. Such is the mysterious assimilating power in animals and vegetables, so that in our world each living thing transforms into its own identity.

As with trees and birds and beasts, so with souls. The human spirit often appears to change even truth into its own texture. I may receive it for love or for hate, for good or for evil, for eternal weal or eternal woe. Whether to me the Bible is life or death depends on the motive of my search. Intention is the spiritual assimilating force. The same truth

may shape an everlasting saint or an everlasting sinner.

For all knowledge a similar law prevails. Moral and intellectual are inseparable. Pride spoils the poet, and greed the artist. Science turns her face from selfishness. Truth and beauty love the embrace of innocence. From divided souls are hidden both nature and revelation. On them cannot stream the everlasting light. Humility, then, is the beginning of salvation; and it is in harmony with our mortal constitution. I am dwarfed equally before creation and redemption. What am I in the universe? An atom! But before Him who made the universe, what? Nothing! In the presence of the divine Majesty I assume my proper proportion. To receive wisdom I must seek in the lowest place before the cross and the throne of the Everlasting.

We have considered subjectively the spirit with which we must search truth. But, objectively, Scripture gives us a key to history. No other will unlock its secrets. I must study God and man in the light of redemption. Atonement is the Bible's clew and center. Through the blood of His Son the Father pours over the page the light of His Spirit. Only the Lamb of God explains the oracle of God. Propitiation began with Abel, was continued by Noah, was perpetuated by Abraham, was established by Moses, was used by David, was brought from the law into the Gospel by Jesus, and exalted in the Apocalypse as the theme of the song of the everlasting glory. The slain Lamb is the celestial symbol of redemption. The Lamb takes the book. The Lamb looses the seals. The Lamb has the eyes of

light and the horns of power. The Lamb receives the homage of the elders, with their harps and vials representing earth, and of the life-creatures quick with motion and intelligence who, also redeemed, symbolize the spirits in paradise. The Lamb is the Light and Temple of the New Jerusalem, and on its throne the beatitude of His universe. The Lamb is the center of Scripture and history and heaven. After Calvary He rose to the kingship of creation. I have the remission of my sins through His blood whose is the ineffable and everlasting glory of Godhead.

Here, then, is the test we propose to apply to all inquiries touching the organic and the doctrinal history of the Christian Democracy. It is the test of the liberty of the man. It is the test of the liberty of a communion. It is the test of the liberty of the universal Church. As a lens to a point of light converges the rays of the illimitable sun, so the beams of Christianity seek their focus in the doctrine of personal remission through faith in the blood of the divine Son, attested by the Holy Ghost, and reconciling to the Almighty Father.

CHAPTER VII.

Heresies.

THE genius of Judaism was antagonistic to the liberty of the Christian Democracy. Down through the ages opposition was to continue. It was form against freedom, letter against spirit, and ceremonial instead of holiness. The object of the Epistle to the Hebrews was to win Judaism from a bigoted nationalism to the sublime significance of Christianity. Our Saviour was shown to have fulfilled in Himself all Mosaic types in a way surpassing human or angelic comprehension. Earth is the altar of the sacrifice which takes virtue from Godhead. Now the temple is the universe. The divine Priest, having offered Himself once and forever, has exchanged a cross for His throne, to be man's Intercessor and creation's King. His new covenant, written, not on stones, but hearts, is sealed by a new gift of the Holy Ghost brooding over a redeemed humanity, to secure remission of sin and the life everlasting.

Their timely and grand epistle did not prevent the Hebrews from heresy. Its warnings, instructions, and expostulations, saving many, exasperated more. Two classes of Judaizers arose in the Church. One of these insisted that all Christians should be circumcised and observe the ceremonial law. The other excepted Gentile believers from the yoke imposed

on Jewish converts. Pella became the center of these insidious errors so inimical to the faith and freedom of the Christian Democracy. It was in this the disciples of our Lord found refuge when they escaped from Jerusalem just before the siege of Titus.

Error produces error. Whatever the original belief of these Judaizers, they passed down into deeper darkness until obscured from their view was the Godhead of their Messiah. He became to them a mere man. They seemed to hold that He would fulfill only the ordinary Jewish expectation of a Christ, to establish the throne of David once more in Jerusalem and extend His scepter over all nations. Either from poverty of doctrine or property they were called Ebionites—a name derived probably from the Hebrew אֶבְיוֹן, signifying *poor*. Denying the Godhead of the Messiah, His incarnation excited in them, not the joy that stirred announcing angels, but the displeasure of unbelievers. Hence Ebionites rejected the narrations of the glorious manifestations in earth and sky about the birth of Jesus. He was, in their view, but a holy man who, on account of his superior virtue, tested by trial and ending in victory, was appointed to be the Messiah. According to them, through Elias, at the baptism by John, came on Jesus His Christ-power. By fables they magnified the importance of the scene at Jordan. Not satisfied with the descent of the Holy Ghost in an emblem of visible beauty as a dove and with the sublime voice of the majestic Father, Ebionites invented their own miracles. Depreciating the birth, they exaggerated the baptism, at which, they af-

firmed, the Jordan flamed with fire, while a halo of light shone about Jesus. Having no consciousness of sin, Ebionitism could have no conception of redemption. It sought to perfect Judaism by a few formal precepts added to Christianity. As a vain and wild dream of ignorance and unbelief, it had no vitality as a system, and, like other empty errors, is only studied in dim and scattered fragments of history.

From the Gentile philosophies arose the most subtle attacks on the inner Christian liberty.

Gnosticism has its origin in our human nature. Man will question the universe. Spirit from matter is the puzzle of humanity. From the inert and the ponderous the invisible and the intellectual! The pure, the ineffable, the everlasting Being revealing Himself in a substance always gross and often polluting and loathsome! Sin, pain, wrong—these seem irreconcilable with eternal love, wisdom, and justice. Human reason cannot conceive how the Infinite and the Absolute can submit Himself to limitations of time and space and circumstance. More incomprehensible the manifestations of a divine perfection in a resisting and successful human personality. How can the sinful will of man be upheld in the holy will of God? Yet on all these questions of philosophy the Bible is silent as the universe. It asserts facts without explanations. It offers reason invincible proofs which warrant faith, but for mysteries affords no solutions. It refers many insuperable difficulties to the divine Sovereignty or reserves answer to the world beyond the grave. Now, on this border land of impenetrable

shadows avoided by revelation Gnosticism presumptuously entered, to indulge its wild speculations and build its elaborate systems. It was a nightmare of philosophy, whose gigantic phantoms vanished, not before the spell of patristic arguments, but in the light of the progress of our race.

Gnosticisms have family resemblances. Having a common origin they exhibit similar traits. Let me point out wherein they agree!

Similitudes.

1. Each Gnosticism held a natural, inevitable, and eternal antagonism between God and matter.

2. Each Gnosticism sought to bridge the chasm between God and matter.

3. Each Gnosticism rejected the Old Testament manifestations in judgments as unwise, unjust, and unloving, and hence as unworthy of God.

4. Each Gnosticism denied the incarnation because it believed that God would be defiled and degraded by intimate and permanent contact with matter.

5. Each Gnosticism, by inevitable sequence, ended in Docetism, which made Christ, not a man, but a phantom.

6. Each Gnosticism was wanting in just appreciation of moral law, guilt, and agency.

7. Each Gnosticism was, therefore, deficient in its conception of human accountability, and could have no hold on the great central truths of redemption through satisfaction by the blood of the Messiah.

8. Each Gnosticism, while basing itself on Chris-

tianity, yet, denying the Godhead of Christ, could never attain permanent place in Christianity.

9. Each Gnosticism was essentially aristocratic, asserting that among men pneumatical natures were eternally above psychical natures.

10. Each Gnosticism placed γνῶσις, *knowledge*, above πίστις, *faith*, and was a system proposing, not moral excellence, but intellectual eminence.

Yet with general similitudes there were also striking disagreements. These grew from the regions where the systems originated. Some Gnosticisms had a Greek source. Traceable to the Platonic philosophy, they borrowed its ὕλη—gross matter in eternal antagonism to pure spirit. Grecian systems are less wild in their speculations and fanciful in their pictures than those of Oriental origin. When tinged with Indian Buddhism and Persian Zoroastrianism, Gnosticisms exhibit the human mind disporting itself in monstrosities of delusion which suggest that only a madhouse or a pandemonium could have furnished men capable of conceiving and coloring such absurdities, and, by way of eminence, styling them knowledge. The very names of these grotesque systems excite pity and laughter. We have transmitted to us by the Greek and Latin fathers Heracleonites, Ptolemæites, Ophites, Cainites, Carpocratians, Epiphanites, Prodicians, Antitactæ, Nicolaitans, Simonians, Saturninians, Tatianists, Encratites.

To make our subject plain I have selected only the great typical Gnosticisms for exposition, and these I will proceed to explain, each under the head of its most eminent representative.

CERINTHUS.

He was a contemporary of the apostle John, who fled, it is said, from a bath when he heard that the Gnostic was in the building. The sublime assertion of the Godhead and creatorship of the "Word made flesh" which opens the fourth Gospel might well have been intended to rebuke the vague and monstrous inventions of a pretentious philosophy.

Between God and the world Cerinthus placed an immeasurable abyss. Contact with material nature was infinitely below the majesty of the Supreme. Hence Cerinthus taught that the Mosaic law was a ministry of angels. Of these, above all others, stood one as the representative of God. This eminent angel was the visible King of the Jews. They deemed Him God, as children mistake in a stream the image of the sun for the sun himself. Beyond Him the gross multitude could not rise. To the groveling psychical natures He seemed the God-logos, while the pneumatical elect ascended above Him to the true vision of the Almighty.

In each Gnosticism its view of Jesus corresponded to its view of Jehovah. Cerinthus denied the divine conception of Christ. Like the Ebionites, he depreciated the birth at Bethlehem and exalted the baptism at Jordan. The Holy Ghost was the true Messiah. The Holy Ghost at the baptism revealed first to Jesus a knowledge of the true God. The Holy Ghost bestowed on Christ His miraculous powers. Rather, Jesus the man was the visible terrestrial Christ, while the Holy Ghost was the true celestial Christ. Godhead incarnate Cerinthus could

not conceive. Humiliation in the flesh was repugnant to the Gnostic, and suffering intolerable. A Messiah on the cross was his scorn. When doomed to death the celestial deserted the terrestrial Christ. Redemption and Godhead were alike rejected.

Basilides.

This Gnostic lived in the first half of the second century. He conceived the first manifestations of the Supreme to be threefold: (1) in intellectual powers; (2) in executive powers; (3) in moral powers.

According to Basilides, light was opposed to darkness, life to death, good to evil, spirit to matter. Our world is a process of purification, and is to be cleansed, as iron from rust, to give brightness. Yet each life is related to the universe. Basilides taught that from a preexistent state are derived the natures of men, who should rise from their earthly limitations to a loftier condition of spiritual being. Life he saw everywhere struggling in the fetters of matter up toward freedom. Where Cerinthus in his system placed an angel Basilides had an archon, who was not an independent power, but an unconscious instrument of the Supreme. Blind in their gross materialism, the Jews regarded this archon as God. Only the elect would soar to the Supreme Being. This system to every soul assigned a guardian angel, who was to guide it in its earthly purification, after death accompany it to its place, and perhaps be its eternal companion.

Basilides did not believe Jesus to be God. He was but the loftiest æon in the universe. At His

baptism came to Christ a new light. Now He Himself attains first a knowledge of the true God. At His passion His æon leaves Jesus. With Basilides suffering could have no part in redemption. He denied Paul's doctrine of justification. As release from guilt, remission of sin was impossible in his system. Hence, also, the liberty of faith was unattainable and spiritual bondage inevitable.

VALENTINE.

His was the most elaborate of the Gnosticisms. Valentine lived in the same period as Basilides. Born in Egypt, he was yet probably of Jewish descent. He was educated in Alexandria and spent many years in Rome.

At the summit of existence Valentine placed his Bythos (*βυθός*). By this negative, meaning *abyss*, he inconsistently expressed life's infinite fullness. Out of Bythos flow æons, male and female, which constitute the pleroma, and are manifestations of the ineffable, incomprehensible, infinite, impersonal, primal essence. Horos is styled redeemer and saviour. His work is to preserve harmony by keeping the æons in their spheres. Disturbances in the pleroma cause the discords of the universe. When these occur the divine life sinks down into matter. The world's soul is an immaterial birth.

Valentine recognized three orders of existence: (1) pneumatical natures, superior to matter; (2) psychical natures, composed of matter and spirit; (3) atheistic natures, godless, destructive, swayed by appetite and passion, eternal, irreclaimable slaves to matter.

Bythos, Valentine taught, can never unite with that antagonistic to its essence. Between Bythos and ὕλη contact is impossible. Hence ὕλη, wild and gross matter, must communicate with Bythos by a Demiurge, while Satan is the impersonation of the ungodlike kingdom, the essence of discord, and the enemy of harmony, resembled by all his subjects. Psychical natures sink in death or rise to immortality, according to the determinations of the will. Those yielding, eventually, with Satan, return to nothingness. When this happens the harmony of the pleroma communicates itself to all grades of existence.

Valentine's Soter is Former and Redeemer of the world. He inspires the mundane soul, and the mundane soul inspires the Demiurge. Soter and Sophia, as artists, picture the divine glory. But in this strange work the seed of a divine life is spilled over into man. This new creature needs subjection. To effect the subjugation of man the Demiurge interposes with his angels and promises a Messiah to release his people from ὕλη. He sends the Christ, his own image, from heaven, with a body composed of the most ethereal elements. Descended from the celestial, Jesus had not the flesh of a true man. He could eat, drink, sleep, and accommodate Himself to human conditions, but in a way wholly His own. Again we meet a Gnostic phantom. At the baptism, descending as a dove, the invisible Soter united Himself to the Messiah. The psychical Messiah is crucified, and then a pneumatical Messiah ascends to the Soter. In the loftiest significance of His true nature this Messiah is known

only to the elect. These are the salt of the earth and the light of the world, and by these the earthly will be finally transfigured into the heavenly, the corruptible be conquered, and a kingdom be created imperishable and everlasting.

Marcion.

He was born near the beginning of the second century at Sinope, in Pontus. In this place his father was not unlikely bishop. Marcion seems to have come to a true faith. He had felt the glow of love to Christ. Possibly he was converted by study of the Scripture, and this may explain his hostility to tradition. Hence, too, may have arisen his sympathy with Paul. Burning with zeal for Christ, he sold his property and gave it to the Church. He then began a severe ascetic life. But in the Old Testament Marcion saw no God of love such as beamed in the New. In the one was inexorable severity, and in the other ineffable benevolence. Marcion was perplexed. At last he arrayed the Old against the New. He taught that the glory of Christ burst on the world without any previous introduction or preparation. The sun of truth had no dawn. Marcion went to Rome. Here he was rejected by the Church. Removed from all ecclesiastic restraints, his system developed into an elaborate Gnosticism. Ὕλη, blind, evil matter, resists God. Satan impersonates this opposition. Man is created in his own image by the Demiurge. The human body is matter, and hence evil; the human soul, from the essence of its Maker, has spiritual affinities and aptitudes. But the Demiurge cannot endue man with an in-

conquerable principle of virtue. His creature yields to lust. Humanity sinks, and from its gross, helpless, and hopeless mass the Jews are selected. To these the Demiurge gives an external ceremonial and a law without sanctifying power. A Messiah is promised who will end the conflict with ὕλη. Jesus, however, is not this prophetic Christ. He called Himself such to win the Jews, and deceived even the Demiurge, who, finding Himself mistaken, prepared the cross, shook the earth, and veiled the sun. Marcion taught, however, that this misleading Christ would yet appear again to fulfill the Old Testament promises, raise the dead, and enjoy a reign of supreme felicity in an imperishable and eternal kingdom. As a bird out of its egg, the souls of Christians would escape from their earthly bodies and environments into everlasting life and liberty.

Mani.

The system of this Oriental teacher is not classed with the Gnosticisms. Yet it possesses all their characteristic elements. Mani was a Persian and born in the first half of the third century. The ancient region of Zoroaster had experienced a religious revival. Prophets arose claiming inspiration to settle controversies. In a contest with Christianity Mani sought a compromise. He declared himself the Paraclete promised by our Saviour, and called himself an apostle of Jesus Christ through the election of God the Father. About the year A. D. 270 he first appeared publicly as a teacher of his system. King Shapur I was on the throne of Persia. As mathematician, painter, and astronomer

Mani had become distinguished. Opposed by the Magi, he lost influence with the monarch, and was driven by peril to India. When he returned Hormuz was on the Persian throne, and his symbolic pictures gained him influence with this king. But again Mani fell under the royal frown, and in A. D. 277 he was flayed alive. It is related that his skin was stuffed and hung before the gate of Damascus.

We have seen that Mani was born in Persia and lived in India. This explains why he mingled Christianity with Parseeism and Buddhism. He believed in the Ormuzd and Ahriman of Zoroaster. Light and darkness, representing good and evil, are in everlasting conflict. Hence, in the universe irreconcilable war. Over the kingdom of light rules the Father, in whose essence are wisdom and glory. To His incomprehensible majesty He united æons, His exalted and blissful companions, whose splendid dominion can never be shaken. But to their light-kingdom in mad battle approach the powers of darkness. A glimmer from its brightness penetrates their gloom and stirs them to war for supremacy. To guard the bounds of His empire the Father makes emanate from Himself a life-mother, who becomes the world-soul. Fire, air, light, earth, water, the five elements are summoned to battle with Ahriman. Man is imperiled and asks aid of the monarch of the kingdom of light.

Mani supposed a pure soul throned in the sun, and a corrupt soul diffused through nature. Corresponding to these were an exultant and a crucified son of man. And here the Persian borrowed from Buddh. Each seed, pushing from earth's bosom

into plant with leaf, and blossom, and fruit, was a triumph of the principle of light, and was, indeed, a soul imprisoned in matter by the prince of darkness, but struggling up into the bright freedom of air and sun.

The sun-spirit endangers the night-powers, which would liberate and evaporate the world-soul. Man is made a microcosm. He is a copy of the two opposing realms of light and darkness—a mirror reflecting earth and heaven. From Adam as a fountain all souls are derived. But these matter contaminates and inflames with lusts. Man wills good and does evil. In his struggle toward freedom his turpitude is made visible by the law. Flesh and spirit battle each other. He who conquers lust rises, and he who yields sinks. The night-powers, fearing the triumph of the light-nature in man, would draw him down to themselves. To counteract these schemes and procure human freedom the Sun-spirit allies Himself to human nature. But He cannot enter a material body, as light unites not with darkness. Hence, He clothes Himself in phantom form, visible only to the sensuous. Not until His transfiguration was Christ seen in His light-glory. He is described by Mani as a Messiah accommodated to the material conceptions of the Jews. Crucified only in appearance, His death was symbolic of souls, which, sunk in matter, are raised by the Sun-spirit. During the scenes about the cross Mani makes Christ say to John that the whole transaction is for the populace. The person of the Messiah, vanishing, is replaced by a cross of light, and from its brilliance a voice says, "This is for

your sakes called sometimes the Word, sometimes Christ, sometimes the Door, sometimes the Way, sometimes the Bread, sometimes the Sun, sometimes the Resurrection, sometimes Jesus, sometimes the Father, sometimes the Spirit, sometimes the Life, sometimes the Truth, sometimes Faith, sometimes Grace." All souls finally enslaved to lust, Mani excluded from immortality. Changed into matter, they must watch over matter. Eternally they will cleave to what they loved. But souls triumphant over lust dwell in the everlasting kingdom of light.

Manichæans were divided into auditors and elect. To the former truth was partially unfolded, while the latter were fully initiated. Those having the loftier vocation owned no property, abstained from marriage, indulged in neither wine nor flesh. Mani's system was inevitable bondage. It considered matter intrinsically evil. It viewed the body as defilement. It thus insisted on a slavery from which it provided no emancipation; and from its doctrines, therefore, a gloom spread over life, and the joy and liberty of faith could not animate and preserve a Christian Democracy.

The great Augustine was ensnared by the subtle and soaring errors of Manichæism and was only delivered by grace of a true conversion. If it deluded an intellect so acute and exacting, how powerful must have been its sway over inferior minds! Its poison long lingered in the Church. As late as the close of the twelfth century it burst out in France. At the beginning of the reign of Innocent III it revived with vigor in Languedoc. That pope made

war on Manichæism and sought to exterminate it with fire and sword. Nor has it yet expired. Its principle works in each form of Oriental and Occidental monkery. This enslaving Gnosticism lives now beneath every cowl and hair shirt, and smites in every ascetic's scourge, and fills with gloom every cell in Christendom.

MONTANUS.

From baptism to ascension the Messiah was attested by innumerable miracles which could be wrought only by omnipotent power. Yet He promised His disciples that their works should exceed His own. His words were verified in the gift of the Holy Ghost. Christ was to depart into heaven, but His Spirit was to abide on earth. Is the body inferior to the soul? Then are the miracles of Jesus inferior to the miracles of the Holy Ghost. He does not operate on fleshly organisms, but opens the spiritual eye, unstops the spiritual ear, looses the spiritual tongue, raises the spiritual corpse to everlasting life. And He, a perpetual presence amid His people, is sent by our Father in heaven more willingly than parents bestow gifts on their children.

Under the New Testament the temporary, attesting physical miracles were succeeded by an abiding regenerating power. Belief in the ascended, invisible Christ was a loftier attainment than His recognition by miracles addressed to the senses as material signs. A spiritual conversion producing a holy life is the noblest result and proof of a divine power. Faith is sublimer than sight. To expect the conquest of

our world by a physical Christ lowers our dispensation and degrades the office of the Holy Ghost.

But, as ecclesiasticism and sacerdotalism consumed the life of Christian liberty, and inclined to cold dogma and chilling ceremonial, and allied themselves to the power of kings, earnest men sighed for the purity and freedom of apostolic times. They associated, however, spiritual gifts with physical manifestations. Many yearned, not only for the Pentecostal conversions, but also with these for the visible tongue of flame and the audible roar as of a tempest. Out of this failure to discriminate between the real and the accidental, the permanent and the temporary, grew the heresy we are now to consider. It was an honest, but fanatical, assertion of the apostolic prophetical liberty against the freezing worldly formalism of ecclesiastical and sacerdotal bondage.

Montanus was born in Phrygia about the middle of the second century. We know little of his early life. How he came to Christ is not recorded in his history. But he was liable to ecstasies and began to prophesy. Persecutions were foretold, Christians exhorted to austerities, and the martyr's crown placed before them as an object of aspiration. Christ's near millennial reign was also announced by Montanus. He was a Chiliast. Rising in his views of his mission, he claimed a vocation to reform the Church. He appealed to Christ's promise. He announced himself the Paraclete. He was authorized as such to expound the faith, to defend doctrines, to settle disputes. But the divine will was declared by him through his two prophetesses, Priscilla and Maximilla. These women had visions,

By ecstatic revelations was the Church to keep advancing until the coming of her Lord. As a result of such fanaticism the Montanists were swept by tempests of emotion. Female visions were to have the authority of apostolic testimonies. Wild dreams became oracles of faith. Scripture, interpreted by Montanus as Paraclete, was to be the foundation of the completed structure of Christianity.

Yet this system, professing superior liberty, tended back to severer bondage and was incompatible with the existence of the Christian Democracy. Fasts, before voluntary, were made obligatory by this new return to freedom. During three weeks Montanus, like a pope, prescribed diet by law. He exalted celibacy. He made martyrdom an object of fanatical desire. He constituted himself an ecclesiastical legislator above Moses, and even Christ. Finally, the Montanists withdrew from the Church, but continued to exert a subtle and extraordinary influence over many pious and superior minds.

We cannot conclude our notice of this interesting heresy without mentioning the sad lapse of the venerable Tertullian. This Latin father was not inferior in genius to Augustine himself. He was, indeed, a narrow and gloomy ascetic, degrading marriage and glorifying virginity. Habitually violent and caustic, he exhibited little of the joy and gentleness of Christ. Yet how keen his wit, how piercing his acumen, how burning his satire! His sentences sparkle, and his eloquence often soars into the sublime. How inconceivable that this acute and lofty intellect could have abandoned itself to the visions of a Priscilla and a Maximilla and passed under

the spell of a Montanus! Such a descent makes less strange the vagaries of any human personality. Let us adduce a single instance to show the credulity of Tertullian! He wishes to prove the soul corporeal. Does he resort to argument? No. He abandons his reason at the suggestion of dreamers. The sacred services of the Church have concluded. One of the two Montanist women is detained. She falls before the people into a trance. While in this estatic condition she sees a soul in bodily state; more—with her hand of flesh she grasps the hand of a spirit. She describes even the color of this visible soul. While soft and transparent, it was ethereal in hue, and it had also shape. Its form resembled that of a human being. The prophetess supplied vision, and the father philosophy. Tertullian informs us how the effect was produced. God's breath passed from man's face into the interior structure; then, having spread itself through all the spaces of the body, it impressed itself on each internal feature. By this densifying process the soul's corporeity was fixed and its figure molded.

Did Tertullian derive also from Priscilla and Maximilla his views of baptism? They are wild enough to have originated in the visions of Montanistic prophetesses. And we will find hereafter that orthodox fathers had just as little scientific or theological support for opinions which were fetters of freedom. Tertullian teaches that an angel by his presence tempers the waters of baptism. He, descending into the sanctifying fount, makes the paths straight for the Holy Ghost.

CHAPTER VIII.

Clementines.

THE peculiarities of an age are often reflected in its fiction. Aiming to please, a writer accommodates himself to his times, and thus secures favor for himself and circulation for his works. Modern novels sell when they express vividly the feelings and opinions of the reading public. By ephemeral fiction we can judge the passing hour, while the higher works of creative imagination may be permanent mirrors to image an historical period in literature. It is in this view that the *Clementines* are an inestimable treasure. They give us life pictures of Christian sentiment for more than two centuries.

Strangely, these inexplicable fictions seem to combine antagonistic tendencies. They exhibit proclivities at once Ebionitic and Gnostic. Yet, as we shall see, the work secured universal acceptance. Expressing views so antagonistic, often violently hostile to the orthodox faith, having, notwithstanding, wide circulation and popularity through the Church, the Clementines, like the Ignatian epistles, have been the puzzles of criticism during all the centuries since their appearance.

The remarkable work we are considering exists in two forms. We have the "Homilies" and the "Recognitions." These seem editions of the same

book. But what are their relations to each other? Which was first? Are both expansions of a previous, perished work? On these points opinions are diverse and endless. Nor are critics more agreed as to the author. Some think that the *Clementines* are genuine productions of the writer whose name they bear. This we know, that in his commentary on Genesis Origen, in A. D. 231, quotes from the "Recognitions." Mention is made in them of an event occurring in the reign of Caracalla. Therefore a date early as A. D. 211 may be fixed for their appearance. The recent discovery of a Greek manuscript may settle these disputes of centuries.

In these fictions the author calls himself Clement. He represents himself as a rich Roman in the reign of Tiberius tormented with doubts about his immortality. Philosophy fails to satisfy him. Reports reach him of an Oriental Messiah. He sails from Pontus for Palestine, but storms drive his ship into Alexandria, in Egypt. Here he encounters Barnabas, who soon leaves for the Holy Land. Clement follows him, finds him, and is introduced by him at Cæsarea Stratonis to the apostle Peter. Now we come to the heart of the book. Clement joins Peter, and the two proceed together to Tyre, to Tripolis, to Antioch, to Laodicea. Everywhere they encounter Simon Magus, the servant of Satan and impersonation of error. He is a Samaritan of Gitta. Peter's disputes with Magus and conversations with disciples make the substance of "Homilies" and "Recognitions." In our modern phrase, Clement is reporter to the chief of the apostles and is sup-

posed to record his master's most intimate opinions. We have thus all the elements which shall picture the ancient life of the Church. Rome, Egypt, Palestine pass in vivid view before our eyes. The opinions, the feelings, the customs of the Occidental and the Oriental Church become our possession. After various wanderings and disputes between Peter and Magus the end is dramatic. Imposture is revealed. Rebuked by Faustus, Magus, gnashing his teeth in rage, departs. But the Samaritan revenges himself. To conceal his flight Magus changes Faustus into his own form, and in this he is used by Peter, who promises him restoration to his true shape. Such is the substance of a volume which delighted Christians during an heroic age of martyrs!

Without venturing critical theories I may be permitted a few observations on the *Clementines*. It has been remarked that opposite Ebionitic and Gnostic tendencies appear in these writings. A Christianized Jew seems to write in the letter of Peter to James. Rome addresses Jerusalem. What does the first pope in the capital of the world style the first bishop in the metropolis of Judea? Peter calls James "lord bishop of the holy Church." Pope Peter elevates Bishop James above himself, and thus loftier than Rome exalts Jerusalem. And what occurs in the letter of Clement? He styles James "lord" and "bishop of bishops, who rules Jerusalem, the holy Church of the Hebrews, and the Churches everywhere." In the view of this writer sovereignty is not at Rome. Jerusalem is queen mother of the Christian world. And this appears in epistles of both Pope Peter and Pope Clem-

ent, each a Pope of Rome, which claimed afterward supremacy over the universal Church!

More marvelous yet the hostility of Clement to Paul, the apostle of faith and liberty. We find in these writings the law against the Gospel. Peter impersonates the Jew in opposition to Paul, who impersonates the Christian. And the enmity is venomous. The great expounder of justification by faith is scorned and vilified, apparently for that doctrine of liberty which is the key to all his epistles. The Simon Magus of the *Clementines* seems to be Paul himself. By such a representation the writer would make infamous the grand apostle of the Gentiles. Especially is contempt poured on the glory attending the conversion of Paul, his vision of Christ in the temple, and his exaltation to behold paradise and the heaven of heavens. How could such words of scorn, hurled at a writer whose epistles were enrolled in the canon of Scripture, obtain currency in the Church during centuries when Christians were purest in life and bravest in martyrdom? We have in our own age no such contrarieties. But we must hear the *Clementines* in their contempt of Paul.

"He who trusts in apparition or vision is insecure. He who has appeared may say what he will, gleaming forth like a wicked one. But it is manifest that the impious see true visions. The declaration of anything by means of apparitions and dreams from without is a proof, not that it comes from revelation, but from wrath. If, then, our Jesus appeared to you in a vision and made himself known to you and spoke to you it is as one who is enraged with his adversary."

Our modern rationalists do not equal Clement in their derision of the temptation and the fall as facts on which is based the whole scheme of our redemption. His language is startling. Evidently it expresses his own view. Clement believed the story of paradise a myth. Referring to Adam, it is asked, "How, then, had he still need to partake of a tree that he might know what is good and what is evil, if he was commanded not to eat of it? But this senseless men believe, that a reasonless beast was more powerful than the God who made all things."

In other speculations Clement soars into clouds black and blinding. In fiction it is difficult to fix the opinions of an author. He can always repudiate as his own the words of his characters. But surely Peter is an oracle, and it is he, an apostle, who affirms that Adam had communicated to him the great primal law. But this primitive revelation became obscured. It was restored by Moses. Again it lapsed into darkness and corruption. Who now interposes? Adam, as Messiah and restorer of the original law. "Thus did our Father; thus did our Prophet. This is reasonable, that he should be King over his children."

Clement had as little regard for John the Baptist as for Paul the apostle. On the forerunner of Christ are hurled words of withering contempt. They are from the lips of Aquileia. He describes John as master of Simon Magus, and then, to concentrate all scorn in a single epithet, styles him a "day baptist."

But in his attitude to the whole of the Old Testament we best understand the genius and object

of Clement. The Judaizer vanishes and the Gnostic appears. A theory is advanced that the true prophet must be always self-contained and dignified. Enthusiasm is incompatible with truth. The organ of the Spirit will ever exhibit the calm majesty of Christ. His divine manner and method are crucial tests of heaven's communications. Hence, because of their vehement eloquence, Clement repudiates the old Hebrew prophets. He depreciates Moses more than he discredits Paul. He clouds and clamors against the Pentateuch. He ascribes error to the great lawgiver of Israel, and ridicules in his writings all that the Jew esteemed most impressive and sublime. No modern advocate of biblical errancies approaches Clement in the flame of his burning contempt and the keenness of his subtle insinuations.

"For the Scriptures," he says, "have had joined to them many falsehoods on this account. Beware of thinking otherwise of God than that He is the only God and Lord and Father of the righteous. If He hardens hearts, who makes wise? If He makes blind and deaf, who gives sight and hearing? If He commits pilfering, who administers justice? If He dwells in a tabernacle, who is without bounds? If He is fond of fat and sacrifices, who is holy? If He dwells in shadow and darkness and storm and smoke, who is the light that brightens the universe? If He is pleased with candles and candlesticks, who, then, placed the luminaries in heaven? If He comes with trumpets and shoutings and darts and arrows, who is the looked-for tranquillity of all? If He loves war, who wishes peace?" And it is Peter, chief

of apostles, who exclaims, "Be ye good money-changers, inasmuch as in the Scriptures are some true sayings and some spurious!"

After a circulation of two centuries the Church had time to determine its opinion of the *Clementines*, containing in dialogue the utterance we have quoted. They may have appeared, we have seen, early as A. D. 211; and in A. D. 410 Rufinus gave his translation to the world. He was a presbyter of Aquileia. He seems confident that his work would be accepted. He, indeed, feels that he deserves the gratitude of his country and will be crowned with his reward. Nor was he probably mistaken in his glowing anticipation. Changed from their Greek into a Latin dress, the *Clementines* were welcomed and approved by the Western Church. The letter of Rufinus to Bishop Gaudentius breathes the spirit of a triumphant assurance:

"We contribute to the use and profit of our people no small spoil, as I think, taken from the libraries of the Greeks. For foreign things usually seem more pleasant, and sometimes also more profitable. Judea sends us tears of balsam; Crete, hair of dictamnus; Arabia, her flowers of spices; India reaps her crop of spikenard. Receive, therefore, my friend, Clement returning to you—receive him in a Roman dress! And I know not with how grateful countenances my countrymen welcome me, bringing to them this rich spoil of Greece and unlocking hidden treasures of wisdom with the key of our language."

Here is a phenomenon to explain! Rufinus in his letter reflected his age. After two centuries of

circulation in Greek he introduced the *Clementines* to a Latin popularity. Yet they ridicule Moses, stigmatize the Baptist, repudiate Paul, deny the inspiration of Hebrew prophets, and reject as spurious what the Old Testament records as fact. Like a wild Gnosticism, they seem to know nothing of law or sin or guilt or redemption through the blood and Spirit of Christ. To the evangelical faith of Paul they oppose the most contemptuous hostility. Yet they rose into favor in times when believers were tested by sword and chain and flame. The *Clementines* attained their widest circulation and greatest popularity during the Aurelian, Decian, and Diocletian persecutions down to the period of Augustine himself, embracing centuries where the Church was most holy in life and vigorous in growth, while marching forward to the ecclesiastical dominion of the Roman empire.

The highest form of Christianity is that in which each doctrine and each experience is attested and expressed in words of Holy Scripture inspired by the Holy Ghost. The language of God best interprets the heart of man. A faith drawn wholly from the Bible as unfolded by the Spirit is above creeds, above liturgies, above systems. This is the ideal of Christianity. To this glory, we hope, humanity is tending. What a joy of universal triumph! But such sublime attainments in faith and life presume what aptitudes and what opportunities! Well for man that the truths essential to his salvation are few! All may be summed in a brief symbol. But while simple, how transcendent! Incarnation, Trinity, atonement, remission by

faith, regeneration, resurrection, judgment, paradise, heaven—compared with these how small all else! Yet, let a man receive these truths in his heart and witness them in his life, he is a Christian, whatever his mistaken views of inspiration, whatever his errors of intellect, whatever his ignorance from incapacity or circumstance. The spots on the sun are not visible on his face of glory. In an age of martyrs few disciples possessed the Scriptures. Salvation was expounded by their teachers and memorized in their creeds. They could not define and defend, but they could testify and burn. Nor with the multitude of believers is it different now. How many modern Christians can prove Bible by argument or doctrine by Bible? Yet a mighty host, happy and victorious in the truths of the Gospel, are satisfied. Their joy and triumph are to them invincible proofs. Nor, whatever their diligence in the study of Scripture, can they advance farther. Food relieves hunger, air causes hearing, and light seeing, while the soul is flooded with knowledge from a universe, although we cannot analyze an element, explain an organ, or comprehend a process. Ever must strifes of creeds and systems be left to volume and lecture-room. The pulpit itself has power only as it expounds to the intellect and applies to the conscience the sublime truths of Christianity, in forms practical and popular.

The phenomenon of the Clementine fictions appears in our age. Its most satisfactory explanation is in the imagery of our Saviour. To Him each believer is united, as branch to vine. Examine where the twig joins the stock! You find a swelling

hardness intended to withstand the force of the storm and the wrench of the intruder. Pluck a branch from the stem! Separated, no skill of man can produce a grape. Let the philosopher theorize about it! Let the chemist galvanize it! Let the lecturer talk over it. Does it leaf? Does it bud? Does it blossom? Does it cluster? No, it dies. But before it expires take it back and join it to its vine! It lives, it grows, it bears. Over a vineyard you see luscious grapes loading the bending branches, blushing to the sun, bursting with their liquid sweetness, and inviting to partake of their exquisite nectar. And thus joined to Christ fruit is inevitable. Apart from Him, useless all forms, doctrines, rites, sacraments, duties, ceremonies, observances. With a perfect intellectual orthodoxy or amid the most imposing magnificence of ritual the man may starve. With bands of gold fasten your branch to your vine! Let diamonds flash about it! Hang there the wealth of India. Fruitless! So neither orthodoxy nor ceremony creates life. Only union brings fruit. Amid a gross mass of doctrinal and ritualistic error there may be true faith in the Redeemer, as with the branch, if a single unnoticed fiber, slender as a thread, but touch the juices as they ascend and descend in their mysterious annual courses, an instantaneous life may be communicated and develop into all the beauty of broad leaves and the glory of ripe clusters.

CHAPTER IX.

Creeds.

THE authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews has long been a subject of dispute. Was its writer Paul? It bears many marks of the great apostle. We notice his logical power, his vehemence, his compounded words, his Hebraistic omissions, his antitheses; here his argument in a sentence, and there in a parenthesis; but everywhere his genius and his affection. The brain and heart of Paul seem in this Epistle. All the peculiarities of the style may be explained by the sublimity of the theme. In Romans faith is subjectively treated. It is a simple action of the soul hidden in ourselves, invisible, like the root of a tree. Hence Romans is supplemented by Hebrews, where we have faith, not as a subjective condition, but in its objective realization. Before it is placed our great High Priest in His Godhead and manhood, who, having made reconciliation through His blood, passed into the heavens to be adored as Creator and Redeemer forever.

However masterly Paul in argument, he descends from his intellectual eminence to move the heart and fructify the life. His writings have none of the dryness of systems and confessions. They sparkle with the vivacity of the epistle. They glow with sympathy. They melt us with their tears. They

touch all the springs of our Christian activities. If Paul exalts into the heavens, he never leaves us in the clouds. However sublime his celestial vision, he remembers us in our earthly relations and homely duties. All he argues, explains, urges, has one radiating center. His own witness of remitted sin is the spring of the new life of Paul. From this follows the gift of the Holy Ghost. Forgiven through the blood of Christ, the apostle burns with the flame of grateful, unspeakable affection for the person of Christ. And this love of the Redeemer is the most powerful emotion in the universe. This stirs the true democratic sympathy for humanity. This must animate all Christian aspirations and agencies before a world can be converted. This will wake in heaven songs outvoicing cherubim.

In their influence over the emotions and activities we perceive how inferior the ecclesiastical creeds to the Pauline Epistles. They seem deficient in the element of the personal faith that moves strongly the heart and the life. After the Reformation they were dropped from use by those Protestant sects most powerfully animated by the revived doctrine and freedom of the Christian Democracy. And now, when the Spirit is poured out upon men in liberty and power they prefer to confess Christ in language suggested by their own personality. It is affirmed, therefore, that creeds resemble the mountains, glittering in snow and sunlight, whose cold pinnacles furnish streams to fertilize the warm and fruitful valleys. But we must remember how generous the liberty allowed by Christianity to all our human individualities. The great creeds have in-

estimable advantages that can never be overlooked in the development of the Church. They are invaluable as waymarks in her history. In a few words they comprise the essentials of salvation. How easily are they memorized, and how readily pronounced! And at once they guard and help faith. Moreover, they can be recited impressively and sympathetically by the lips of an humble congregation, or sounded forth majestically in the cathedral with the sublime accompaniments of choir and organ. Whatever the outer form, the true faith of Christ in its love embraces His universe. And at the mention of Jesus, His human name, the head, bowed in confession of His Godhead, may express a loyal and sublime adoration.

With these remarks we will present some of those creeds which shed most light over the history of the Christian Democracy during its first five centuries. The Nicene symbol is reserved for a future explanation and analysis.

The Creed of Irenæus.

This is the earliest authenticated attempt to summarize the great truths of Christianity. It is taken from the works of the venerable Bishop of Lyons:

"The Church, though dispersed through all the world, hath received from the apostles and their disciples this faith in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth; and in one Jesus Christ the Son of God, who became incarnate for our salvation; and in the Holy Spirit, who proclaimed through prophets the dispensation of God; and the birth from a virgin; and the resurrection from the

dead; and in the ascension into heaven in the flesh of the beloved Jesus, our Lord; and His future manifestation from heaven in the glory of the Father, to gather all things into one and to raise up anew all flesh of the whole human race, in order that to Christ Jesus, our Lord and God and Saviour and King, according to the will of the invisible Father, every knee should bow, of things in heaven and things in earth and things under the earth, and that every tongue should confess to Him, and that He should execute judgment toward all."

The Creed of Melito.

He was Bishop of Sardis and contemporary with Irenæus. No symbol excites such a glow of personal affection to Christ, nor does any so amply and beautifully express the glory of His Old Testament manifestations:

"We have made collections from the law and the prophets relative to those things which have been declared respecting our Lord Jesus Christ, that we may prove to your love that He is perfect Reason—the Word of God, who was begotten before the light; who was the Fashioner of man; who was all in all; who among the patriarchs was Patriarch; who in the law was the Law; among the priests, chief Priest; among kings, Governor; among prophets, *the* Prophet; among angels, the Archangel; in the voice, the Word; among spirits, Spirit; in the Father, the Son; in God, God; the King forever and ever. For this was He who was Pilot to Noah; who conducted Abraham; who was bound with Isaac; who was exiled with Jacob; who was

sold with Joseph; who was Captain with Moses; who was the Director of the inheritance with Joshua the son of Nun; who in David and the prophets foretold His own sufferings; who was incarnate in the Virgin; who was born at Bethlehem; who was wrapped in swaddling clothes in a manger; who was seen of shepherds; who was glorified of angels; who was pointed out by John; who assembled the apostles; who preached the kingdom; who healed the maimed; who gave sight to the blind; who raised the dead; who appeared in the temple; who was believed on by the people; who was betrayed by Judas; who was laid hold on by the priests; who was condemned by Pilate; who was pierced in the flesh; who was hanged on the tree; who was buried in the earth; who rose from the dead; who appeared unto the apostles; who ascended into heaven; who sitteth on the right hand of the Father; who is the rest of those who are departed—God who is of God; the Son who is of the Father; Jesus Christ, the Son forever and ever. Amen!"

Apostles' Creed.

Both the age and authorship of this most widely used symbol are uncertain. Ambrose and Rufinus inform us that from 250 A. D. the creed we here insert was used in Rome:

"I believe in God, Father Almighty; and in Jesus Christ, His only begotten Son, our Lord, who was born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary, crucified and buried under Pontius Pilate, who rose on the third day from the dead, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father,

from whence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead; and in the Holy Ghost; the holy Church; the forgiveness of sins; and the resurrection of the flesh."

Tradition affirmed that before scattering from Jerusalem each of the apostles contributed a sentence to this creed. But after the first Nicene Council it was displaced by the Nicene symbol, which passed out of use in Rome owing to the antagonisms of the Eastern and Western Churches. Our Apostles' Creed then took its present shape, largely modified by a Gallic use, and was adopted in the imperial city. The old tradition of apostolic origin clung to this new Roman symbol.

Creed of Gregory Thaumaturgus.

He was a contemporary of Origen, and born in Neo Cæsarea, in Pontus. By a pagan father he was trained in idolatry. But his mother gave him a Christian education. Gregory studied in Alexandria. Here he was advised by Origen, his teacher and friend, to pray for the illumination of the Holy Ghost. On his return to his home he abandoned himself to retirement and devotion. He became a most successful preacher and was made bishop in his native city. But his creed has made him more illustrious than his episcopate or his eloquence. Gregory Nyssen attached to it a superstition that proves how early and strong was the tendency to saint worship. He ascribes the creed of Thaumaturgus to a revelation from the Virgin Mary and the evangelist John. We may well affirm that only the light of the Holy Ghost and the study of the Holy Scripture could have led to so full and satisfying a declaration

of the everlasting truth. Gregory uses the word "Trinity," and in some peculiarities of expression anticipated, perhaps suggested, the impressive and majestic style of the Athanasian symbol.

"There is one God, the Father of the living Word, of the subsisting Wisdom and Power, and of Him who is His eternal express Image, the perfect Father of Him that is perfect, the Father of the only begotten Son. There is one Lord, the only Son of the only Father, God of God, the character and image of the Godhead, the energetic Word, the comprehensive Wisdom by which all things were made, and the Power that gave being to all creation, the true Son of the true Father, the Invisible of the Invisible, the Incorruptible of the Incorruptible, the Immortal of the Immortal, the Eternal of the Eternal. There is one Holy Ghost, having the subsistence of God, who was manifested through the Son to men, the perfect Image of the perfect Son, the Life and the source of life, the holy Fountain, Sanctity and the Author of sanctification, by whom is made manifest God the Father who is above all and in all, and God the Son who is through all—a perfect Trinity, which neither in glory, eternity, nor dominion is separated or divided."

The Creed of Origen.

"There is one God, who created and made all things and caused the whole universe to exist out of nothing; the God of all the just that ever were from the first creation and foundation of all; the God of Adam, Seth, Enos, Enoch, Noah, Shem, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, the twelve patriarchs, Moses,

the prophets; who in the last days, as He had promised before by His prophets, sent our Lord Jesus Christ, first to call Israel, and then the Gentiles, after the infidelity of His people Israel; the just and good God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, being the God of the apostles and the Old and New Testaments—Jesus Christ who came into the world, was begotten of the Father before every creature, who, ministering to His Father in all things, in the last times made Himself of no reputation and became man. He who was God was made flesh, and when He was made man continued the same God He was before. He assumed a body in all things like our own, save that it was born of a Virgin by the Holy Ghost. And because this Jesus Christ was born and suffered death common to all, in truth, and not only in appearance, He was truly dead, for He truly rose again from the dead, and after His resurrection conversed with His disciples and was taken up into heaven. They also delivered unto us that the Holy Ghost was joined in the same honor and dignity as the Father and the Son."

Creed of Tertullian.

"There is one rule of faith only, that admits no change or alteration—that which teaches us to believe in one God Almighty, the Maker of the world, and in Jesus Christ, his Son, who was born of the Virgin Mary, crucified under Pontius Pilate, the third day rose again from the dead, was received into heaven, and sitteth now on the right hand of God, who shall come again to judge both the quick and the dead by the resurrection of the flesh."

Creed of Cyprian.

We have this inferentially, and not in any elaborate statement. The great Bishop of Carthage says, "Both the Catholics and the Novatians agreed in the same form of interrogations to catechumens in baptism—whether they believed in God the Father, and Christ His Son, and in the Holy Ghost." Among the schismatics, he affirms, was no true Church to grant remission of sins. Cyprian restricted absolution to Catholic priests in the apostolical succession.

Creed of Lucian the Martyr.

He suffered in the fiery persecutions of Diocletian, a martyr to the faith he confessed.

"We believe," he says, "according to the traditions of the Gospels and apostles, in one God, the Father Almighty, Creator and Maker and Governor of all things; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, His only begotten Son, who is God, by whom are all things, who was begotten of the Father, God of God, Whole of Whole, One of One, Perfect of Perfect, King of King, Lord of Lord, the Word, the Wisdom, the Way, the Life, the true Light, the true Way, the Resurrection, the Shepherd, the Gate, the Incommunicable and Unchangeable, Image of the divine essence, power, and glory, the firstborn of every creature, who was always God the Word, according to what is said in the Gospel, 'And the Word was God, by whom all things were made and in whom all things consist,' who in the last days descended from on high, and was born of a Virgin, according to the Scriptures, and, being the Lamb of God, was made Mediator between God and men, being fore-

ordained to be the Author of our faith and life—for He said, 'I am not come from heaven to do my own will, but the will of Him who sent me'—and rose again for us on the third day, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father; and He shall come again with glory to judge the quick and the dead. And we believe in the Holy Ghost, which is given to believers for their consolation and sanctification and consummation, according to what our Lord Jesus Christ appoints His disciples, saying, 'Go, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;' whence the properties of the Father are manifest, denoting Him to be truly Father, and the properties of a Son, denoting Him to be truly a Son, and the properties of the Holy Ghost, denoting Him to be truly a Holy Ghost, these names not being simply put and to no purpose, but to express the particular subsistence and hypostatic substance, as the Greeks term it, of each Person named, so as to denote them to be three in hypostasis and one by consonance."

CREED OF THE APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS.

"I believe and am baptized into one, unbegotten, the only true God Almighty, the Father of Christ, the Creator and Maker of all things, of whom are all things; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, His only begotten Son, firstborn of every creature, who before all ages was begotten, not made, by the good will of the Father, by whom all things were in heaven and earth, visible and invisible, who in the last time came down from heaven, and, taking flesh

upon Him, was born of the Virgin Mary, and lived a holy life, according to the laws of God His Father, and was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and died for us, and the third day after He suffered, rose again from the dead, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father, and shall come again in glory in the end of the world to judge both the quick and the dead, of whose kingdom shall be no end. And I am baptized into the Holy Ghost, that is to say, the Comforter, which wrought effectually in all the saints from the beginning of the world, and was afterward sent to the apostles by the Father, according to the promise of our Lord Jesus Christ, and after the apostles on all others who in the Holy Catholic Church believe the resurrection of the flesh, the remission of sins, the kingdom of heaven, and the life everlasting."

Creed of Jerusalem.

"I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth and of all things visible and invisible; and in the Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all ages, the true God, by whom all things were made, who was incarnate and was made man, who was crucified and buried, and the third day He rose again from the dead, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father, and shall come again to judge thequick and the dead, whose kingdom shall have no end; and in the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, who spake by the prophets; in one baptism for the remission of sins; in one Catholic Church; in the resurrection of the flesh; and life everlasting."

Creed of Antioch.

"I believe in the only true God, the Father Almighty of all creatures, visible and invisible; and in Jesus Christ our Lord, His only begotton Son, the firstborn of every creature, born of Him before all ages and not made, very God of very God, consubstantial with the Father, by whom the world was framed and all things made, who for our sakes came and was born of the Virgin Mary, and was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and was buried, and the third day rose again, according to the Scriptures, and ascended into heaven, and shall come again to judge the world."

CHAPTER X.

Fathers.

IN settling the canon of Scripture the aid of the Greek and Latin fathers is invaluable. To Eusebius, Sozomen, Socrates, and Theodoret, ecclesiastical history is immeasurably indebted. Often credulous and puerile, yet without their pages the early centuries of the Church would present almost a blank. From patristic quotations the Bible, in its essentials, could be rewritten. Besides, among the fathers what piety, what genius, what learning, what eloquence! They number writers whose gifts are not dimmed in the brilliance of classic literature. The oratory of Chrysostom and Basil and the Gregories recalls the fire of Demosthenes and the splendor of Cicero.

But are the fathers authoritative guides in the interpretation of Scripture? It is plausibly argued that just as they are nearer to the time of Christ so will they be more familiar with the mind of Christ. The ray is brightest when closest to the sun. As light is distorted and discolored by mists and clouds in the distance of earth, so, it is urged, as we leave the period of the fathers, truth is darkened and refracted in the later ages of history. Hence to know what the Scriptures mean we must know what the fathers say. This view places fathers between every man and his Bible. Such is the doctrine of Rome,

The Council of Trent ordained that we were to follow the example of the "orthodox fathers" in our interpretation of Scripture. Many Anglicans exalt their authority to this Roman level. How important then to judge the fathers by the fathers! Let them speak for themselves! If the papal Church exaggerates fathers it menaces liberty. Nor should we accept without question the lighter Anglican fetter. We wish, therefore, to examine whether we should bind the Christian Democracy in these gilded chains of the patristic literature. This, we think, can be briefly settled by an appeal to the writings of these venerable Greek and Latin fathers.

CLEMENT.

We are not unwilling to admit that Peter was in Rome. Scripture, indeed, is silent on the subject. But the voice of tradition is strong. Early as A. D. 107, in his Epistle to the Romans, Ignatius says, "I do not, as Peter and Paul, issue commandments unto you." This may, indeed, be an interpolation in that most corrupted writer. But by Peter and Paul Irenæus also says that the Roman Church was founded. Cyprian affirms that Peter was the chief source of sacerdotal unity, and hence in his struggle with Novatus appealed to Rome. Tertullian says that Clement was ordained by Peter, while Eusebius mentions Papias as authority that Peter from Rome wrote his first Epistle. This, if not convincing proof, is powerful presumption. All lists of popes place Clement as Bishop of Rome after Peter. So let him be! In this view he is pope and father. He speaks by a pontifical and a patristic authority.

According to Rome, his is a double infallibility. And he is the writer next after the canonical Scripture. Clement is that ray nearest the sun. His, in three aspects, is the loftiest human authority possible. By him, therefore, stands or falls the whole Roman position.

Let us turn to his pages! Do they correspond to this exalted place? We will test him by his argument on one fact which is at the center of Christian proof, Christian faith, and Christian hope. Here, if anywhere, he should be strong. How does he treat the resurrection of the Redeemer? Paul presents its evidence with a master hand. From him we pass to Clement; that is, we turn from the last apostle to the first father, who was also pope. Like Paul, does Clement confirm the resurrection by argument? What are his proofs? Does he place Christianity on the sure foundation of testimony? Are his witnesses men who saw and heard and touched the risen Saviour? No. Clement's illustration is fable. Our pope and father presses into his service, not Holy Scripture, but Egyptian legend. He summons as witnesses pagan priests. He does not reason, but dawdles. He gives, instead of argument, the myth of the phœnix. Such pitiable childishness we encounter at our first passage from apostles to popes and fathers! What but inspiration preserved unlettered fishermen from similar folly? Have we not here powerful presumption that human fallibility was not left to itself in the composition of Gospels and Epistles? Nor is the authorship questioned of Clement's first letter to the Corinthians. It was discovered in the manuscript of the *Codex*

Alexandrinus presented to Charles I, of England, in 1628 by Cyrillus Lucaris, Patriarch of Constantinople, and is now preserved in the British Museum. Between A. D. 68 and A. D. 97 was its probable date. After such comment we will quote the whole extract to which we have alluded, especially as it tests the Roman theory regarding fathers as biblical interpreters:

"Let us consider that wonderful sign of the resurrection which takes place in eastern lands, that is, in Arabia. There is a certain bird which is called a phœnix. When the time of its dissolution draws near that it must die it builds a nest of frankincense and myrrh and other spices, into which when the time is fulfilled it enters and dies. But as the flesh decays a certain kind of worm is produced which, being nourished by the juices of the dead bird, brings forth feathers. Then when it acquires strength it takes up the nest in which are the bones of its parent, and, bearing these, it passes from the land of Arabia into Egypt, to the city called Heliopolis, and in open day, flying in sight of all men, it places them on the altar of the sun, and, having done the same, hastens back to its former abode. The priest then inspects the register of the dates and finds that it has returned exactly as the five hundredth year was completed."

IGNATIUS.

During all the centuries since his martyrdom the Bishop of Antioch has baffled his critics. Fifteen epistles bear his name. Of these eight are universally considered spurious. As regards four others

opinions vary. The illustrious Lightfoot, recent Bishop of Durham, devoted years to the elucidation of Ignatius. Even his critical genius cannot certainly separate the original gold of the epistles from the dross of shameful corruptions. These were exaggerated in Milton's eloquent diatribes against prelacy, yet they prove in the early Church a painful and unscrupulous mendacity. Fraud was used to exalt episcopal prerogative. That the end justifies the means was a pious plea long before Jesuitism. The result shows that truth cannot be helped by falsehood. The authority of Ignatius is impaired by the means employed to increase it. Although his epistles to Polycarp, the Ephesians, and the Romans are accepted by all, yet even these are darkened by the shadows of a corrupting age. In the reign of Trajan, A. D. 107, Ignatius was cast to the wild beasts. On his way from Antioch to meet death in the Roman amphitheater he writes words which burn with faith and love. "Suffer me," he exclaims, "to imitate the passion of my God. An archive to me is Christ; my incorruptible bibliotheca is Christ's cross. He is the Door to the Father through which Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and the prophets and the apostles and the Church enter. This one Revealer is the Son of God, His eternal Word, tireless, viewless, for us visible, for us suffering, and yet impalpable and impassable."

Barnabas.

Who was he? Paul's associate? But how can we ascribe to the companion of the great apostle, a man full of the Holy Ghost, strong in faith, and

vigorous in exhortation, pitiable puerilities? Many facts conspire to prove that the Barnabas of our epistle lived about the middle of the second century. In order of time he is third of the venerable fathers. If we accept the Roman view he stands on a lofty pedestal of authority. His interpretations of Scripture should exert commanding influence. Now we have in his epistle an exposition of a statement in Genesis. It is recorded that Abraham circumcised three hundred and eighteen persons in his household. Hear the comment of Barnabas! How keen and profound his insight! He divides three hundred and eighteen into three parts. These are ten, eight, and three hundred. The ten are indicated by the Greek letter ι, and the eight by η, which are the first two letters in the Greek name of Jesus, while the Greek letter τ, *tau*, expressing three hundred, resembles the cross. Therefore by the three hundred of the three hundred and eighteen the cross was represented and predicted. The ten and the eight, indicated by the ι and the η, were prophetic of Jesus. It follows that we have in the circumcision of three hundred and eighteen persons by Abraham evidences of the Messiah and His atonement. A single number comprises the plan of salvation! And the father congratulates himself on his wonderful discovery! He is vain of his spiritual discernment! The oracle not only sounds forth this deep wisdom, but its own praises! Barnabas exclaims, "No one has been admitted to a more excellent piece of knowledge than this." Yet this man is a father. He is third in the succession. He deserves therefore the highest credit. He is to

be placed between me and Scripture. Despite his childish babble, I must accept him as my guide. Well for the world, on its way to the everlasting truth it has small need of so small a Barnabas. So soon a decree of Trent lands me in a mist of nonsense! How speedily in the history of the Church we learn to turn from man to God!

Polycarp.

Here is a true man and a true witness. Yet the glory of his death is clouded by puerile legends. Flames were not enough to sanctify and dignify his testimony. The majesty of martyrdom is enfeebled by silly invention. We can, indeed, distinguish the true coin from the base alloy. But such fables as have been gathered about the death of the venerable Polycarp not only mar its spiritual effect and pain us with their silliness and degrade an apostolic witness into the rank of a legendary martyr, but excite a prejudice against Christianity and suspicion against all ecclesiastical tradition and history. Falsifying meddlers unsettle the very foundations they seek to establish.

The Bishop of Smyrna had been a disciple of the apostle John. He had seen those who had seen the Christ. He was a link between the apostolic age and all the succeeding centuries. He thus moved in a halo of traditional glory. The venerable Christian was ninety years of age when he heard mad cries demanding his death. Friends persuaded him to retire to a villa. From here he retreated to another. He spent a day and a night in prayer. Baptized by heaven, he was ready for

flame and crown. The time, he saw, had come for testimony in the fire. Betrayed in his refuge, he gave himself up to his persecutors. On his knees in their presence he prayed long. Even the pagans were touched by the spectacle of his gray head bowed before the Majesty of the universe. He was taken into a chariot by the side of a Roman magnate, who urged him to apostatize. At the tribunal the proconsul said, "Curse Christ!" Polycarp answered, "I am a Christian." Before the fire was lighted he thanked Almighty God for the privilege of martyrdom, and then his soul passed from flame to paradise. He left behind him a single epistle, addressed to the Philippians. Polycarp invokes "mercy and peace from the Lord Jesus Christ, whose death is our hope, the surety of our justification, and which awakes love to Him and a desire to glorify Him while we tread in the footsteps of His sufferings. To Him all things in heaven and earth are subject; Him every spirit serves; He comes to judge the living and the dead. The faith delivered unto us is the mother of us all; her eldest daughter is love, her second hope. If we walk worthy of Him we shall reign with Him. Ye believe in Him, though ye see Him not, and, believing, ye rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory."

IRENÆUS.

He was born in Asia and made Bishop of Lyons in France, where, in A. D. 180, he died a martyr. Few fathers exceed him in purity of piety, vigor of intellect, and extent of learning. Irenæus recalled the form, the face, the words of the noble Polycarp, who

had received wisdom from apostolic lips. How the light of Smyrna was thus flashed into the darkness of France! Orient illuminated Occident. A *Refutation of the Gnostic System* was the principal work of Irenæus. Others of his writings we know only by their names. But all that survives from his pen proves his excellent judgment, except his eccentric theory as to the age of our Saviour. In this we have another evidence of his human frailty, the laxity of his age in biblical interpretation, and the peril of trusting to the guidance and authority of any father. Few writers who will not twist fact to support individual opinion and sectarian prejudice! Irenæus believed that, as the representative of our humanity, our Lord should be identified with our humanity in each earthly manifestation of infancy, childhood, manhood, and age. As this was necessary for our Redeemer, Jesus was, therefore, an old man when He was crucified. Having adopted this view, Irenæus states as fact what was a whim of speculation, and this without even pretense of proof. Nor except the Bishop of Lyons does a solitary ancient writer venture a similar assertion. In all the fathers we find the same want of critical judgment and historical accuracy. Acquaintance with their pages dissolves all illusions as to their authority. Not only were they often credulous and puerile, but, as we shall see from the works of the most illustrious, leaders of the people into the grossest superstition.

Yet we must not obscure the beautiful side of the picture. With what admirable grace and wisdom Irenæus expresses himself when he says: "God cannot be known without God. Without life, we

cannot live. Who would see the light must be in the sphere of the light. The Unapprehended, the Invisible, hath made Himself visible, comprehensible, apprehensible." With Irenæus "Christ was the fountain of the Holy Ghost for all who believe. On our humanity the Holy Ghost is the rain from heaven. In and through all things is one God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. He unites man to God. If God had not granted man salvation we should not have been put in firm possession of it; and if man had not been united to God he could not have been a partaker of immortality. It behooved the Mediator of God and man, by His affinity with both, to bring both into agreement with each other."

Justin Martyr.

This father was born in Flavia Neapolis, the old Samaritan Sichem. It had become a Roman colony where the Greek language and culture prevailed. Justin loved the philosophy of Plato. But he was not satisfied with its flights into sublime clouds. "I, also," he says, "once was an admirer of the doctrines of Plato, and I heard the Christians abused. But when I saw them meet death and all that is terrible among men without dismay, I knew it impossible that they could live in sin and lust. I despised the opinion of the multitude, and I glory in being a Christian.

The celebrated *Apology* of Justin was written in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, in which also he suffered martyrdom. He argued that, as Christ had power to deify man, Christ was, therefore, Himself

divine. "Under the Old Testament the Jews had understood in its manifestations a Power of God which they called glory in the cloud; when in human form, man, angel; when messages were brought, Word, as a discourse from the Father." As beams were inseparable from the sun, this Power was inseparable from the Father. This Power, Justin affirms, was Christ, the King and the Jehovah of the Old Testament. Dying as a witness for these everlasting truths, this father deserved the epithet "Martyr."

Clemens Alexandrinus.

No ancient ecclesiastical writer exhibits more uniformly solid sense or indulges less in flights of speculation. He was long the most shining ornament of the great theological school of Alexandria. If less brilliant than Origen, he was a more steadfast luminary. From Egypt over the world went forth the beams of his pure and beautiful and unsullied wisdom. With Clement the Son is Truth in person; Logos of the Father; Unity of the Almighty; creative Word and Reason; Pedagogue, like God His Father; the unbegun Beginning; Countenance of the Father and Revealer of His essence; almighty Wisdom in and with God. The Son never abandons His watch-tower; is not divided; is not severed; travels not from place to place; is ever over all; never included; wholly Intelligence and Light of the Father; divine Power shining over earth and filling it with seeds of salvation; issuing from the Father swifter than the sun; becoming flesh that He might

be seen. He arose a universal Light upon the world; the Word incarnate; forgiving our sins, as He is God, He would transform us into the beauty of the Logos, and make our mortality immortality.

Origen.

He was also a light in the Alexandrian school. In original genius and breadth of learning he excelled all the fathers. And his piety, although ascetic, was deep and fervent. He, if any man, should be an infallible human teacher. All gifts seemed to unite in Origen. Alas for mortal frailty, he disappoints all expectations! Not a father was more misleading! He began by a misinterpretation of the Master's words, made himself a eunuch, and clouded his whole life. Mutilated in person, he became erratic in mind. His light is brilliant, but false and wavering. Once in Palestine his writings were publicly condemned, and they have never lost the flavor of heterodoxy. Origen seems to teach the final salvation of all men. However this view accords with our benevolent prepossessions, it is hard to prove from Scripture. By his wild allegorical interpretations our famed Alexandrian despoiled himself of influence. He soared into the clouds and was lost. He converted biblical facts into whimsical myths. He disturbed the very foundations of Christianity, and, unchecked, would have brought down the structure he loved and sought to strengthen and adorn. Of all the fathers Origen most illustrates the peril of following human guides as authorities in the study of the Bible. We will give a single pregnant proof. Concubinage with

Origen was a monstrous indulgence. He could not reconcile it with piety in man or holiness in God. The wives of Abraham, and David, and Solomon troubled the dreaming, ascetic father. How could such men be examples of faith and subjects of inspiration? Origen could make no allowance for infirmities under the law which were not tolerable under the Gospel. He will replace the facts of Scripture with theories of his own. "No end," he says, "of wisdom. The death of Sarah is the perfection of virtue. The marriage of Keturah indicates that Abraham still devoted himself to learning, called by the divine word 'wife.' So a man like the patriarchs and Solomon may have many wives —as patience, hospitality, and benevolence."

TERTULLIAN.

This splendid writer, although married, was a monk in heart. A cynical and gloomy ascetic, he had little of the joy of Christianity. He rose to the sublimest heights of eloquence and descended to speculations puerile and ridiculous. Montanism tempted him into belief of its wild and absurd ecstasies of revelation. We have seen that he accepted as true the visions of Priscilla and Maximilla and proved by them the soul to be material. He taught that an angel prepared for the Holy Ghost in the waters of baptism. Having lost the way himself, he led others from truth. Yet how brilliant his intellect, how keen his satire, how vast his erudition, how magnificent his genius of expression! Tertullian fell. His shining gifts did not guide him in the way, and in the glare of his errors

his works are the visible monuments of mortal fallibility. Left to themselves, individuals and communions are lost stars in blackness of darkness.

We will give a beautiful and eloquent extract from Tertullian. Amid its luxuriance of illustration lurk germs of error. "Consider thyself a copy of God, a rational being animated by a divine substance. Dost thou not see, then, when thou quietly through thy reason communest with thyself, the same thing takes place in thee? Thy reason takes up a position over against thee by means of words, at every moment of thought, every pulsation of intelligence. Whatever thou thinkest or perceivest becomes a word in thee, and in thy word is thy reason itself. In thy soul thou must speak, thou canst not avoid it; and when thou speakest the word in thee becomes another than thyself, as it were one who speaks with thee, in the which, notwithstanding, there dwells the same reason which enables thee to speak when thou speakest. Thus there is, as it were, another than thyself, a second—the word in thee, through which thou speakest when thinking, and through which thou thinkest when speaking. After the same manner God, in virtue of his reason, quietly thinking and ordering, made the reason Word, which in speaking He set in motion. He when He keeps silence has reason in Himself, and in reason the Word. So far, therefore, it is true that before the creation of the universe God was not alone, seeing in Himself He had reason, and reason the Word, which by an inner act He constituted an inner second self."

Incarnation tests fathers. God in our flesh! He,

Source of all, Force of all, Thought of all, Bond of all, He who made suns and systems and cherubim, He, King of His universe, He, supreme in power, glory, and majesty, He, the Infinite, the Absolute, the Incommunicable, the Ineffable, He, God, to man joined forever! Incarnation is the root of Christianity. Incarnation is the virtue in atonement. Incarnation is the joy of man, the song of angels, the secret of the universe, the marvel of eternity. Incarnation is the spring of the liberty of faith and the life of the Christian Democracy. It was held in the consciousness of the early Church. In the Godhead of Christ Greek and Latin fathers surely believed. Did the first in their line, Clemens Romanus, teach as fact the myth of the phœnix? Yet he also implies Christ as divine when he writes: "By Him we look up to the heights of heaven. By Him we behold as in a glass His immaculate and most excellent visage. By Him are the eyes of our hearts opened. By Him our foolish and darkened understanding blossoms up anew into His marvelous light. By Him the Lord wills that we should taste immortal knowledge." Even the feeble Barnabas bore similar testimony. "All our salvation," he writes, "all our salvation we owe to Christ. He gives eternal life through His cross—the Son of God, the Lord and future Judge of living and dead. From Him had the prophets gifts. He is Son of God and Son of David, having all things under His feet." Polycarp, beyond cavil, adored his Saviour as God. Justin Martyr says, "He existed before all, being God." Irenæus trusted in Christ as God. Clemens Alexandrinus affirms expressly, "He is God." Be-

fore his Montanism, in his treatise against Praxeas, Tertullian speaks of "Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, yet one God." In his creed, Gregory Thaumaturgus confesses the same faith. Nor amid all his aberrations did Origen in this belief differ from his pupil. Yet in all the fathers, Greek and Latin, were expressions containing seeds of error. Justin says that Christ was the "Only-begotten of the Father as Reason and Power"—an attribute then, and not a personality! Even the Alexandrian Clement describes Him as "God's manifest Wisdom, Goodness, and Power"—hence only a divine property! Tertullian says that "God made the Reason Word." Christ, then, as the Arians held, had a beginning in time. With Origen the Father was ὁ θεός, *the* God, and the Son θεός, God, and God "by the will of the Father."

Early mists inclosed the doctrine of the Godhead of Christ. Hidden in the consciousness of fathers, it became obscure in their explanations. Their definitions betrayed uncertainty and produced confusion. Before the Arian controversy the Nicene Creed was beyond their wisdom. With them the Son was rather an impersonated attribute than the everlasting, coequal, and consubstantial God. Hence the benefit of discussion. Heresy itself assisted to truth. Great men rose to the occasion. Controversy, like lightning, purified the atmosphere. If sometimes the thunderbolt was fatal, yet the death of one was the salvation of many. Roar and confusion were succeeded by the serenity of peace. By their errors, as well as their truths, Greek and Latin fathers were useful. Infallible interpreters of Scrip-

ture? Alas, with all their piety, genius, and learning, they were often children creeping toward a light afterward revealed. All the centuries to the Nicene Council were required to clear patristic mists from the Bible—sole sun of everlasting truth.

CHAPTER XI.

Liturgies.

IN forms of worship Christianity leaves large liberty. The same life of faith and love expresses itself according to the infinite varieties produced by race, nation, and environment. A religion designed for a world must in its adaptations be wide as a world. Where God reveals no law man must impose no yoke. Especially in worship should humanity be left free. Yet to all liberty there is a limit, both in Bible and reason. And in examining venerable liturgies it is difficult to see how the free spirit of Christian Democracy could elect such innumerable petty and chilling forms. What minute directions, what puerile observances, what pompous and elaborate ceremonies! How different from the simple worship of the New Testament! Unless changed within, how could Christianity be so revolutionized in its external manifestation? Surely we have passed from the early liberty of faith and love into a slavery of ceremonial ostentation. Only a winter atmosphere creates the chill and glittering iceberg.

As the altar at the door of the tabernacle, so remission of sin is at the beginning of each Christian life. Nor is conscious forgiveness through faith in the blood of the divine Christ possible without the glow of grateful love. The doctrine and the

emotion should, therefore, inspire every formulary of worship consecrated to the Redeemer. By our Saviour and His apostles remission of sin was connected with baptism and eucharist, and was the end of individual faith and the theme of public preaching. Yet how little this great fundamental truth of our salvation finds expression even in the most ancient liturgies! And how it became mingled with pagan superstition we will soon see by painful proof. That personal forgiveness which vivified the heart, and head, and pen of Paul is obscured from priest and people. Amid genuflections and chants and processions, clouds of incense over altars offered in atonement for sin, hide from men and angels the infinite blood of incarnate Godhead! Nothing in ecclesiastical history more fully shows how soon the Christian Democracy became fettered in the gilded chains of a sacerdotal oligarchy.

In proof of what has been said let me examine the three oldest liturgies, which were probably the parents of the more recent and elaborate formularies of Chrysostom, Basil, and Gregory.

St. James.

The liturgy bearing the name of this apostle was used at Jerusalem. To him eminent writers ascribe the whole work. Abler and sterner critics affirm that it belongs to a later age. Yet others hold that the substance was from James, and that with this have been mingled many interpolations. Whatever the origin and history of the liturgy, it demonstrates how soon legalism and superstition had infected the Church. Already we perceive in it the mists that

ended in mediæval darkness. Amid songs of choirs and the clash of instruments we seem to hear the sacerdotal hammer clinking on the Christian fetter. It is hard to believe that liberty of faith and spontaneity of prayer are consistent with fatiguing length of devotions, constant genuflections, minute rubrics, mere æsthetical impressiveness, the worship of altar, the glory of priest, and the exaltation of sacrament into mystery. But, fearing to restrict legitimate Christian freedom, we will give some extracts from the Liturgy of St. James, and enable those who read to form their own judgments and estimate the force of our comments:

"God, who didst accept the gifts of Abel, the sacrifice of Noah and of Abraham, the incense of Aaron and Zacharias, accept this incense for the odor of a sweet smell, and the remission of sins."

Pope and patriarch have not gone further. Would our modern ritualism dare follow the authority of this ancient example? We see here where antiquity without Scripture leads. Incense for sins, forgiveness bought by odors, smoke moving the Almighty, remission for smell—what a puerile view of the Majesty of the universe! And the symbolic blood of the Old Testament and the divine blood of the New set aside as atonement! And this in the earliest of liturgies! In the same style we have:

"Send forth upon us, O God, Thy good grace, and turn our thoughts to piety, that with a pure conscience we may bring to Thee gifts, offerings for the remission of our sins, and for the propitiation of all Thy people."

So soon had the one completed and infinite sacrifice of Jesus, our incarnate God, become veiled in the gilded mists of human fancies! The Greek and Roman transubstantiation appears as again we read:

"We entreat and beseech Thy goodness that it may not be for condemnation of Thy people that this mystery of salvation has been administered to us for remission of sins."

Purgatorial fire gleamed early in the Christian worship. By our offerings we must relieve the departed. Such is the doctrine we encounter when we pass from our Bibles to the first liturgy sanctified by an apostolic name. St. James himself is represented as praying:

"That we may become worthy of offering to Thee gifts and sacrifices for our transgressions and for those of Thy people. And grant to us, O Lord, with all fear and good conscience to offer to Thee this spiritual and bloodless sacrifice for our transgressions and the errors of Thy people, and for the rest of the souls that have fallen asleep aforetime."

St. Mark.

His was the Liturgy of the Church of Alexandria; and from it have descended the formularies of Basil, Cyril, and Gregory. And it is parent, too, of the Ethiopic canon of all the apostles. By some it is ascribed to St. Mark himself. Probably it was perfected by Cyril. We have only one manuscript, which is attributed to the twelfth century. The first edition appeared A. D. 1583, in Paris. It repeats the peculiarities to which we have called

attention in the Liturgy of St. James, and therefore requires no further comment. We read:

" Purify our lives and cleanse our hearts from all pollution and from all wickedness, that with a pure heart and conscience we may offer to Thee the incense of a sweet-smelling savor and for the remission of our sins. The incense is offered in Thy name. Let it ascend, we implore Thee, from the hands of Thy poor and sinful servants to the heavenly altar for the propitiation of Thy people. O Lord our God, give peace to the souls of our fathers and brethren. Especially remember those whose memory we this day celebrate, and our holy father Mark."

Of the Blessed Apostles.

This liturgy was composed by St. Addæus and St. Maris for the Oriental Church. It is supposed to be one of the first formularies of the Christian sacrifice. A Latin translation is given in Renaudot's *Collectio*, and reprinted in Daniel's *Codex Liturgicus*. Saint intercession appears in this early form of worship. The Greek and Latin Churches have no authority in the Bible for supplicating the Virgin, but they find example in ancient liturgies. If these were standards Mary might be lawfully adored. The Christian Democracy of the New Testament knew no such petition as that we quote and which is ascribed to the blessed apostles:

" O mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, beseech for me the only begotten Son, who was born of thee, to forgive me my offenses and my sins, and to ac-

cept from my feeble and sinful hands this sacrifice which my weakness offers upon this altar, through thy intercession for me. O holy mother!"

DIDACHE.

In A. D. 1873, Philotheos Bryennios was master of a Greek school in Constantinople. He discovered in that year a collection of manuscripts in the Monastery of the Most Holy Sepulcher. They bear date A. D. 1056. Among these was the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*. Afterward, when Metropolitan of Nicomedia, Bryennios published a text of this primitive treatise. It is widely received as authentic and referred to an early part of the second century. The simplicity of its aim and style prove it to be no forgery; and we may, therefore, esteem it an invaluable testimony to the doctrine and worship of the ancient Christianity. It is indeed an unadorned picture of its times. First, it shows the way of life to be the love of God. Various sins are forbidden. Precepts of conduct follow, and then directions for the sacred rites. Baptism must be administered by pouring on the head in the name of the Trinity. Bishops and deacons only are mentioned as ministers. Rules for the eucharist are few and simple. In neither sacrament is mention made of remission of sins. Yet was not this the great Gospel blessing? Did not our God make His cup its symbol? Was it not proclaimed by apostles and sealed by baptism? How strange that in such a discourse there should be no allusion to the atoning death of the Redeemer! Legalism without the blood of sacrifice! From first to last scarce one

evangelical trace! The teaching of the apostles, and destitute of that truth which animated their hearts and lives and sermons! Invaluable as a fragment of history and an index of its age, the *Didache* resembles a water color picture void of nature's glow. So soon the doctrine of the remission of sins, which gave liberty to Paul and life to his labor, seems to have faded from the consciousness of priest and prelate and people! What the great apostle seized with a giant's grasp already held with an infant's hand!

Pastor of Hermas.

The most successful romance is usually a photograph of its times. By sparkling dialogue and dramatic incident it expresses some belief or aspiration which had been long struggling toward light in the human consciousness. Men see the mirror of themselves and are interested in its image. Exhaustive argument is for the few, and picturing romance for the many. What makes Bunyan popular? He voices Protestantism for the multitude. The *Pilgrim's Progress* personifies the work of Luther. It makes the Reformation vivid in allegory. And it accomplishes its end by text and illustration and imagery from the Bible—that book given by God, not for a class or a sect or a race or an age, but for all time and the whole human family. Bunyan pictures the consciousness of evangelical millions. The power-center of his immortal book is the burden of Christian falling from his back before the cross. His Pilgrim represents humanity delivered by faith from its intolerable load of guilt. And in this liberty

we see vivified the doctrine taught by Paul and recovered by Luther. But there is another lesson in the life of the Pilgrim. He loses his roll. How dark his soul and way! With his recovered treasure he resumes his journey, triumphing in love and hope and joy. Early Protestantism enjoined on her children the assuring witness of the Holy Ghost in the remission of sin, and with its proclamation of faith and liberty reanimated the dead Christian Democracy.

What the *Pilgrim's Progress* is to our age the *Pastor* of Hermas was to its age. We have in it Christianity pictured for centuries. It was written in Greek. Although its author is uncertain, it was most probably composed in the reign of Hadrian or that of Antoninus Pius. Irenæus, the learned martyr, Bishop of Lyons, toward the close of the second century recognized as Scripture the *Pastor* of Hermas. His judgment reflected the opinion of the Church in regard to the edification derived from this strange fiction. It contains three books. The first describes four visions, the second twelve commandments, and the third ten similitudes. In its view of remission we have the doctrine of John the Baptist, preaching, in hair cloak and leathern girdle, the kingdom of heaven yet to come: "For after you have made known to them these words which my Lord has commanded me to reveal to you, then shall they be forgiven all the sins which in former times they committed, and forgiveness will be granted to all the saints who have sinned, even to the present day, if they repent with all their heart and drive all doubt from their minds."

Nothing of remission through faith in the blood of Christ, nothing of regeneration and adoption and assurance by His Spirit, nothing of the joy and power and liberty in believing, nothing of those evangelical truths which inflamed Paul and burned in Luther, which vivify the *Pilgrim's Progress* and the great Protestant confessions, and are the moving forces of modern effort in converting our world into the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ!

CHAPTER XII.

Councils.

AT the close of the third century appeared Arius on the troubled scene of the world. He had been educated at Antioch and a pupil of the celebrated Lucian. Afterward he was a presbyter in the Church of Alexandria, a city famous for its theological school, its commercial activity and wealth, its literary culture and political influence. Arius was a rigid ascetic, narrow in intellect, feeble in his grasp, and practical in his aim. In the works of Origen he found support for his doctrine. Indeed, the germs of his system had for centuries been in the fathers. He could vindicate himself by multiplied extracts from Greek and Latin writers accepted for orthodoxy and admired for learning. It was taught by Arius that either we must believe in two original and eternal essences, or else the Logos had a beginning of existence. A time was when Christ was not. If He be God, said Arius, and the Father be God, there are then two Gods. Our Alexandrian presbyter could not, or would not, comprehend unity in essence and diversity in persons. According to him the Son was begotten in time. He had not been forever. Eternity was not in His essence. After God, Arius gave Him the next dignity. Between God and His works the distance is immeasurable. Infinitely above the finite must by necessity

be the Infinite. Did the Gnostics seek to bridge the abyss with angel, archon, and demiurge? Arius interposed Logos. He is not God, yet by Him God created all. He is not called by Arius God—not God, but all save God.

To Christ the presbyter ascribed a mutable will. Our Saviour had directed His volitions for good, yet He could have exercised them for evil. By the right use of His powers He attained His preeminence. Foreseeing His holy life, as its reward His Father predestined that He should make and rule the universe. Nor did Arius seem aware that he was departing from the doctrine of the Oriental Church. To Scripture and fathers he appealed. Yet he shocked the universal Christian creed and consciousness. Controversy was inevitable. The doctrine of Christ's Godhead was forced before the tribunal of the Church. Clamoring for definition was that truth which imparts all efficacy to atonement, and, therefore, involves in itself, for time and eternity, the liberty of the Christian Democracy. With it, in external slavery we may be free; without it, in external freedom we are slaves.

Arius tried to gain adherents in his parish. His new bishop, Alexander, at first took no part in the controversy. Finally he assembled a synod of Egyptian and Libyan bishops, who, A. D. 321, deposed Arius and excluded him from the Church. Alexander sent circular letters to eminent ecclesiastics. He represented as unchristian the doctrine of his presbyter. To defend himself Arius turned to distinguished Oriental bishops. Of these a majority favored his view. So deeply Origen's leaven per-

vaded the East! Here was formed a middle party of compromises. Illustrious men sought to settle the strife. They wished Alexander to restore Arius. Especially Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, interposed his vast influence to stop a controversy threatening Church and empire. No mortal power could hold back a tempest whose lightnings were needed to purify the ecclesiastical atmosphere. Constantine and his Council must cooperate in the expression of a doctrine which is the life of the liberty of the Christian Democracy.

The imperial ruler of the world was moved by no strong religious interest. He had conquered by the sword. A celestial vision winged his eagles to slaughter and victory. The cross of the Lamb of God led his armies to battle and became the symbol of his triumphant military career. What a perversion to worldly ends of that religion whose Spirit as a dove from heaven hovered over the head of the Christ! When Constantine convened the Council of Nice he had not yet been baptized. After an imperial reign of years he could not with his own slaves kneel to partake the eucharist. His subsequent actions show how slight his faith, and blood spots stain him with suspicion.

We may, then, affirm that in convoking the Nicene Council the motive of Constantine was political. In his empire pagans outnumbered Christians. But the former represented an exhausted and despairing past, while the latter were animated with the zeal and hope and courage of youth. So nearly were the parties balanced that the scale could easily be turned. Divisions among Christians might wreck

the empire. With such a catastrophe was Constantine menaced. While the Arian strife rent the Church, it imperiled dominion. To compose the rising storm was an impulse of preservation and of statesmanship. In A. D. 325, at Nice in Bithynia, Constantine assembled the first Ecumenical Council. In the political sovereignty of the emperor was its very origin. His imperial decree gave it life. In obedience to his will three hundred and eighteen bishops convened at the time and place specified in his summons. A lay element was in the Council; but it was there with the sword of the emperor to impose his sovereignty of authority. The Christian Democracy of the New Testament had been wholly suppressed. In its place were episcopal oligarchy and imperial autocracy. Rome was represented by two presbyters. Papal majesty would not condescend to speak through delegates of a superior order. Most of the bishops were Orientals from Asiatic and Egyptian sees. The venerable Hosius of Cordova was chosen to preside.

In the Council were three parties:

1. The party of Eusebius. He sought compromise. Many mysteries, he urged, we cannot explain. How was the soul formed? How united to the body? How does it move the body? How does it leave the body? How does it exist apart from the body? We cannot tell. Ignorant of ourselves, we must not try to explain Godhead. Let us, then, said Eusebius, express our creed by Scripture! The word of God is better than the language of man. But Eusebius would have settled nothing. Each party would have placed its own interpreta-

tion on the terms of the Bible used in the creed, and thus have been divided as before. Strife would have been renewed and the work repeated. Compromise was impossible. The time had arrived in the history of the Church when the Christian consciousness desired and demanded such exact definition as reasonable men could not mistake.

2. The party of Arius. We have already seen what he taught. He believed that the Son was created by the Father. He believed that the Son in time had existence from the Father. He believed that the Son made all things by and for the Father, was above all in the universe of the Father, while not of the substance of the Father.

3. The party of Athanasius. The youthful presbyter of Alexandria was only twenty-eight. He was not a member of the Council, but his soul inspired it. By the force of genius a presbyter led bishops. It was Athanasius the man who exerted this sublime controlling power. A test word was wanted. It came from the Greek. Arius would say ὁμοιούσιος, of *like* substance with the Father; he would never say ὁμοούσιος, of the *same* substance, nor ever after would his followers. Here, then, was a crucial word. Always, like a chemical test, it brought out into view the discoloring elements of error. Between the Arian and the Athanasian terms how slight the difference! It is an *iota*—one letter! What an opportunity for cynical critics! Little men, they say, fight over little things as little as themselves. But behind this *iota* is Christ's Godhead. It stands for Godhead. It expresses that Godhead without which the cross would be mere

wood and the gate of the everlasting glory unopened for our humanity. Athanasius did not contend for a cipher. He insisted on a Greek letter only as it represented an infinite and eternal verity. My eyelid can shut out the sun, and a small arbitrary sign symbolizing error may hide forever the face of Jehovah.

At the beginning of the Council Arius appeared to be under the smile of Constantine. All was in his favor. But suddenly the scene changed. The emperor passed under the influence of the venerable Bishop of Cordova, president of the assembly. Hosius turned the scale. Under his spell the weight of the imperial authority was brought over to the doctrine of Athanasius and the decree of the Council determined. Eusebius himself yielded either to the force of argument or to the will of Constantine. Perhaps with some mental reservation, the Bishop of Cæsarea subscribed the orthodox creed. Seventeen prelates declined to vote with the majority. Episcopacy, however, soon began to bow before imperial autocracy. Fourteen bishops succumbed. It here was first shown that prelates might prefer terrestrial bread to the celestial manna. Emperors discovered how to shape creeds. We see them offering miters, thrones, and palaces. These failing, their next arguments were depositions, exiles, and imprisonments. When these did not convince, then executioners! Besides Arius, only Theonas, of Marmarica, and Secundus, of Ptolemais, persisted in refusing to subscribe the Nicene Creed. All three were excommunicated, deposed, and banished. The crucial words, "being of one substance with the Father," fixed the creed and crowned the controversy.

Nor were the differences in regard to the Son greater than those in regard to the Spirit. For three centuries opinions had been divided and conflicting. Fathers were against fathers. Some held that the Holy Ghost was only a mode of the divine agency; some that He was a creature; and others that He was God. One theologian affirmed that the Scriptures were clear in their definitions of the Son, while obscure in their doctrine of the Spirit. Eunomius taught that the Spirit was the first creature from the Father through the Son. The belief of the Church seems to have been best stated in the creed of Gregory Thaumaturgus. Athanasius certainly had a firm grasp of the sublime doctrine of the Trinity.

The Oriental Church magnified the Father as the supreme efficient Cause, but held also that from Him the Son was generated and the Spirit proceeded. Yet there were always prevailing loose views verging toward heterodoxy. From the earliest ecclesiastical writers arose these mists over the whole doctrine of the Holy Ghost. All these errors of the past culminated in Sabellius. He was from Ptolemais in Africa. With him Son and Spirit were only different manifestations of the Father. A monad, the Father evolved Himself into a triad, and then the triad involved itself back into the monad. As in the sun are globe, light, rays, so God is the effulgence from which proceed the Logos to illuminate and the Spirit to fructify. The primal essence had been an everlasting solitary. In time forth from Him came the Son, and afterward the Spirit. Each, then, Son and Spirit, had a beginning. The Father begat the Logos. By the Logos all

was created. First in Christ the Logos had personality. But, as a ray taken back into the sun, the Logos will be drawn into the Father. So, too, the Holy Ghost. Son and Spirit are, then, temporary manifestations of the Father. Each was an expedient and an appearance; each began; each would end. Sabellius taught that neither Son nor Spirit had an everlasting, coequal, consubstantial place in Godhead, which in the law revealed itself as Father, and in the Gospel, first as Son and afterward as Spirit. Such a view antagonized the deepest and most sacred Christian consciousness. Sabellianism was in its essence pantheism. Its Saviour was not an eternal Personality. Jesus is; once He was not; hereafter He will cease to be. In heaven His throne will become vacant. While gazing at His glory the redeemed will see their King vanish into nothing. With Him, the sun, extinct, what a midnight over the universe! And if Christ, the Head, expire, His members must perish, and creation be a wreck. Pantheistic Sabellianism evolved all from the primal essence, and then back into the primal essence absorbed all.

A second Ecumenical Council was necessary to settle the controversies of the divided and distracted Church. It was assembled by Theodosius the Great, A. D. 381, at Constantinople. To the declaration in the Nicene Creed of the Godhead of the Father it added a declaration of the Godhead of the Holy Ghost. The creed of Constantinople was a complement of the creed of Nice. The one involved the other. We might say that the one compelled the other. Together they express the faith. At

Constantinople it was declared that the "Holy Ghost is the Lord and Giver of life." He "proceedeth from the Father." "With the Father and the Son He is together worshiped and glorified." He is adored as the Father is adored; He is adored as the Son is adored; thus adored, He is God as the Father is God and as the Son is God. From this it follows that God is in nature one, and in persons three. After nearly four centuries the Church has declared the doctrine of the Trinity.

As completed by the Council of Constantinople the Nicene Creed expressed that the "Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father." It does not say from the Son. Yet the Scripture affirms that the Holy Ghost was "sent" by the Son. The Latin Church was not satisfied with the creed produced by two Ecumenical Councils. It set itself above both. It overthrew in practice its whole theory as to authority. It divided Christendom for all time by such an assumption of supreme jurisdiction. So little have creeds settled faith! In A. D. 589 a Council at Toledo in Spain made an addition to the Nicene Creed which has been accepted by the whole Latin Church and rejected by the whole Greek Church. Toledo inserted "Filioque," to indicate that the Holy Ghost proceeded from Son as well as Father. Here was another torch hurled into Christendom. A provincial synod changes a symbol authorized by an Ecumenical Council. And the Latins sanction the revolutionary innovation. Greeks protest; war is perpetual. On either side of this mountain-barrier Orientals and Occidentals, down through centuries to this moment, battling over creeds! Angli-

cans have joined the strifes of Greeks and Latins. Yet all hold together the absolute and supreme authority of Ecumenical Councils to fix and declare and impose creeds. Well may the Christian Democracy escape from this universal entanglement by asserting the liberty of each believer to interpret and apply the Scripture according to his personal gifts, needs, opportunities, and responsibilities!

A third dispute arose more furious than the ecclesiastical battles we have been describing. It related to the divine and human in Christ. Had He two wills, one as man and one as God? Or was His will as man lost in His will as God? These questions made the Monothelite war inevitable. And yet others equally inflammable arose. Was the human soul absorbed in the divine Personality? What were their relations? Monophysite strifes were added to Monothelite. War is in human nature. Neither in Church nor State can it be avoided. We will better understand our present subject by passing the third Ecumenical Council, summoned, A. D. 431, at Ephesus by Theodosius the Second, which rejected Nestorianism, and confining ourselves to the fourth Ecumenical Council, assembled, A. D. 451, by the emperor Marcian at Chalcedon.

Apollinaris was a native of Laodicea in Syria. Of that city he became bishop. A perfect human nature united indissolubly to the Logos was the doctrine of Origen. This Apollinaris disapproved. He urged that if man joined to the Logos retained his will there was no personal union, and that if he did not retain his will man was an organ of the Logos, just as the prophets and apostles and all

angelic messengers. Out of a complete union of a human and a divine nature, he affirmed, one Person could never proceed. Hence Apollinaris fell back on the distinction of *πνεῦμα*, *ψυχή*, and *σῶμα*, into which the Greek philosophy divided man. With him *πνεῦμα* included the intellectual powers capable of God; *ψυχή* the passions, the affections, the desires, the appetites averse to God; and the *σῶμα* their fleshly abode. Opposed to the animal *ψυχή*, the Logos was eternal *πνεῦμα*. This, His *πνεῦμα* had in it an essential inclination to humanity. In the birth of Christ from Mary this Logos-pneuma completed its own everlasting ideal. His potency of incarnation became in Jesus a visible reality. The Logos-pneuma possessed both His *ψυχή* and His *σῶμα*, which He controlled. Humanity and divinity thus combined, because each from eternity inclined to the other. As to His *πνεῦμα* only was Christ God, while as to His *ψυχή* and *σῶμα* He was man. He was, therefore, neither truly man nor truly God. It began to be said that God was born, God suffered, God died.

The doctrine of Apollinaris was carried to its extreme by Eutyches. He was a fanatical monk, and a furious devotee of Mary. Eutyches affirmed that after the incarnation Christ existed in but one nature. He had no human soul. In Him the Logos did not *possess* *πνεῦμα* and *ψυχή*, but *was* *πνεῦμα* and *ψυχή*. The body of the Redeemer was a mere temple of Godhead.

Eutyches became suspected of extreme and dangerous views. Since the third Ecumenical Council at Ephesus the ecclesiastical pendulum had oscil-

lated. The once popular monk was under a cloud. Fanatical Eutyches, A. D. 448, was summoned before a synod of Constantinople. He refused to obey. The Byzantine capital was convulsed, but after furious struggles the monk was condemned. At the Robber's Synod, A. D. 449, Eusebius was cursed and threatened with fire. Leo the Great was now on the papal throne. He sent to the Council as his representatives Julius, Bishop of Puteoli; Renatus, presbyter, with Hilarius, deacon, and the notary Dulcitius, who had acquiesced in the judgment against Eutyches. But the Roman pontiff was not satisfied. He urged a new Council, to be held in Italy. Changes at Constantinople favored his view. Theodosius had died, and the empress Pulcheria, having married Marcian, elevated him to the throne. Imperial letters were issued for a Council A. D. 451 at Nice in Bithynia. But the monks proved so mad and murderous that this assembly was transferred to Chalcedon. The military power of the empire was required to protect ecclesiastics from the fury of ecclesiastics. It sometimes seemed that Church and State were stirred into tempests of hate and revenge by mocking demons.

A wise letter from Leo saved the Council from Nestorianism. It did more. The epistle of this great pope guided the assembly between the rock and whirlpool of Apollinarianism and Eutychianism. Conforming itself to the opinions so admirably expressed in Leo's letter, the fourth Ecumenical Council issued from Chalcedon a decree which declared for all ages the orthodox faith of Christendom:

"Following the example of the holy fathers, we teach and confess the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, of the same substance as the Father touching His Godhead; of the same substance with us touching His humanity; in all things like to us without sin; begotten of His Father, as touching His Godhead before æons; begotten in the latter days for our redemption of the Virgin Mary, as touching His humanity; one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten, in two natures, acknowledged unmixed, unconverted, undivided, so that the distinction of natures was never abolished, but rather the peculiarity of each preserved and combined into one Person and one hypostasis; not one severed and divided into two Persons, but one and the same, Son and Only-begotten, Him who is God, Logos, and the Lord Jesus Christ."

The Councils of Nice, Constantinople, and Chalcedon declared doctrines vital to the faith, the freedom, the existence of Christianity. Nor have the discussions of the subsequent ages improved their lucid and satisfying statements. After the perusal of innumerable volumes we return and rest in their admirable decrees. But does my faith in the creed depend on my confidence in the Council? Is it the authority of assembled ecclesiastics that has fixed my belief? Or do I go beyond bishops to Scripture? I accept the Nicene Creed, I admire it, I love it, I thank the Master for it. In exact and noble words it declares the faith on which I build for eternal ages and which I can confess with my lips in the fellowship of the saints on earth and in heaven. But before I receive it I must prove it. I would reject

it if not sustained by Scripture. I bring creed and Council to the test of Scripture. Ultimately, then, my faith is in the Scripture. To preserve my Christian liberty I must exercise it and take my creed from God.

But I go behind all the questions asked. On what authority do I receive Scripture? Do I believe because ecclesiastics affirm? Never! I have faith in my Bible because in itself I have proof for my Bible. My belief is not from prelates, popes, or Councils. By historical research, as in the case of any other book, I can, indeed, establish the authenticity of my Bible, but not its credibility. Its style, clear, simple, or sublime as its theme demands; innumerable correspondences between the Old Testament and the New; the completion of the law in the Gospel; the fulfillment by the Redeemer of the Messianic types, promises, and prophecies; His resurrection, proved by witnesses whose testimony my reason examines and accepts; the visible good effects of the book on men and nations and ages—these and other evidences produce in me, by argument, an overwhelming conviction. Behind this Bible is the character of Christ. He is the transcendent Witness. To man's invention He is as impossible as man's creation of a universe. The ideal of moral perfection is Christ. He is an example for men. He is a model for angels. He is a Gospel for heaven. He is the image of the essence of goodness for a universe and an eternity. Imposture flash forth His immortal glory! Imposture counterfeit His love! Imposture conceive His holiness! Imposture place before a universe its sublimest moral ex-

cellence! Imposture invent by lies a human life which can be lifted, without a human spot, into the blaze of the everlasting glory of Godhead! Impossible! Then my reason accepts Christ. Then Christ rose from the dead, for He predicted His resurrection. Then Christ, as He claimed, is the Messiah. Then Christ, since He affirmed it, is God. Then Christ could not lie when He approved the Old Testament and promised guidance to the writers of the New. Old and New have the certification of Christ, my infallible, incarnate God. Hence my reason believes my Bible.

Can Councils show such proofs of authority as to demand my faith? If the arguments of our first lecture be true the Church is, by Scripture, a Christian Democracy. Legislation was vested in the whole body of believers. Laity and clergy made decrees together. Apostles and brethren composed the first Council at Jerusalem, which enacted the canon regulating circumcision. But the sovereignty of the people was displaced by the sovereignty of bishops. Laics were expelled by ecclesiastics. Oligarchy supplanted democracy. Above all were the claim of pontiff and the power of emperor. How could an unscriptural Council impose scriptural faith?

Nor was the conduct of ecclesiastics in their ecumenical assemblies such as to secure confidence and respect. We judge men by their actions. Character is proved, not by creeds, but deeds. Beyond his office we weigh the man. Scripture gives tests of human lives. It requires love, fidelity, patience, wisdom, which, alone and always, command confi-

dence. And all morals are personified in Christ. Judged by the standard of the Scripture, the conduct of ecclesiastics in the Councils shocks Christianity itself and forces it to condemn its own prelatical representatives. What envies, what jealousies, what hatreds, what factions, what strifes, disgraceful, not only to ecclesiastics, but to humanity! Measured by Scripture, no assemblies were ever convened for great and noble ends less entitled to demand faith by authority from future ages. To support our affirmation we appeal to history.

We must ever remember that the Ecumenical Council of Nice was an imperial creation. At its beginning appearances favored heresy. Constantine was under the influence of Eusebius and not averse to Arius. But the emperor was won by Hosius, and the Council passed under the control of Athanasius. Five months after its adjournment Alexander of Alexandria died. In the splendid capital of Egypt Athanasius succeeded him as bishop. But after the death of Helena, his mother, Constantia, his sister, persuaded the emperor back to Arius, whom he ordered from Alexandria to Constantinople. Now the man styled blasphemous, the man condemned as a heretic, the man ranked with the infidel Porphyry, the man branded by court and council, State and Church, returns triumphant under the smile of the sovereign by whom he had been prosecuted, deposed, and exiled. Patronized by his emperor, at the head of his party, flushed with victory, Arius held aloft the banner of his faith, which seemed about to triumph over the Church. He rode forth through Constan-

tinople attended by guards and followed by crowds. Is the Nicene Creed to be trampled under the hoofs of his imperial horse? His march is arrested, and, with it, the changed policy of the variable sovereign. As he rides a faintness comes over Arius. He retires from the street to the rear of the forum. He is seized with agony. He pours forth his life in a stream of blood. But he dies under the favor of Constantine. So fickle was the faith of the emperor, who, by his Ecumenical Council, declared for all time the creed of Christendom!

Athanasius, as we have seen, had been elected Bishop of Alexandria. What was his reward for guiding the Church to its creed? His enemies, Eusebius and Theognis, retracted and were reinstated. All the seventeen Arian bishops had thus submitted. They had neither forgotten nor forgiven. To destroy Athanasius they formed an infamous plot. He was charged by these members of the Nicene Council with conspiracy against Constantine. The pious and illustrious standard-bearer of orthodoxy had used, they asserted, for his magical purposes, the hand of Arsenius, a Melitian bishop. And they offered in open synod to produce the hand. But these murderous ecclesiastics were defeated and disgraced. Athanasius traced and discovered Arsenius. He brought the lying prelate, disguised, into the assembly. He waited until his enemies had publicly committed themselves to their false and malignant accusation. He then presented Arsenius before the synod, drew aside his cloak, and showed him with both his hands. Athanasius is pronounced innocent, and his slanderers flee. Then

an old charge of sacrilege is revived against him, and he is deposed. His deadly foe, the exposed wretch Arsenius, is received into communion. Afterward the persecuted Bishop of Alexandria was accused of prohibiting corn from Constantinople. The emperor condemned him and banished him to Gaul. A synod at Antioch designated, in his place, Gregory to be the Bishop of Alexandria, and also eliminated from the Nicene Creed its declaration of the consubstantiality of the Son. Now the Church has two doctrinal standards. It is Arian and Athanasian. So slight was the power of an Ecumenical Council to establish unity! Strife burned more furiously after Nice than before. Gregory was brought to the episcopal throne of the flying Athanasius under military escort, and kept there by the imperial sword waving over him for his defense.

Constantine the younger comes on the scene. The Council of Sardica is convoked. Three hundred Western and seventy Eastern bishops appear. But the minority will not meet the majority unless Athanasius be excluded. This refused, all the Oriental prelates withdraw, and then the synod rebukes Arianism. Athanasius is restored. The Nicene Creed is confirmed. Orthodoxy triumphs. But episcopal strifes make more dangerous complications. The Oriental emperor will not receive Athanasius, and the Occidental emperor threatens war. A world convulsed over a creed! The faith unsettled as ever! Controversy between ecclesiastics to be stopped by the sword! But Constantius fears his brother Constans and shrinks from the blood of battle. He recalls Athanasius by

letter and restores him to Alexandria. Brief his triumph! At the death of his imperial friend he is again imperiled. Soldiers surround his Church. The din of war drowns the voice of prayer. Virgins are cast into prison, bishops are led in chains, homes of widows and orphans are plundered, murder holds carnival. Refusing to acknowledge the Arian Creed, women are stripped, burned, beaten. Forty men are flogged to laceration. Some die in agony, and their corpses are denied burial. Athanasius has fled from these scenes of fire, and pillage, and slaughter, and found refuge among Egyptian monks. He dies in exile, a victim of the men who had, with him, subscribed the Nicene Creed.

Instigated by the Eastern prelates, an imperial edict convened a synod at Milan. Its object was the unanimous condemnation of the doctrine of Athanasius. But before it passed a decree it dissolved. Three bishops were exiled. The emperor directed the Milan prelates to meet at Ariminum, in Italy. A new creed in Greek and Latin was proposed. Dissentients protested, and between the Creed of Ariminum and the Creed of Nice the Church was divided. Valens, Ursacius, Germinus, Gaius, and Demophilus were deposed for refusing to anathematize Athanasius. He was exiled while living and cursed when dead. The emperor Constantius was exasperated, and the world once more in flame. Ejectment and banishment were inflicted on bishops by imperial edicts. Pope Liberius was expelled from Rome, and on his pontifical throne was placed Felix, an Arian deacon. Macedonius obtained the bishopric of Constantinople. Emperor

and patriarch triumphed together over the subversion of the Nicene symbol. Men and women were forced to baptism and tortured to communion. Resistance was punished with stripes, bonds, and imprisonments. Macedonius involved Constantinople in a battle over the very remains of its imperial founder. Hostile parties fought in fury. The churchyard was covered with gore. A well overflowed with blood whose red currents ran through the streets. Even the Arian emperor became disgusted with the murderous violence and deposed and disgraced the patriarch Macedonius.

Nor were the strifes stirred by Nestorius less painful. He was celebrated for his austerity and his eloquence. In A. D. 428, while presbyter at Antioch, he was made Bishop of Constantinople. A storm burst over his head. He attacked in his cathedral pulpit the growing devotion to Mary and denied that she should be called mother of God. A Mœsian bishop increased the tempest by pronouncing all accursed who applied to the Virgin this popular title. With power and prudence Nestorius defended his position. But at a Christmas festival Proclus, an aspirant to the episcopal throne, glorified Mary. He was applauded by the clappings of his audience. The monks of the capital kindled into their ascetic fury and branded Nestorius as a heretic. Cyril, Patriarch of Jerusalem, joined the battle. Ecclesiastical war involved the world. As the result of the universal clamor and commotion Theodosius II summoned the metropolitan bishops of his imperial dominion to meet about Pentecost at Ephesus. Nestorius came to the Council, but so great was his

peril that he had to be protected by a military guard. Soldiers stood around in arms to prevent prelates from tearing each other. How could the Holy Ghost preside amid cries of hate and scenes of blood? How can we receive as guides to truth men stimulated by murderous rage? How can we be blamed for questioning their authority and bringing their decrees to the infallible test of Scripture? In A. D. 431 Nestorius was pronounced a blasphemer of Christ. He was degraded from his priestly office. He was despoiled of his episcopal dignity. He was remanded by imperial epistle to his cloister, and, torn from its sacred precincts, he was dragged from place to place by brutal soldiers until he died amid his solitary sufferings.

A sovereign edict in A. D. 449 convened a Council at Ephesus. Nothing was wanting to constitute it a lawful ecumenical assembly. But it perished by its own violence. Demons seemed hovering over its bishops. It resembled hell rather than heaven. A dark stain rests on the prelates who composed the "Robber's Synod," as it is called by history. Monks filled that Council with their murderous cries. We hear their words down through dark centuries, as, led by Barsumas, they shout, "Burn Eusebius! As he cut Christ asunder, so let him be cut asunder!" It is from the pages of contemporary historians that we have the sure proofs of the horrors of Ecumenical Councils. The Church had not gained by substituting oligarchy and autocracy for the scriptural Christian Democracy.

CHAPTER XIII.

Pelagianism.

AUGUSTINE was born in or near Carthage about the year A. D. 355. In the long and violent contest with Pelagius he was the master spirit. His greatest work grew out of that struggle, which left its impress on all subsequent ages. Patricius, the father of Augustine, was a pagan, and Monica, his mother, a Christian. At home he was thus exposed to two antagonistic influences. Partly educated in the religion and literature of Rome, he was better able to grapple with the errors they inculcated. Before his death Patricius, won by the tears and love and prayers of Monica, renounced his gods, confessed Christ, and expired a witness to his new faith. Now the mother became wholly devoted to her son. All the energies of a noble maternal soul were needed to guide the African boy. On him was the stamp of genius. His subtle intellect and native eloquence were splendid gifts, but attended and impelled by those passions, those affections, those aspirations which signalize heroic and commanding natures. Cicero affirmed that only the poetic fire fell from heaven. A Demosthenes was an earthly manufacture. But North Africa furnished an exception to the theory of Cicero. Augustine was born an orator. Early in his life we find him a teacher of elocution in Milan,

where was the episcopal throne of the eloquent Ambrose. The fervid Carthaginian youth had come under the spell of the wild and fanciful and deluding errors of Manichæism. He was bound, also, in the chains of his own gross passions.

Anxious for her son, Monica for his rescue crossed the sea from Carthage to Italy. Augustine was brought to repentance for the sins of a licentious life by a sentence flashed into his conscience from Cicero. He had a fearful struggle with himself. Heresy had molded his opinions. Lust stained his life. A midnight cloud enveloped his noble intellect. Like Paul before and Luther after, he attained peace through storms that shook him to his center. Within Augustine were the volcanic eruptions of a spiritual earthquake. His *confessions* resemble Etna heaving with internal fires. Law and Gospel contended for dominion. Monica was in Milan watching like an angel. In a garden a text of Paul brought peace to Augustine. He saw the way of salvation by faith in Christ. He found remission and peace. He specifies the time, the place, the circumstances of his conversion. Always he could point back to a fixed light-spot as the beginning of his new life, which was to illuminate the future of the Church. Ecclesiastical tradition affirms that the illustrious Bishop of Milan composed the immortal "Te Deum" to be sung at the baptism of Augustine, his brilliant convert. If this be true his cathedral witnessed a spectacle sublime in itself and of profound consequence to humanity. Soon after the conversion of her son Monica left Milan for Carthage. She never saw her home across

the sea. The work of her heart and life was finished. A fiery fever seized her at Ostia. Augustine was with his mother. Just before leaving her son for paradise Monica said: "One thing only, your conversion, was an object for which I wished to live. Place this body anywhere. Nothing is far from God. I do not fear that He should not know where to find me at the resurrection."

After the death of his mother Augustine returned to Carthage and retired to his estate, but was forced from his cherished obscurity and made a presbyter. Eventually he was consecrated Bishop of Hippo, near the African capital, and entered the most shining career as a Christian writer which has made illustrious a splendid line of Latin fathers. Between Paul and Luther no man has exerted a more powerful doctrinal and spiritual influence over the universal Church.

Opposite in all things to Augustine was Pelagius. He was a British monk who drew his theology from the East. In his temperament and mental constitution he was mild and meditative. Of the storm and fire in Augustine he could know nothing. Pelagius was learned, but neither speculative nor profound. Like his nature, his theology was superficial. His opinions were reflections of himself. To the depths of things he could never penetrate. Although a monk, Pelagius was not an extreme ascetic. Not vehement enough for fierce struggle, his spirit experienced no such battles as Augustine fought in his garden and Luther in his cell. With Pelagius Christianity was a morality rather than a faith. From him were hidden the great deeps of the

spiritual life. He denied the corruption of man through the fall of Adam. Evil was from the seduction of the will. Freedom of choice was complete. Each man, at each moment, could decide for himself in each moral struggle. Grace was an assistant, and not a necessity. The will for good or evil could determine itself. Humanity was not tainted by transmission, but corrupted by example. Obedience must be added to faith, and does not flow from faith. Pelagius said that Adam would have died if Adam had not sinned, and in the state in which Adam was created infants are born. Men might be saved by the Law, as well as the Gospel. To Pelagius the doctrine of salvation by grace through faith seemed encouragement to moral indolence and relaxation of moral uprightness. He thus undermined the foundations of the evangelical system, and raised questions which underlie the spiritual liberty of each believer and the whole structure of Christian Democracy. To the views of Pelagius Augustine offered all the resistance of his genius, his learning, his logic, his eloquence, his vast influence, and his overmastering nature. His soul fused itself into volcanic fire. It poured forth in flame such streams of argument as have never been seen in the history of mankind. Pelagius made for Augustine his predestined work. The life of the Bishop of Hippo prepared him for a battle which he fought for all future ages. We are reminded of the wars of Paul against legalism and of Luther against popery. In all are involved the same great questions of grace, ability, agency, liberty, salvation. We see how error perverted

into conflict law and Gospel, brought into antagonism works and faith, and would have entangled into bondage the free spirit of Christian Democracy.

Pelagius, we have seen, taught that man was not naturally evil. In the choice of his will was a possibility of evil. Of himself he could escape the evil. Man needs no sovereign transforming principle of life. Human nature is born with all the power essential to its loftiest spiritual destination. Its supreme moral elevation is from itself. While only its native endowments are necessary, yet to its natural capacities divine grace is added that man more easily may reach a higher moral attainment.

Instead of freedom, Augustine saw slavery in the will. It is bondage to self, to lust, to appetite, to passion. Grace does not find it free, but makes it free. Sin is slavery; holiness is liberty. Born in sin, man is in slavery, and not in liberty. In his passage by conversion from the slavery of sin to the liberty of faith nothing avails him but the omnipotence of God, by whose sovereignty each believer experiences a new creation into the lost divine image. Angels are free, and men are bound. Moral slavery is the moral consequence and the inevitable punishment of moral evil. The deeper we sink into sin the heavier our chain. Eternal transgression will be eternal bondage. Only faith in the blood of Christ makes free through the power of the Holy Ghost. Such is the substance of the Augustinian theology.

Cœlestius was a convert and friend of Pelagius.

The disciple was more extreme than the master. While the first was in the glow of youth the last was in the chill of age. Both appeared, A. D. 411, at Carthage. Opposition to their views at once began. Paulinus of Milan accused them before a synod. The chief charge against them was that they held the sin of Adam to have injured himself only, and not his posterity. Pelagius was excommunicated and went to Palestine. There he excited the intense opposition of Jerome, who was residing in his cell at Bethlehem. War began between the monks. But the Oriental Church had slight sympathy with the Augustinian views. Pelagius was uncondemned, and the controversy referred to Rome. Innocent I was in the papal chair. It was affirmed that Pelagius taught "that man if he pleases can be perfectly free from sin." The passionate antipathy of Jerome extended from Palestine to Rome and excited sympathy for Pelagius. He was restored to the communion of the Church, and could now plead for his orthodoxy the verdicts of two Councils. But against him powerful letters came from North Africa burning with the energy and argument of Augustine. Pelagius defended himself, but without success. The pope acquiesced in his condemnation.

When the Greek Zosimus succeeded to the papal chair the aspect of the controversy was again changed. He was persuaded of the orthodoxy of Pelagius. Indeed, the pope appears to have been deeply impressed in his favor when he wrote to the African bishops: "Would that some of you had been present when the letter of Pelagius was

read! How rejoiced and surprised were all pious men who heard it! Was there a single passage where grace or the divine assistance was not mentioned?" But the infallible pontiff had not grasped the fundamental truth involved in the controversy. Its depths his Greek intellect, perhaps, could not penetrate. The African bishops understood their man and were undazzled before the splendors of papal supremacy. Assembling a Council at Carthage, they protested against the decision at Rome. Zosimus wavered. He promised to suspend his final decree. The Africans would not wait for the leisurely determinations of a vacillating pope. They pressed the question, assumed the responsibility, and decided for themselves at a second assembly, convened A. D. 418 in Carthage. Here they pronounced accursed those affirming that "the grace of God by which we are justified through Christ refers merely to the forgiveness of past sins, and not to assistance to secure us against falling into sin in the future." This African reprobation included all who say "that this grace helps to keep us from sinning only so far as it opens our minds to a knowledge of the divine commands, but that it does not bestow on us a disposition to love and a faculty to practice such commands." Another canon condemned the view that grace makes the fulfillment of the law more easy, while yet, without grace, fulfillment is attainable.

The African bishops proceeded beyond papal decision and ecclesiastical decree. Passing above the pontiff, they appealed to the sovereign civil power. Imperial edicts were issued against Pelagius and

Cœlestius. Carthage proved too strong for Rome. The genius of Augustine was more potent than the pontifical Zosimus. Africa, not Italy, turned the scale for orthodoxy. Zosimus was converted from his error, and summoned Cœlestius, the pupil, to answer for the heresy of his master Pelagius. But the disciple fled. A papal circular was sent to the Western bishops and their subscriptions required to the Augustinian doctrine. All who declined were deprived and banished. The Occidental pope thus followed the example of the Occidental emperor. Faith was enforced by exile. Both in Italy and Africa the pontifical decree was sternly executed against Pelagian bishops, who were numerous and powerful. Eighteen Italian prelates who were deposed complained that subscriptions had been extorted. But many degraded bishops were brought to repentance and restored to their thrones, titles, and revenues. Notwithstanding persecutions from the imperial and ecclesiastical power, Pelagianism lingered into the middle of the fifth century. Leo the Great admitted into the Church none who would not subscribe the ecclesiastical decision by which it was condemned. But vain papal fulminations to expel error which is in the very nature of man! This is reserved for the sovereignty of Omnipotence. In all times and places, under varied forms and names, Pelagianism infuses its subtle poison and paralyzes into legal slavery.

In his battle against the archenemy of grace and liberty Augustine exerted his noblest gifts and accomplished his most brilliant victories. Borne onward by the stream of his fiery argument, he pressed

some of his views into extreme statements which yet entangle Christendom. But, however we may modify his remorseless conclusions, we must admit that the divine Sovereignty is the source and center of biblical theology. From God came all. Into His mandatory or permissive will, then, all must be resolved. All in His universe is the expression of Himself. Nor could it be otherwise without reducing creation to chaos. Sovereignty in God is an everlasting necessity—but not the supremacy of an infinite caprice, not the ordination of omnipotent tyranny, not the predestination of a Satanical unrighteousness. The sovereignty of God expresses the whole nature of God. It, therefore, manifests itself in an essential love, justice, and wisdom, which always, however invisible to us, constitute the eternal harmony of His universe.

The precise relations of human volition to divine Sovereignty are covered by a cloud of mystery. Certain facts and laws I inductively know. Each act of my will is preceded by motive and desire. My reason decides what is best; what is best I desire; and what I desire I will. Nor do I will against desire. I, indeed, loathe the medicine I take. I do not desire it. Yet I take it. Why? My desire for health is stronger than my desire against the medicine. The more powerful desire prevails and passes into volition, and volition into action. I swallow the nauseous dose. So far we can analyze the operations of the will and ascertain its laws. But can we explain these subtle relations of reason, desire, and volition? They are hidden from our keenest scrutiny, and beyond the questions suggested are

those yet more obscure. How can God give me the power to will and sustain my will in its action, and not be responsible for my will? He upholds me while I sin. In murder itself the slayer uses the power of God in the commission of crime. How can human individuality be separated from the divine Omnipotence? The personality of man seems not divisible from the personality of his Creator. I am in an abyss too deep for my human plummet. Are these phenomena inexplicable? Infinitely more subtle and delicate my relations to the Almighty in the work of my regeneration. If He be sovereign, how can I be free? Or if I be born in moral slavery, how can He bring me into moral liberty? Is not such a transition impossible? In my ordinary actions I am free. As I will I walk, I talk, I work, I rest, I do a myriad things. In all I have conscious liberty. Now confront me with duty! Place before me the moral law! Measure me by the immaculate Christ! All is changed! I cannot do what I see to be right. I am a slave to myself. I cannot keep the law of my being. How vividly Paul and Augustine describe this moral bondage! Yet we are delivered from it by faith in Christ and the sovereignty of His Spirit. But by what processes? Every being perfectly good is perfectly free; every being perfectly bad is perfectly bound; while between these extremes moral liberty is not a uniform element, but has infinite differences according to moral condition. Amid such moral relations, with movements in volitions infinitesimal and innumerable, and more subtle than the play of colors between light and darkness, how impossible

to penetrate the mysteries of regeneration! Yet in creeds and confessions and systems man expresses himself in definitions unyielding as iron, and chains with them the liberty of Christian Democracy, while God in His word compares His invisible operations in freeing human souls to His motions in the facile and ever-changing atmosphere.

CHAPTER XIV.

Sacerdotalism.

OVER the larger part of Christendom salvation is supposed to depend on the will and word of a priest. You must be regenerated in baptism by a priest. You must be absolved from your sins by a priest. You must be admitted to the communion, esteemed essential to eternal life, only by a priest. You must receive at the door of death extreme unction through a priest. From the first to the last gasp of life are made necessary the ministrations of a priest. Between each soul and Christ always stands a priest. Heaven and hell are commanded for earth by a priest, who holds the keys of eternity. Directly and indirectly, a priest has this power over three hundred millions of Christendom.

Is this sacerdotal authority a human assumption? Is it by a divine institution? Is it an intolerable tyranny over the liberty of faith, or is it a restraint on the license of the Christian Democracy? These are questions of everlasting import. It is usually believed that in their lofty sacerdotal claims the Greek and Latin Churches follow the old dispensation. We style them Judaistic in their constitution. Both these communions do resemble the Mosaic law in that they are founded on priesthood. But in the essential sacerdotal function they wholly differ. On absolution depends the life of the Greek

and Latin communions. Yet never once did the Aaronical priest pronounce the absolution of the offerer. Under the old dispensation there was no personal absolution. No man had power to remit sin. Forgiveness was reserved for Jehovah, the Sovereign of the universe.

How under the Gospel? Only Christ, incarnate God and Creator, absolved from sin. Did Peter receive the keys of the kingdom with power to bind and loose? Yet he never once pronounced personal remission. Witnesses with him of the transfiguration and the agony, James and John never pronounced personal remission. Nor did Paul or any other apostle ever pronounce personal remission. In the New Testament, from Matthew to Apocalypse, no minister ever pronounced personal remission. To Jew and Gentile, together representing humanity, all preachers of the Gospel declared salvation to the world on the sole condition of faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, to be sealed and confessed in baptism. The whole claim and practice of absolution by the Greek and Latin Churches is without Scripture, and a sacerdotal usurpation incompatible with the spiritual freedom of the Christian Democracy, and, indeed, with its existence.

It is remarkable that, while the word "priest" is so widely used over Christendom, our Saviour never applied it to His ministers. Peter is not called a priest; John is not called a priest; Paul is not called a priest; not one of the apostles is called a priest; no bishop, no presbyter, no deacon, no teacher, no evangelist. Each believer is styled a priest. In the New Testament "priest" is the

designation, not of a minister, but of a Christian. Every disciple is of a "royal priesthood." All in the celestial city with immortal lips sing, "Thou for us wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by Thy blood, out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation, and hast made us unto our God kings and priests."

The Oriental and Occidental communions, ruled by patriarch and pope and representing the vast majority of Christendom, have, then, for their sacerdotal claims no support in Scripture. But they venerate and magnify fathers. The Council of Trent exalts fathers into authoritative interpreters of the divine oracles. Let us turn, then, to fathers! And those nearest Christ are most influential! Yet it is in precisely these, the earliest and the most respected, that the proofs of sacerdotalism are wanting. Clemens Romanus, first father and, if we believe Rome, second pope, uses "presbyter" and refuses "priest." Ignatius, next father, bishop-martyr and supreme authority for episcopal prerogative, uses "presbyter" and refuses "priest." The best writers, in the view of sacerdotalism itself, use "presbyter" and refuse "priest." It is clear from the apostolic fathers that the sacerdotal usurpation over the Christian Democracy was unknown to the primitive Church.

Now, in all official titles the name is significant. "Emperor," "king," "prince," "duke," "president," "secretary," "judge," "chancellor," "senator," "representative" mark position and function. The Church, more than the State, should be precise. Name expresses thing; name stamps the mind; name molds the function. In no book is name so exact

in derivation and accuracy as in the Bible. What tremendous power in the word "priest!" How it has influenced nations, races, generations! And how it has extended its sway, not only over earth and time, but eternity! That the word "priest" exerts such power is evinced by the tenacity with which the Greek and the Latin Churches have clung to it from the centuries when departure began from Scripture and fathers. How important, then, to consider the rise of that sacerdotalism which, before the Reformation, was universal over Christendom!

High-sounding titles in baptism evince downward tendencies from primitive simplicity and liberty into the glittering bondage of icy ceremonial. The sacrament was styled *λουτρὸν παλιγγενεσίας, a washing of regeneration*, in the sense of a sacrament essential to the new birth; *σφραγίς, seal; χαρακτὴρ Κυρίου, the Lord's mark; φωτισμός, illumination; φυλακτήριον, the phylactery, or preservation; αφθαρσίας ἔνδυμα, the vestiture of incorruption, the salvation.* Cyril employs lofty poetical imagery to exaggerate the spiritual efficiency of the sacrament. He styles it, "the ransom of captives," "the remission of offenses," "the death of sin," "the regeneration of the soul," "the garment of light," "the holy seal indissoluble," "the chariot of heaven," "the luxury of paradise," "the procuring of the kingdom," "the gift of adoption." The judicious Clemens Alexandrinus uses terms equally exalted when he says, "Baptism, called grace, illumination, washing—grace, because through it is remitted the punishment due to our sins; illumination, because that holy, saving light is beheld by which we behold

God; perfection, because in it there is nothing wanting." At a Council of Carthage, Cyprian called baptism "*indulgentia divina*," pardon of sin by the sacrament; while Cyril styled chrism "the preservation of the body and the safeguard of the soul." And the remission of sin was regarded as possible only in the Church and by the priest. Salvation was confined to time, and place, and person, and the Holy Ghost, who gives liberty, fettered in His liberty. In a Council of Carthage, held under Cyprian, one Nemesianus said, "It was not sufficient for men to be regenerated only by imposition of hands, but to be born again by both sacraments in the Holy Church"—that is, by immersion and chrism. In his *De Penitentia* Tertullian writes, "It is necessary to change our dress and food; we must put on sackcloth and ashes; we must renounce comfort and adorning of the body, and, falling down before the priest, implore the intercession of our brethren." Pacianus, Bishop of Barcelona, said, "The seed of Christ, that is, the Spirit of God, brings forth a new man by the hands of the priest, out of the womb of the Church." And Haino, *On Hebrews*, affirmed, "The gift of the Holy Spirit is given in baptism by the imposition of the bishop's hands."

As early as A. D. 250 it had been taught by the most illustrious Greek and Latin fathers that forgiveness and regeneration were restricted to baptism, were imparted by the priest, and bestowed only in the Church. Salvation was not by faith, but sacrament. Man's interposition was essential to eternal life. The gift of the Holy Ghost, no longer sym-

bolized by the free, universal air, was localized in its operations. Already the inner spiritual liberty was threatened, and the way prepared for the cold and withering sway of an ecclesiastical hierarchy.

External observances soon corresponded to the doctrinal exaltation of the sacrament. Pomps and ceremonies multiplied. Eye and ear were delighted with color and sound, and worship passed from soul to sense. Processions were formed, with songs and palms of victory, and the bones and shrines of martyrs became conspicuous objects of adoration. Each candidate was robed in white as an emblem of immortality. He was then crowned and led to the altar for the beatific vision of eternal life. Afterward, in pious and pompous phrase, he was styled elect, holy, faithful. Easter and Whitsunday were the chosen times for baptism, and both were made festivals, gay and splendid, with all the chant and glitter of elaborate ceremonial.

We can only by their enumeration conceive the minute and multiplied forms which gathered around the sacrament of regeneration and imposed their intolerable load on spiritual liberty:

1. The anointing oil of the chrism must be consecrated by a bishop. 2. In the baptistery of the church the water was to be applied and regeneration effected. 3. Only believers and candidates could be admitted to the spectacle, which was a mystery too sacred for profane eyes. 4. Regularly, baptism must be in the bishop's church, or elsewhere by the bishop's permission; salvation was thus farther restricted to the episcopal cathedral. 5. Turning to the west, the candidate spat three

times toward Satan's seat, and then he faced the east as the abode of Christ, the Light. 6. The baptized were naked, and hence for men and women there were separate baptisteries. 7. The water was blessed, and hence believed to be endued by the Spirit with sanctifying power. 8. There were three immersions, each at a name of the Trinity, and sometimes at each a confession. 9. After the baptism came chrism. Its subject was anointed by oil, which could be consecrated only by the bishop; he was signed on the forehead with the cross by the bishop; the Holy Ghost was conferred on him by the hands of the bishop; so that from first to last the bishop inspired a sacrament deemed essential to salvation. 10. After the baptism the eucharist was invariably administered. 11. Except as to their sponsors, infants were baptized like adults, and like adults received the eucharist. 12. Clinic, or lay, baptism was allowed in cases of extremity; and baptism by heretics, if in the name of the Trinity, was received as lawful in some parts of Christendom. 13. Baptism bestowed forgiveness, and chrism the Spirit. 14. Without baptism, all, including infants, were damned eternally.

The eucharist, also, was described in terms of splendid exaggeration. All the richest eloquence of Greek and Latin fathers expended itself in magnifying the virtues of Holy Communion, and its observances were even more numerous and elaborate than those relating to baptism. To the two sacraments was referred eternal life. The grace of salvation begun in baptism was perpetuated in eucharist. All these exalted views of their prede-

cessors were expressed by Augustine and Chrysostom in their glowing and sublime oratory. They taught the doctrine of the Greek and Latin Churches. By their authority the Anglican Ritualist can defend his claims and practices; only by extracts from their works can we understand how completely ecclesiasticism and sacerdotalism triumphed over the Christian Democracy, as we have seen it constituted in the New Testament.

AUGUSTINE.

1. *Baptism.* In his work against Pelagius the Bishop of Hippo says: "And who amongst us denies that in baptism all sins are remitted and that all believers come up spotless and pure from the laver of regeneration? To this blessed consummation advances are even now made by us through the grace of the holy laver. There is a whole and perfect cleansing in the selfsame baptismal laver. All these products of concupiscence, and the old guilt of concupiscence itself, are put away by the washing of baptism, in which is accomplished the forgiveness of all our sins. The salvation of man is effected by baptism."

2. *Eucharist.* How strongly Augustine expressed himself on the subject of the Holy Communion can only be understood from his own words: "So, then, He both gave us His body and blood, a healthful refreshment, and briefly solved so great a question as to His own entireness. Let them who eat eat on, and them that drink drink life. Thou shalt have life, and the life entire. The body and blood of Christ shall be each man's life. They drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them, and that

Rock was Christ. While the faith remained, the signs varied. There the Rock was Christ; to us that is Christ which is placed on the altar of God. He that doth not take hath no life, and he that doth take hath life, and that eternal life. The sacrifice of this thing, namely, the unity of the body and blood of Christ, is prepared on the Lord's table in some places daily."

CHRYSOSTOM.

1. *Baptism.* In his book on the priesthood the golden-mouthed orator writes of priests: "These are they who are intrusted with the pangs of spiritual travail and the birth which comes through baptism. By their means we put on Christ, and are buried with the Son of God, and become members of the blessed Head. Wherefore they might not only be more justly feared by us than kings and rulers, but also be more honored than parents, since they begat us of blood and the will of the flesh; but the others are the authors of our birth from God, even that blessed regeneration which is the true freedom and sonship according to grace. Priests have received authority to deal, not only with bodily leprosy, but with spiritual uncleanness—not to pronounce it removed after examination, but actually and absolutely to take it away. God has bestowed a power on priests greater than that of our natural parents; our natural parents generate into this life only, but the others into that which is to come. If any man be effeminate, or a fornicator, or an idolater, or a doer of whatever ill you please, or if he be full of all the wickedness there be among men, should he fall into this pool of waters he

comes up again from the divine fountain purer than the sun's rays. A spark falling into the wide sea would be straightway quenched, being overwhelmed by the multitude of waters; so also all human wickedness, when it falls into the pool of the divine fountain, is more swiftly and easily overwhelmed and made invisible than that spark. As, therefore, one takes and recasts a golden statue that has been tarnished by time, smoke, dust, rust, restores it to us thoroughly cleansed and glistening, so, too, this nature of ours, rusted with the rust of sin and having gathered much smoke from our faults and having lost its beauty, which He had from the beginning bestowed on it from Himself, God has taken and cast anew, and, throwing it into the water as into a mold, and, instead of fire, sending forth the grace of His Spirit, then brings us forth with much brightness, renewed and made fresh to rival the beams of the sun, having crushed the old man and having fashioned a new man more brilliant than the former."

2. *Eucharist.* Also in his work on the priesthood Chrysostom says: "For the priestly office is, indeed, discharged on earth; but it ranks among the heavenly ordinances; neither man nor angel nor archangel nor any other created power, but the Paraclete Himself, instituted the vocation. For when thou seest the Lord sacrificed on the altar, and the priest standing and praying over the victim, and all the worshipers employed with that precious blood, canst thou think then that thou art still among men and standing upon the earth? art thou not straightway, on the contrary, translated

into heaven, and, casting out every carnal thought from the soul, dost thou not with disembodied spirit and pure reason contemplate the things which are in heaven? O what a marvel! what love of God to man! He who sitteth on high with the Father is at that hour in the hands of all and gives Himself to those who are willing to embrace and grasp Him. They who inhabit the earth and make their abode there are intrusted with the administration of the things of heaven, and have received an authority which has not been given to angels or archangels: 'Whatsoever ye bind on earth shall be bound in heaven.' They who rule the earth have, indeed, authority to bind, but only the body; whereas this binding lays hold upon the soul, and penetrates the heavens, and what priests do here below God ratifies above, and the Master confirms the sentence of the servants."

It is impossible to express in language loftier conceptions of sacraments than we find in the eloquent words of Augustine and Chrysostom. Baptism is the travail of the Church in the pangs of regeneration. Baptism is the new birth of the soul into the kingdom of Christ. Baptism remits sin and imparts holiness. And what pope or patriarch, what Roman doctor or Greek orator, ever described in such glowing language and sensuous imagery the power of the eucharist? The body of the Lord is on the altar. He lies there a victim in sacrifice. Daily is He offered and grasped and eaten. In both sacraments the transcendent miracle is by the hands of a priest. The grace of eternal life is confined in time, is restricted in space, is bound to matter, is

visible and tangible in the Lord's body, which is localized, masticated, and assimilated. Out of Augustine and Chrysostom, the two most illustrious of the fathers, the Roman Catholic can construct his whole system of priesthood and sacrament. Receiving these eloquent writers as the authorized interpreters of Scripture, we are compelled to the creeds of the Synod of Bethlehem and the Council of Trent. We need trace sacerdotalism no farther in its historical development. Less than five centuries brought into full bloom the doctrines of priesthood and sacrament now held by the Greek and Latin communions. And in their sacerdotalism is the death of Christian Democracy!

Let us turn to Scripture! It is the glory of the priest, Greek and Roman, by perpetual miracle to make visible and tangible and edible the body of the Lord offered often in sacrifice. But in Hebrews we are told that repetition was not the excellence, but the imperfection, of Mosaic offerings. They were multiplied because they could not relieve. Daily sacrifices brought to conscience no satisfying peace. Hence the necessity of a better covenant sealed by the blood of our incarnate God, "offered once for all," and accompanied by the Holy Ghost, who would cause men to walk in the liberty of adoption, and make love the law of life, and dwell in the sons and daughters of the Almighty Father. But, until this day of light and power and freedom, in proportion to the inefficiency was the frequency of sacrifice. For centuries Scripture was buried by priests over Christendom. In the Church of the Gospel was reestablished

the altar of the law. Bondage succeeded liberty. Abolished daily sacrifice was introduced. Repetitions, which had declared the feebleness of Mosaic offerings, were made the boast of the Christian dispensation. For the simple language of Scripture was substituted a splendid, but exaggerated and sometimes nauseating, eloquence, colored with all the magnificent extravagance of the Oriental imagination. And this in the blaze of those sublime words, "By the which will we are sanctified, through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all;" "But this man, after He had offered one sacrifice for sin forever, sat down on the right hand of God." "For by one offering He hath perfected forever them that are sanctified."

Christ in the Gospels conditions my salvation on my faith. Apostles repeat His terms of pardon. Paul expounds, argues, elaborates, enforces remission by faith in His blood who was ordained a divine Mercy-seat by the Father. Old and New Testaments abound in illustrations and invitations which invest with beauty and glory the freedom of this everlasting Gospel of human salvation. Believing my Bible at all times, in all places, in all circumstances of life and death, open to my faith is the remission of my sins, with the gift of the Holy Ghost, in my regeneration, my adoption, my assurance, my sanctification, my comfort, and all the fullness of peace, love, hope, joy, victory. As a telescope reveals to my eye the splendors of innumerable worlds, so in the promises are made known, freely and fully, all that satisfies my immor-

tal needs. While I meditate in my walk or on my bed I need to wait for no priest before I can believe. On land or sea, in joy or sorrow, faith brings me victory before I can approach sacrament. In the gasp of death, without a sacerdotal hand the divine promise opens to me the gate of the everlasting glory in which resides Jesus, my Brother, King, and God. Under the Gospel, between me and eternal life there is no barrier but my unbelief. Faith removes my mountains, reveals my sun, floods me with the everlasting light, translates me into the everlasting liberty, and gives me all I can have in sacrament. Like the Jews at Pentecost under the preaching of Peter, I may receive baptism, and *in* it receive the Holy Ghost; or, like the Gentiles with Cornelius, under the preaching also of Peter, I may receive baptism *because* I have received the Holy Ghost. Free as air and sunlight, the Holy Ghost is not tied to baptism. Yet baptism is by command. Baptism translates my individualism into fellowship. Baptism incorporates me into the Church, and I exchange the feebleness and solitude of isolation for the glow and strength of brotherhood. Baptism is a visible sign of my invisible faith, and my confession before the universe that I am forgiven and renewed, and will walk until death, by the power of the Holy Spirit, in obedience to my Bible and my Redeemer.

And beautifully the water of baptism symbolizes a soul cleansed from the guilt and delivered from the power of sin! Nor are bread and wine less exquisite emblems of my salvation. Taking the cup of the new covenant, as I touch it with my lips I confess

that I have received through faith the remission of my sins; and the witnessing Church, by its minister, testifies its belief in this sublime fact. And in the bread I find my Lord's sign, assuring me before earth and heaven that I may feed on my divine Redeemer, the incarnate God who died and rose for me, in memory of Him, until I behold His face in His everlasting kingdom.

CHAPTER XV.

Saint-Worship.

IN the Mesopotamian plain the old Assyrian city Warka has been exposed by modern research to the sun. Possibly it was the burial place of the central region of the empire. Around it is a circle of tombs sixty feet deep, corpse piled above corpse, the solitary dead of cities and of generations. A more ghastly spectacle of mortality has never been unearthed. The coffins are cylinders of baked clay. In many are the remains of food deposited by friends for the relief of the departed. Here, then, we have proof that the ancient Assyrians believed that the spirits of the dead subsisted about the living, retained their individuality, and were even liable while bodiless to their old animal hunger.

The Egyptians embalmed their corpses. Each mummy in the home was perpetual evidence of faith in the existence of the soul which had left its mortal clay but still hovered near. And this national belief molded the customs of the entire people, and especially expressed itself in their art, their literature, and in elaborate services for the dead.

Grecian demigods were deified human heroes. Zeus and Heracles and Athene represented mythic male and female warriors elevated by battle exploits into divinities. Olympus was a celestial empire peopled with gods who had been earthly ideals.

Demons were the spirits of the departed still lingering around their former terrestrial abodes.

The Roman *lemures* and *larvæ* seem to have been the souls of persons unburied, which wandered homeless, restless, and revengeful until relieved by interment of the body which had been their habitation, and made happy by the affectionate offerings of the family. Wholly different from these, the Lares were the spirits of the dead whose mortal remains had been piously reduced to ashes for the urn or decently covered in the grave. Romans regarded the Penates as more especially the domestic guardians of hearth and larder. All these good and happy souls were the gods of the home and of the heart and life. They hovered about as loving spectators. They became objects of affectionate worship. They were honored by the rich with expensive and splendid mausoleums, in which their surviving friends assembled to express reverence and to experience communion. The whole life of each Roman was thus connected with his dead.

Out of such veneration for the departed grew the idolatry of the ancient world. It sprang from the most tender and sacred dispositions of the human heart. Because men loved their ancestors they made them objects of worship. Having lost faith in the invisible Creator, they shaped visible images, and adored the once visible dead, still living in affectionate remembrance. But, while human love was thus the source of this universal idolatry, it degenerated everywhere into the slavery of a most abject, corrupting, pitiable, and often loathsome superstition. Earth passed into bondage to gods of her own manufacture.

Against the idolatry born in man and prevailing over the world the Bible is a perpetual protest. In the Old Testament it caused the interminable controversies between Jehovah and Israel. False gods displaced the true God. A divided service was recognized as impossible. Inner bondage to demons and images resulted in slavery to lust and priest and ceremonial. Under the Gospel, as under the law, arose the same tendencies in human nature, which are ineradicable except by the divine grace. The flaming wrath of the Apocalypse blazes against idolaters. And Arab and Turk have poured their vials of desolating vengeance over those regions of the Church most devoted to saint worship and image adoration. Christian martyrs were substituted for pagan gods, and bones and shrines became objects of passionate reverence. Sacerdotalism and ecclesiasticism erected no barriers against this dark deluge of superstition. Innumerable intercessors obscured Christ, our sole divine Mediator. The chains of this bondage are countless as the saints on the calendars of the Greek and Latin Churches. Where this slavery endures the Christian Democracy is impossible; and vain all attempts toward ecclesiastical unity until idolatry is destroyed. Let us, then, trace its beginnings in the Church, and see how it obscured salvation by faith, shut out the Holy Ghost, left men to grope in their own blindness, brought evil on nations, and became the poisonous flower whose deadly perfume intoxicated and desolated the world for centuries.

As we shall show, the most illustrious Greek and

Latin fathers led forward to superstition. Yet often in their writings they rebuked the idolatries encouraged in their pulpits. Justin Martyr says in his *Apology*, "Christians should worship none but God alone." Theophilus of Antioch writes, "God's laws forbid, not only the worship of idols, but of all other creatures—sun, moon, and stars, heaven and earth and sea—and command the worship of the true God alone, who is the Creator of all things." Speaking of prayers for the emperor, Tertullian says, "They asked these things of the living and true God, because He alone was able to give them." Of angels Origen affirms: "They are ministering spirits that bring the gifts of God to us; but there is no command in Scripture to worship or adore them. When the body is moved the shadow follows its motion; so, in like manner, when we have God, who is over all, favorable to us it follows that we shall have all his friends, both angels and souls and spirits, favorable to us." We infer from Eusebius that the use of images and pictures came from imitation of the pagans. Describing a statue of our Saviour at Cæsarea Philippi, he adds, "We ourselves saw it when we were staying in the city. Nor is it strange that those of the Gentiles who were benefited by our Saviour should have done such things. We have learned that the likenesses of Paul and Peter and of Christ Himself are preserved in paintings, the ancients being accustomed, as is likely according to a habit of the Gentiles, to pay this kind of honor indiscriminately to those regarded by them as deliverers." Whatever the practice of Augustine, his precept was, "Let not our religion consist

in the worship of dead men. They are to be honored for imitation, not worshiped for religion." And against his own example Chrysostom affirms, "No creature is to be worshiped of man, neither things above, nor things below, whether man, or demons, or angels, or archangels, or any other supernal powers, but only God, the Lord of all." The Council of Laodicea declared: "Christians ought not to forsake the Church of God and go aside and hold conventicles to invocate or call upon the names of angels, which things are forbidden. If anyone, therefore, be found to exercise himself in this private idolatry let him be accused, because he hath forsaken the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and gone over to idolatry."

Yet, despite these warnings of fathers and the commands of Scripture and the decrees of Councils, the worship of demons and images became universal over Christendom. Its beginnings we trace in

Epiphanius.

This writer gives us proof of the existence of the superstition he opposed. It began in the worship of the Virgin. She seems to have been first adored by Arabian Christians. Following the old idolatries, they offered her cakes under the name of the queen of heaven. Epiphanius denounced their oblations to Mary as a heresy, impious and abominable. He declared their worship a fulfillment of Paul's prophecy and a mark of apostasy. So soon began that adoration of a woman which has ensnared races and generations and widely displaced the mediatorship of Jesus Christ!

EUSEBIUS.

This greatest of the ancient ecclesiastical historians shows us where the Christian idolatries originated. Their first place was amid the tombs. Imitating their heathen ancestors, the disciples of our Lord assembled to commune with the departed while surrounded by their graves and monuments. The impulse to the custom seemed to be a commendable affection and veneration. But the inveterate pagan tendencies were recalled, vivified, and exaggerated with idolatrous excesses which had the approval of Augustine himself. Eusebius commends a practice whose results he did not foresee, saying: "These things are befitting upon the decease of the favorites of God, whom you may properly call champions of the true religion, whence it is our custom to assemble at the sepulchers to make our prayers beside them and honor their blessed souls."

THEODORET.

He, with Eusebius, Socrates, and Sozomen, shines in the record of the original historians of the ancient Church. And from him we learn that with deliberate purpose the ecclesiastical teachers of the second and third centuries sought to popularize Christianity by mingling with it heathen usages, and to draw the multitude from temples to churches. Pagans were to see the new religion in their own old forms, and their familiar deities were to be supplanted by Christian martyrs. How subtle the temptation and how corrupting its fruits! Theodoret exhibits the policy of illustrious fathers, who, compromising with idolatry, overwhelmed the Church with superstition. He

Two saints appear in his dreams. They tell him where to find their buried bodies. Ambrose goes to the place the martyrs have revealed. He causes the earth to be opened. Lo! What appear? Two gigantic headless skeletons, in blood fresh after fifty years! The cathedral will have a crowd this morning, and Milan be illustrious and enriched by its martyrs! Innumerable miracles follow. A rush to the new shrines! St. Gervasius and St. Protasius from that morning have been famous, and are found even on the Anglican calendar. Augustine informs us that a blind butcher was restored to sight by the relics of these saints and taken to reside within the sacred precincts of his cathedral, less exposed than in his shop to the cynical Arians and skeptical pagans. Did he furnish the blood for the graves? Was he conveniently retired and pensioned for his fraud? And was the Bishop of Milan the contriver of such an imposture? The facts, taken together, leave an indelible impression against Ambrose. In that age pagan dishonesty had followed pagan superstition into the Church, and for pious ends ecclesiastics corrupted manuscripts, fabricated testimonies, and prepared for the grosser impositions of mediæval monks.

In a letter to his sister Ambrose magnifies the glory of his discovery by quoting from his Milan address on the grand occasion:

"The martyrs have risen. You yourselves have seen many freed from demons and relieved of the infirmities under which they labored by applying their hands to the pall of the saints, many healed by the mere shadow of saints' bodies. Coverlets of the

inviolable relics are sought for as having become by mere contact capable of curing disease. Let all understand what sort of champions we desire! Let them come now and see my bodyguards! With such an army I do not deny that I am surrounded."

AUGUSTINE.

We have before given a sketch of this noble and gifted man, great in learning, keen in argument, surpassing in theological discernment, copious and lofty and fascinating in his eloquence, and yet a victim of a superstitious and fraudulent age. How could so sublime an intellect enslave itself to degrading popular puerilities? Did he, too, descend to pious imposture? To draw from heathen shrines and heretical assemblies, was he willing to extol the orthodox dead and magnify the healing virtues of bones? For the time he succeeded. Applauding crowds, to behold miracles, filled the churches. Revenues were increased and fame manufactured. But from the seed sown by Augustine what a harvest of monkish imposture! In his *Confessions* how nobly he records his testimony against the very superstitions he encouraged in his pulpit! He asks: "Whom shall I look to as a mediator? Shall I go to angels? Many have done this, and deserve to be the sport of illusions which they loved." A great part of the *City of God* is ridicule and denunciation of classic divinities. It seems impossible that the most illustrious defender of the faith should at the same time be an abettor of imposture. Was he dupe or deceiver? We have an ecclesiastical enigma. Augustine at the same time illuminated

the Church from the Bible and brought over it the midnight shadow of superstition. The *City of God* is his most brilliant work. How wonderfully it contrasts the passing splendor of imperial dominion with the everlasting glory of the Christian Commonwealth! Yet it is in this mature and magnificent treatise that we have the most painful evidence of a debasing credulity. A mother, Augustine says, brought to St. Stephen's shrine her dead child. It came to life. It was baptized. It expired and went to the bosom of the martyr. Pages in the immortal work humiliate us with narrations of cures by bones of saints and shrines not exceeded in puerile credulity by mediæval legend or our modern Alban Butler. One narration we will give which illustrates a chapter in the *City of God.* Augustine informs us that an old tailor in Hippo had lost his cloak. In his distress he did not ask God to supply his need. He supplicated dead saints, just as his pagan ancestors petitioned deified heroes. Our tailor with loud voice cries to the Twenty Martyrs. His prayers are answered. Soon after, Augustine informs us, a fish was tossed by the waves gasping on the shore. It was sent by the Twenty Martyrs to the tailor. He was alert to seize his prize, sold it, and with the money he received bought wool from which his wife spun him a cloak. What a prodigy with which to adorn the sublime pages of the *City of God!*

Basil.

At Sebaste in winter forty Christians had been exposed on the ice. In the distance the pagans had kindled a bright fire and spread a tempting feast.

Here, freezing and starvation; there, warmth and luxury! But to approach the blaze and partake of the dainties was to turn from Christ and acknowledge heathen gods. One shivering wretch was overcome. Maddened with cold and hunger, he left his fellows; he crawled over the ice; he reached the cheerful fire and loaded table. But just as he was about to eat he expired. Notwithstanding the defection of one the faithful company were styled in legend the "Forty Martyrs." They became famous intercessors between God and His Church, and thus gave increasing darkness to the cloud with which Christian idolatry was obscuring Jesus Christ, our sole Mediator. And Basil, educated from his youth in the learning of his times; Basil, ten years student in classic Athens; Basil, shining in piety and learning and eloquence; Basil, wisest of Greek fathers—Basil, by his eulogy, led the people to saint-worship! Hear his glowing words—how inflaming to the populace! Addressing the Forty Martyrs, Basil exclaims:

"O holy choir! O sacred band! O unconquerable phalanx! O common guardians of the human family! kind participants of our cares! most potent advocates! stars of the world! flowers of the Churches! army of the triumphant! choir of those praising God!—here are these forty emitting one voice of supplication! Whoever is pressed by some extremity, to these let him fly! Whoever again rejoices, to these let him run! This one, that he may be liberated from evils; and that one, that he may endure in adversities. A woman is heard for her children, for her husband abroad,

that he may return; or sick, that he may be restored. With these, to the martyrs we pour our prayers."

GREGORY NAZIANZEN.

Brother-star of Basil! With him a brilliant of the first magnitude in the Oriental galaxy—alas, dimmed, too, with mists from the rising Christian idolatries! In his sermon on Athanasius it is thus Nazianzen addresses the departed Bishop of Alexandria: "O dear and sacred head! O that thou, benignant and placid, wouldst look from above and govern this people! Me hold in life and feed with the flock!"

Before his conversion Ambrose of Milan had passionately loved a lady. She repelled his advances by praying the Virgin to deform her beauty and thus save her from her importunate admirer. This petition to Mary Nazianzen applauds in his oration on Cyprian, to whom he thus appeals: "And thou from thy seat look down on us propitiously, aiding us in the government of the flock! I am persuaded that our father's intercessions avail us more than his teaching did when present in the body. Now that he has got near to God, has shaken off the fetters of the body, and, free from the mind of earth, approaches, naked, the naked and most perfect mind."

GREGORY NYSSEN.

In him we have a third star in the splendid Eastern heavens. His light, too, shines on the downward path into the long night of universal idolatry. In his oration on "Ephraim Cyrus" Nyssen illustrates the potency of prayer by the successful invo-

cation of this departed saint. A man had been lost. He was proceeding on his doubtful way. A sudden inspiration seizes the hesitating traveler. In his perplexity he forgets God, and cries, "Holy Ephraim, help me!" Nyssen says of this petitioner of saints, "Defended by this guardianship, beyond hope, he was restored to his country." Hear now our orator invoking the shade of the megalomartyr Theodorus! "Whether thou dost dwell in sublime ether, or dost traverse some celestial circle, or stand chosen by God in a choir of angels, come to us who honor thee, an invisible friend! Intercede and pray for our country with the common King and God! Compel the choir of thy brother martyrs, and with all intercede together! The prayers of the multitude of the just will wash away the sins of the people. Admonish Peter, excite Paul, also John the theologian and beloved disciple!"

CHRYSOSTOM.

Basil and the Gregories were Oriental stars; but Chrysostom was the sun among the orators of the Eastern Church. Spots dim his brilliance. His pulpit in Constantinople was a seat of power. By him in the Church was revived and rivaled the ancient eloquence of Greece. Emperor, court, and populace came under the spell of his genius. He dazzled and delighted enthusiastic assemblies, and his cathedral often rang with applause. A pure life energized his magnificent oratory. His language glows, his imagery is copious and splendid, and his persuasiveness like the musical flow of a wide and gentle river, while he could dash himself, also, into

a torrent of overwhelming invective. Sometimes Chrysostom resembles an evening cloud gorgeous in the sun, and again the thundering heavens flashing with lightning. How sad that this peerless genius should have given impetus to the spreading idolatry!

Bent on suicide, two young women plunged into a river. To save these, her daughters, by baptism, the mother dashed after, knowing that her own death was inevitable. She succeeded in casting on the sinking suicides the water supposed to be eternal life, and all three perished together in the waves. In the gasps of death, not by inner conversion, but an outer sprinkling, these desperate girls were believed to be married to Christ. Charity in silence might throw over them a modest mantle. But no! This baptism of suicides is glorified in the Church. The mother and her daughter are translated to paradise, worshiped as martyrs enrolled on the Oriental calendar, and made famous over earth for all generations. Their shrines became popular resorts, whence flowed to the people innumerable benefits. Did Chrysostom rebuke the superstition? He helped it with all the vigor of his episcopal influence and efflorescent oratory. It is largely to his eloquence that the saints Bernice and Prosdoce were rescued from oblivion in their baptismal waters, and their names made pure and immortal for the adoration of ages. You will not doubt this inference when you read his glowing eulogium.

"You are inflamed," Chrysostom exclaims, "with a passionate affection toward these saints. Let us, then, with the very fire of love fall down before

their relics! Let us embrace their shrines! Let us beseech them! Let us invoke them that they would deign to become our patrons! They bear the martyr marks of Christ and, while showing these martyr marks, are able to persuade the King to anything. Since, then, their power is such, and such their favor with God, when we have with a continual assiduity and a perpetual frequenting of their society made ourselves, as it were, their familiar friends, we shall obtain for ourselves the loving kingdom of God."

For the mediatorship of his divine Saviour our orator of the mouth of gold substitutes the intercessions of a pair of baptized suicides! Such the result when Grecian eloquence displaces Holy Scripture! God's word must be the pulpit's argument.

In praise of the holy megalomartyr Drosis, Chrysostom bursts forth: "Myriads of the dead strew the surface of the earth, and upon these demons hold their seat; but when any bones of martyrs are dug up how do these take their flight as from fire or some intolerable torments! O wonderful Pyre! What a treasure does it contain—that dust, those ashes more precious than any gold, more fragrant than any perfumes, more estimable than any jewels! For that which no treasure or gold is able to effect do the relics of the martyrs effect!"

Before a splendid assemblage in his cathedral our orator exclaims: "The bodies of saints, better than any munitions of adamant, better than imperishable ramparts, wall about our city, nor do they merely repel the assaults of visible enemies, but also the machinations of invisible demons, and

subvert and dissipate all the frauds of the devil. If at any time the Lord of all, by the abounding of iniquity, be incensed against us we may be able, by thrusting these bodies before us, immediately to render Him propitious to our city."

Imagine Chrysostom in his cathedral pulpit! He is announced to preach on the day of one of the martyrs whose eulogies we have selected. Constantinople is stirred with the expectation of his eloquence. After a riot of wild and bloody amusement the circus empties its cruel crowd into the church. In glittering robes and a blaze of gems and colors, amid clouds of incense and melodies of music, priests and bishops enter the edifice and beneath crosses and banners march down the aisle to their seats and thrones. When the ecclesiastical spectacle has ceased to dazzle, the emperor appears in the yet more magnificent display of his imperial majesty. Around are the shrines and pictures and statues of martyrs. Heaven and earth unite in this Oriental pomp. Human genius has exhausted itself to delight eye and ear and imagination. Now Chrysostom arises in his pulpit. As he stands and surveys the imposing scene the orator commands the assembly into silence. He then bursts forth to extol the dead and invoke their intercession. Emperor, court, ecclesiastics, people fill the cathedral with their wild applause. The influence of the scene and sermon passed beyond the brilliant hour. It stamped all succeeding ages. It molded the worship of both Greek and Latin Churches. It is visible still on the Anglican calendar, and is seductive to men who are under a solemn vow to Protestant Articles.

The Celestial Hierarchy.

With this title a book appeared in Constantinople during the first half of the sixth century. It bore the name of Paul's proselyte, Dionysius the Areopagite. Such an authorship, however doubtful, was venerable. Afterward the Byzantine emperor presented a copy of the work to Louis the Pious, then on the throne of France. A translation was made by the famous Erigena. Thus the book became the possession of Christendom. Its influence on the Church can scarcely be exaggerated. The *Celestial Hierarchy* exalts the Trinity to an eminence of unapproachable glory. Far below its sublime height, rank after rank, are arranged the inferior orders of creation. In their circle of being bishops, priests, and deacons correspond to the three persons in the Godhead. Mary, queen of heaven, sits enthroned high over innumerable saints and angels. Her adoration this book intensified into a passion. On the banner of the emperor floated the image of Mary. She was protectress of the imperial capital. Each knight became her sworn servant. Shield and standard flamed with her image. To her the warrior looked for success in battle and to her ascribed his victory. The worship of Mary now became universal. Nor was it a solitary homage. Saint after saint crowded about the Virgin into Oriental and Occidental calendars. East rivaled West in the fertility of invented and worshiped patrons and intercessors. Town vied with town, order with order, kingdom with kingdom, the Greek Church with the Latin Church. Classic gods were dethroned by Christian saints. Ecclesiastics were the leaders of the world

into this idolatry. But the populace was permitted a wide freedom of canonization, and commemorations of saints became their grand occasions of ceremonial pomp and splendor. Then the pope interfered to restrict this liberty, to demand money for the privilege of worshiping the dead, and to create a new method of replenishing his pontifical coffers.

ALEXANDER III.

This pope first made canonization exclusive in the holy see. But it was Urban VIII who decreed the present mode of procedure. The process originates with the bishop. He inquires into the virtues and miracles of the proposed, and sends his sealed sentence to the Congregation of Rites at Rome. There an examination is first referred to the whole conclave, and then to a particular cardinal. Orthodoxy, piety, and at least two miracles are the essential conditions of saintship. If these are established the pope concludes the process. The pope beatifies and canonizes. The pope gives assurance to the requisite miracles. The pope authorizes the world to worship. After his brief follows a magnificent ceremony. Nothing must be wanting in display when infallible pontiffs invite humanity to adore its dead. A solemn procession moves onward; images of the declared saint are uplifted on banners; when the church is reached the pontiff sits on his throne and receives homage; solicitor and advocate fall at his feet and ask the canonization. A second and a third petition are presented. Litanies are chanted; the *Veni Creator* is sung, and also the *Te Deum*. High mass concludes and solemnizes the impressive service.

But the processes of beatification and canonization will be best illustrated by a few individual instances.

Alphonso Liguori.

In A. D. 1696 he was born at Naples. Pius VII in A. D. 1816 issued the decree for his beatification, and in 1836 Gregory XVI proceeded to his canonization. Alphonso, in his *Glories of Mary*, quotes St. Bernardin of Siena, canonized by Nicholas V, A. D. 1450, at the cost of five thousand ducats into the Roman treasury, and who does not fear to say that "all, even God Himself, are subject to the empire of Mary," and that God "hears Mary's prayers as if they were commands." But Alphonso also approves Anselm where he exclaims, "The Lord, O Mary, has so exalted thee that His favor has rendered thee omnipotent." He adds: "In order to increase our confidence in Mary, St. Anselm assures us that our prayers will often be more speedily heard in invoking her name than in calling on the name of Jesus; and the reason he assigns is that Jesus being no less our Judge than our Saviour He must avenge the wrongs done Him by our sins, while the holy Virgin, being solely our advocate, is obliged to entertain sentiments of pity toward us." And Alphonso illustrates his doctrine by a vision. Two ladders reach from earth to heaven. At the top of one ladder is Mary, and at the top of the other Jesus. All who climb the ladder of Mary enter, and all who climb the ladder of Jesus fail. Bernardin, Alphonso, and Anselm were all canonized by popes, who are responsible, therefore, for the orthodoxy of these three saints. The doctrine

of the saints is the doctrine of the popes who have stamped on it their infallibility. And what popes teach the Church must receive. It is, then, the faith and practice of the Roman communion that it is better to pray to Mary than to pray to Jesus. With such pontifical authority it is not wonderful that the papal Church glows with passionate devotion to the Virgin. The human mother has widely displaced the divine Son.

BONAVENTURA.

He was canonized by Sixtus IV, A. D. 1482. Afterward he was enshrined under the altar of St. Magdalen's Church. Miracles were wrought by his bones. An edition of his Psalter appeared at Rome in A. D. 1844, when the city was wholly under papal rule. This could only have occurred with the sanction of the holy father. Bonaventura's Psalter has, we infer, therefore, the infallible authority of the pontiff who canonized its writer and of the pontiff who permitted its publication. Behind these two pontiffs is the universal esteem of the Roman Church for its seraphic doctor. We believe that the Psalter of Bonaventura expresses the faith of the papal communion. But in this work whatever is spoken of God is applied to the Virgin; Mary is substituted for Jehovah; a creature is addressed as the Creator—blasphemy almost inconceivable, which places a woman on the throne of the Sovereign of the universe. In Bonaventura's Psalter we read: "Mary is my light! Mary is my shepherd! Mary is my rock! Mary is my sun, my shield, my salvation! Praise ye Mary! Thank ye Mary! Worship ye Mary!" Also in the *Te Deum* our seraphic doctor substitutes Mary

for God! Nor does this suffice! The Lord's Prayer is perverted into idolatry: "Our lady who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name!" Human blindness can proceed no farther.

Roman Breviary.

This shows that saint adoration pervades the Roman worship. It is forced on all. The pope cannot escape it. Nor would he dare liberate from its obligation. We have in the *Confiteor*, "I confess to Almighty God, to the blessed Mary, ever Virgin, to the blessed Michael the Archangel, to the blessed John the Baptist, the holy apostles Peter and Paul, all the saints, and you, father." The Litany begins, "St. Lawrence, pray for us," and ends, "All ye saints of God, make intercession for us;" while between these petitions about thirty saints are supplicated, besides all holy bishops, confessors, doctors, priests, monks, and nuns. On the title-page of the Breviary are the names of three infallible pontiffs, who affirm what it expresses. Some addresses to the Virgin come next after Bonaventura: "If the winds of temptation arise, if thou run on the rocks of tribulation, look to the star, call upon Mary! If thou art tossed on the waves of pride, ambition, detraction, envy, look to the star, call upon Mary! If anger or avarice or the temptation of the flesh toss the bark of thy mind, look to Mary! If, disturbed by the greatness of thy sins, troubled at the defilement of thy conscience, affrighted at the horrors of judgment, thou beginnest to be swallowed up in the gulf of sadness, the abysses of despair, think upon Mary!

Invoke Mary! Let her not depart from thy mouth! Let her not depart from thy heart!"

Council of Trent.

In its decrees we have, formulated, the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, which binds popes, cardinals, bishops, priests, and all of the two hundred millions of the world's population claimed to be under the sway or influence of the holy father. Tridentine declaration is irrepealable and universal law. At its twenty-fifth session the Council enjoined ecclesiastics "to instruct the faithful concerning the invocation and intercession due the saints, the honor due to relics, and the careful use of images, teaching them that the saints, who reign together with Christ, offer their prayers to God for men; that it is a good and useful thing suppliantly to invoke them and to flee to their prayers, help, and assistance, because of the benefits bestowed by God through His Son Jesus Christ our Lord, who is our only Redeemer and Saviour; and that those men are of impious sentiments who deny that the saints who enjoy eternal happiness are to be invoked." And this worship of the dead is enjoined on mankind under *anathema!*

The Greek Church.

In its *Menæa*, which resembles the Roman Breviary, we read: "Virgin, blessed of God as a benevolent advocate, thou that art proclaimed by the faithful, mother of God, presenting our prayers to the Creator, procure propitiation for thy servants, as the all-sufficient propitiation and salvation of our

souls! At thy intercession, O spotless Virgin, to the Word that was born of thee, loose me from the bands of my sins and save me, lady, by thy prayers!"

At the annual solemnities of Orthodox Sunday, against all who refuse the use of images we have thunders of eternal damnation loud and terrible, as those which for more than three centuries have been reverberating from the Alpine rocks about Trent. Like the Latin, the Greek Church bids worship her pictured gods or be cursed forever: "To them that will not introduce by means of icons the grace manifested by that prophet, to them that will not endure to see in icons these works done for the salvation of the whole world, and honor them not, nor adore them, *anathema! anathema!! anathema!!!*"

Alban Butler.

No man who has not examined his work can know the life of the Roman Catholic Church. It exists in one edition as two ponderous pictured volumes, which might be mistaken each for a Protestant Bible. These contain the lives of two thousand saints, many of whom were canonized by popes and thus recommended to the worship of priest and people. Alban Butler may almost be considered the Roman Bible, and our American edition is indorsed by all the Irish prelates and the Archbishop of New York. We have here the source of the saint legends which circulate in nunneries, in convents, in monasteries, in families, and which mold the minds of children and the lives of millions. The pulpit, too, uses them to enforce and

illustrate its instructions. Thus, instead of Scripture, Alban Butler has infused himself into the very blood of the Roman Church in all lands for generations. Out of innumerable prodigies I will select one from his pages, that we may see on what legends millions of Christians in our world feed themselves in time as a preparation for eternity.

Raymond is a typical Roman saint, who, Butler informs us, spread his cloak on the sea, tied one corner to a staff for a sail, made the sign of the cross, stepped on his floating garment, and in six hours was wafted over the waves sixty leagues from Majorca to Barcelona. We are informed that a chapel and a tower built on the spot where the saint landed have transmitted to posterity the memory of the miracle. This relation is taken by Butler from the bull which declares the canonization of the saint. It was Clement VIII who investigated the life of Raymond, was convinced of his miracles, and recommended him as a patron and intercessor for all devout Catholics.

From Alban Butler, from breviaries, and other sources we gather the peculiar offices and functions of the dead men and women who are constantly invoked by papists in all lands and ages and who give deepest impress to the worship of millions. Supplicated every day, every hour, every moment are St. Crispin, the patron of shoemakers; St. Clement, of tanners; St. Nicholas, of sailors; St. Jerome, of printers; St. Joseph, of carpenters; St. Anthony, of grocers; St. Blaise, of wool combers; St. Catharine, of spinners; St. Eloy, of blacksmiths; St. Francis, of butchers; St. Gutman, of tailors; St.

Gore, of potters; St. Hilary, of coopers; St. John, of booksellers; St. Leodaga, of drapers; St. Leonard, of locksmiths; St. Peter, of fishmongers; St. Sebastian, of pin makers; St. Stephen, of weavers; St. Hubert, of bakers; St. William, of hatters; and St. Gertrude, of rat catchers.

Pio Nono.

Giovanni Mastai Ferretti was born in Sinigaglia, eastern Italy, May 13, 1792. Count Girolamo, his father, was mayor of the city. His mother was a gifted and noble woman. The view of sea and plain and mountain about his native place inspired the youth, and the scene of varied and glowing beauty must have remained vivid even amid the chill of age. His parents were devoted to the education of Giovanni. At the College of Volterra, perched high in its mountain solitude, he studied six years. Noble in birth, person, and disposition, he gave himself to the Church. But at sixteen he was threatened with epilepsy. A cloud hung over his life. Out of its darkness came an event which shaped his character and career. Pius VII advised for the relief of the youth a pilgrimage to Loretto. A pope sent him for cure to the shrine of the Virgin in the holy house where pontiff and epileptic believed her Son was born, and also that the building had been transported by miracle from Palestine to Italy. Giovanni went as a pilgrim with his mother and claimed healing. Was it this deliverance that kindled in his heart a passionate devotion to Mary which was to inflame the Roman world?

Loretto most probably left its impress on the

whole pontificate of Pio Nono, and marked him as the man to complete a system of worship that had been growing for centuries. On the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception the Roman Church had been divided. Long was it a burning question between Franciscans and Dominicans. Before Pio Nono no pope had dared to elevate it into an article of faith. He resolved to end the strife, and crown with his pontifical infallibility that adoration of Mary which Epiphanius rebuked in Arabian Christians when they gave her homage as the queen of heaven. In November, A. D. 1854, Pio Nono assembled his bishops at Rome. They met daily to discuss a dogmatic bull. Cardinals held private sessions under the direction of the pope. All the wisdom of the Latin Church was gathered and consulted. On the 1st of December the sacred college cast their votes. There was no dissent. On the 8th St. Peter's was decorated with an unexampled splendor. Two hundred bishops represented the Roman Catholic world. From every land the laity crowded to the spectacle. A procession started from the Sistine Chapel and passed through the aisles of St. Peter's to a place behind the high altar. Impressive, indeed, the ecclesiastic magnificence! Bishops, archbishops, cardinals sat around the pontifical throne on which Pio Nono stood. Beneath the sublime dome the pontiff declared to the vast assembly as the infallible belief of the Roman Church that "the doctrine which says that the blessed Virgin Mary was preserved exempted from the stain of original sin from the first instant of her conception, in view of the merits of Jesus Christ,

the Saviour of mankind, is a doctrine revealed of God, and which for this reason all Christians are bound to believe firmly and with confidence."

After this declaration the cannon of St. Angelo thundered over the eternal city. The bells of Rome pealed with joy. On the word, not of Scripture, but of pope, stands the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. And this is shown by pictures in the Vatican painted to commemorate the source and scene of the declaration. Here Pio Nono is represented as receiving in vision his doctrine from the Virgin, and there as proclaiming Mary's glory to the world.

The same bold pontiff who made his pilgrimage to Loretto and decreed the Immaculate Conception gave also his sanction to Lourdes. Both shrines to Mary were thus under his infallible patronage. Hence by his papal encouragement, in the blaze of this our brilliant nineteenth century, the worship of the Madonna has been intensified in the Roman Church.

On the banks of Lake Albano, lovely amid its green as a star in the blue of heaven, stands, amid old ilex groves, Castle Gandolfo, once a pontifical summer residence; and near is a picturesque church. In this classic spot, where Numitor worshiped Juno, I see a crowd adoring Mary. Across the valley, I pass to Tivoli, where the Anio thunders over his precipices into vineyards and olive yards, and beholds the Virgin supplicated as Vesta once in her beautiful circular, columned temple. Near the villa of Varus, who led to ruin the army of Augustus, Mary's picture was found in the Church of

Santa Maria di Quintigliolo. It was taken to Tivoli. But in the night it walked back to its place, and the event is celebrated annually, amid peals of cannon and processions with banners, by glad, believing, and adoring crowds. I travel along the wild banks of the Anio to Subiaco, near which was the Sabine farm of Horace. Loud cries fill the air. Men and women kneel before the form of Mary in an agony of devotion. Boys wave their caps and scream, "*Grazia! grazia!*" Now a procession is formed. Pictures and images are carried by priests and acolytes in full costume followed by the populace of the town, bent and barefoot, and with covered heads, beseeching the Madonna for rain. I return to the pontifical city. A crowd presses into Ara Cœli. Men hold children above their heads. Boys climb statues and pillars. It is the evening of *Presepio*, and in a grotto the Virgin holds in her lap an image of her infant Son, called *Bambino*, resplendent with rubies, emeralds, and diamonds, and which, carried forth by the bishop, is adored by the prostrate multitude.

Everywhere in Rome I find Mary. Her worship is mingled with the whole life of the papal city. Over the stable door, above the garden gate, in hovel, store, and *osteria*, in the palaces, of pope, prince, and cardinal, I behold her picture. How familiar her shrine and light! When peril threatens Mary is invoked. If life is saved to Mary hangs the votive gift. To Mary the dying turns his eye. Heathen statues are converted into images of Mary, and in the Pantheon she has supplanted Juno, Diana, and Minerva. Greek and Latin Churches

have alike given themselves over to Mary, not only in decrees and confessions, but in their liturgies and in the perpetual adoration of three hundred millions of our earth's population. And all who do not with them worship their saints and images are under their *anathema*. Pope and patriarch curse unto eternal death those who will not bow and supplicate.

Here is the mountain, with its lightnings and thunders of wrath, that divides Christendom! A mild pontiff's smile will not dissolve such a barrier. The questions involved in saint worship cannot be answered by gracious looks and invitations. No! they are deep as hell and high as heaven. They connect themselves with our most profound beliefs. They penetrate the lives of millions. They come down to us from centuries of protest red with martyr fires. We believe in but one Way, one Name, one Intercessor. Between God and man we acknowledge Jesus, our divine Redeemer, as sole Mediator. Through Him alone we receive grace and expect glory. Compromise is impossible! Saints supplant and dishonor Christ and, we believe, involve the world in superstition. Alphonso Liguori gives us the philosophy of their worship. Jesus, he says, is Judge, as well as Redeemer. Hence, men fear Him and fly from Him and hide from Him in the motherly love of Mary. The Madonna saves them *in* their sins, and Christ would save them *from* their sins. On these terms the Italian robber accepts the Virgin, prays for her blessing on murder, and decks her shrine with plunder. For five months the writer was an observer in and near the city of the popes.

How alluring the look and language of the holy father! But courtesy is not reform. Will the pontiff purify his Breviary? Will he expurgate his liturgies? Will he remove from his calendar his worshiped dead? Will he hush the *anathemas* thundering down from Trent? Will he revolutionize the faith and life of his Church? Let him loose the intolerable chains that bind the Christian Democracy and restore the Latin communion to the liberty of the Holy Ghost!

CHAPTER XVI.

Morals.

HISTORY has one stern test of men and systems. In the words of her divine Master, she asks, What are their fruits? For time and eternity by these they are judged. We have seen the Christian Democracy subverted. As exhorted by Paul, the Church has not stood fast in the liberty of Christ. She has relaxed her grasp on that faith which brings remission and the Holy Ghost. She has lost her freedom in wild disputes and glittering formalities. She has been misled by her teachers from the mediatorship of her one divine Christ to the intercessions of innumerable saints. She is in bondage. Her loss of inner liberty prepares for the sacrifice of outer liberty. Under Constantine every trace of the original sovereignty of believers has vanished. Instead of scriptural democracy, we have episcopal oligarchy. In diocese and Council bishops rule and legislate. Above all are the theoretical claim of the pope and the actual autocracy of the emperor as both political and ecclesiastical sovereign. East and West, governed by him, give the Church unity. Sacerdotalism has attained its age of gold, and ecclesiasticism realized its dream of glory. With a glow of triumph Anglican Ritualism points to the times of the great Greek and Latin fathers and would restore their age as the

world's millennium. We have seen the fierce discords between presbyter and bishop at Rome and Carthage bursting over Cornelius and Cyprian from the cells and fires of martyrs. The cruel strifes of Ecumenical Councils we need not recall. Ecclesiastical factions menaced the empire with dissolution. But, alas! also with the war of creeds and decay of faith and increase of form came a descent in morals. Democracy suppressed, oligarchy and autocracy triumphant: for the only time in the world's history the unity of the Church complete; yet, as we shall see, superstition darkening and morals declining!

In no age could our statements be better tested than in that of Augustine. We have already expressed our glowing admiration of his genius. He was a man of piety without spot. In the brilliance of his pen he had no equal. As Bishop of Hippo he was a peerless preacher and successful administrator. Augustine, too, priest and monk, was an enthusiastic advocate of apostolical succession and catholic unity. He believed in regeneration by baptismal water, in the sacrifice of the altar, in prayers to and for the dead, ascribed healing virtues to bones, and reverenced shrines and relics. Indeed, he was what a moderate Catholic *is* and an extreme Anglican *would be*. North Africa swarmed with Christians, ruled by hundreds of bishops. As a metropolitan city Carthage rivaled Rome, and in learning outshone the pontifical capital. Here, if anywhere, ecclesiasticism and sacerdotalism may be judged by their fruits.

We have in the writings of Augustine himself the incontestable proof of the moral condition of his

Church at Hippo. It is a sad and startling revelation which prepares us for faith in the still darker pictures of Salvianus. The piety, experience, and eloquence of their episcopal shepherd gave his flock unequaled spiritual advantages. We should expect in the rich pastures of Hippo only the true sheep of Christ. A letter of Augustine in A. D. 392 to Aurelius, Bishop of Carthage, dispels our illusions. It shows us an agony of despair. Without its evidence we would deem the conduct it describes incredible and brand it in another as the slander of an enemy. Augustine writes:

"Rioting and drunkenness are so tolerated and allowed by public opinion that even in services designed to honor the memory of the blessed martyrs, and this not only on the annual festivals, but every day, they are openly practiced. Were this corrupt practice objectionable only because of its being disgraceful, and not on the ground of impiety, we might consider it as a scandal to be tolerated with such amount of forbearance as within our power. But at least let this outrageous insult be kept away from the tombs of the sainted dead, from the scenes of sacramental privilege, and from the house of prayer."

These horrible immoralities inflicted on the heart of Augustine the keenest anguish. He urges his metropolitan, Aurelius, to begin a reform, and adds:

"Since, however, these drunken revels and luxurious feasts in the cemeteries are wont to be regarded by the ignorant and carnal multitude as not only an honor to the martyrs, but a solace to the dead, it appears to me that they might be more easily dis-

suaded from such scandalous and unworthy practices in these places if, besides showing that they are forbidden in Scripture, we take care in regard to the offerings for the spirits of those who sleep—which, indeed, we are bound to believe are of some use—that they be not sumptuous beyond what is becoming respect for the memory of the departed, and that they be distributed without ostentation and cheerfully to all who ask a share in them; also, that they be not sold, but that if anyone desires to offer money as a religious act it be given on the spot to the poor. This may suffice, meanwhile, in regard to rioting and drunkenness."

Chrysostom agreed with Augustine in his ecclesiastical views. One was the light of the East, and the other of the West. Both were priests; both were monastics; both were bishops; both invoked saints and glorified relics; both magnified baptism and communion; both were typical sacerdotalists and sacramentarians; both were believers in catholic unity and apostolical succession and representatives of that episcopal oligarchy which had succeeded the original Christian Democracy. The metropolitan pulpit in the new imperial capital of the world was made illustrious by the eloquence of Chrysostom. In his own rebukes to court and populace we see how faction and violence and bloodshed prevailed in Constantinople. Christians rushed from circus and amphitheater to disturb the Church with their unseemly applause, their clamorous dissatisfaction, or their disgraceful strifes. A victim of imperial displeasure, Chrysostom himself went forth from his episcopal metropolis to exile and to death. No

sadder picture in history of reckless demoralization and remorseless cruelty!

The supreme orator had painted monkery in the most vivid colors of his eloquence. He exalted virginity above matrimony. Monastic life was an anticipation of heaven. Not the home, but the convent, was the patristic ideal. The virgin was a terrestrial seraph crowned, even on earth, with a celestial halo. In describing her supernal state all the fathers, Greek and Latin, after Constantine, kindled into their picturesque eloquence. To realize his sublime ideal Chrysostom would multiply convents and monasteries. Glowingly our enthusiastic orator bursts forth:

"The virgin when she goes abroad should present herself as a bright specimen of all philosophy, as if now an angel had descended from heaven, or just as if one of the cherubim had descended upon the earth."

According to Scripture, every disciple must be wholly consecrated to God. Marriage is not degraded beneath virginity, but sanctified, and the family made the basis of Church and State. Priests under the old dispensation, and apostles under the new, had wives. Christianity did not aim to make celibate angels, but fathers and mothers and children who would fill homes with the light and fragrance of love. The disciples of Jesus, while on earth, are not seraphs and cherubs, but holy men and women, with warm human hearts, glowing with human joys, and relieving human sorrows. Each life is a surrender to Christ. Created by omnipotent love and redeemed by infinite blood, every pulse and breath and moment belongs to our Saviour.

Laymen and clergymen differ in sphere, not in obligation. Both are equally and forever the Master's. In elevating the convent above the home, the monk above the husband, the nun above the wife, with all his efflorescence of Oriental imagery Chrysostom was glorifying sacerdotalism and gilding another chain for the Christian Democracy. With what result? We can see from his own discourses. A side light is sometimes better than a dazzle of beams. I will give a picture from Chrysostom, at once sad, suggestive, whimsical, and ludicrous when contrasted with his former delineations of terrestrial seraphs and angels:

"What a sight," he says, "to enter the cell of a solitary monk and see the apartments hung around with female headgear, shoes, girdles, reticules, caps, bonnets, spindles, combs, and the like too many to mention! What a jest to visit the abode of a rich monk! You find the solitary surrounded by a company of lasses. Christ has not clad us in the spiritual armor that we should take upon ourselves the office of waiting like menials on worthless girls, or spend the livelong day by their side while at work, imbuing our minds with effeminate trifles."

These words of Chrysostom reveal the beginnings of those moral evils with which monkery enslaved the Church and amazed the world. We will adduce one more proof of the degeneracy of an age often depicted as the golden reign of sacerdotalism and ecclesiasticism.

Salvianus was a presbyter of Marseilles. He was a native of Cologne, but resided at Treves, where he married and had a daughter. Perhaps as a hus-

band and father he may have described in too strong colors monkery and the evils of his time. Yet his integrity is universally conceded. His *Government of God* appeared A. D. 440, not many years after Augustine's immortal *City of God*. Salvianus casts a red glare over the life of the Church. His pictures seem almost beyond belief, and yet they are stamped with the indelible truth. In his pages we see the state of the Church in the early part of the fifth century and not long after the extinction of the two most brilliant lights of the Oriental and Occidental world. After reading his dark record of facts we can no longer wonder at the judgments brought upon Christians, in the East and in the West, by Goth and Hun and Vandal and Arab and Ottoman.

"The very Church of God," writes Salvianus, "which ought to be in all things the *pacificatrix* of God, what is she, in fact, but the provoker of God? And, a very few excepted, who flee from evil, what else is almost every assembly of Christians but a sink of vices? For you will find in the Church scarcely one who is not either a drunkard, or a glutton, or an adulterer, or a fornicator, or a ravisher, or a frequenter of brothels, or a robber, or a manslayer. More are living in the perpetration of the greater as well as the lighter vices than of the lighter alone. The Churches are outraged by indecencies and by the irreverence of those who rush thence, after the formal confession of past sins, to the perpetration of more. Many shudder at crimes, yet very few avoid them. At the vices of others they are shocked; they themselves practice the same. They execrate openly what they perpetrate

secretly. Murder, which is rare in slaves, restrained by fear of punishment, is frequent among the rich, who confide in impunity. But perhaps I am wrong in speaking of murder as a sin, inasmuch as when they slaughter their slaves they reckon it as the exercise of a right, not a crime; and a like privilege they claim in regard to their impurities."

"Who sin at this rate? Surely not many monks? Ay! Under color of religion, sold to worldly views, these men, after a course of shameless profligacy and crime, inscribing themselves with title of sanctity, have changed their name, but not their life. You would suppose them not so much to have repented of their former crimes as to have repented of their repentance."

"Italy has been drenched in blood; but have the vices of Italy been forsaken? Rome herself has been besieged and taken; but have the Roman people ceased to be blasphemous and outrageous? Barbarian hordes have inundated the provinces of Gaul; but, as to their abandoned manners, are not the people of Gaul as guilty as ever? The Vandals have passed over into Spain, and the condition of Spain has, indeed, changed, not her pravity of morals. Sardinia and Sicily, our storehouses, have fallen; Africa, too, the soul of the State. Have these countries reformed? What has happened at Carthage? Even while the noise of war was raging round the walls the Church maddened in the circus and luxuriated in the theater. Some were slaughtered without, and some practicing lewdness within; a part in bondage to the enemy, a part in bondage to their vices; without the walls a clash of arms, and within a confused din of conflicts and shows!"

CHAPTER XVII.

Witnesses.

AS a wind drives the clouds from the face of the sun, so at Pentecost the breath of the divine Spirit dispelled their human mists from the hearts and minds of believers in the crucified and risen Christ. Faith saw the splendor of the King of glory. Brilliant the illumination of that morning hour of the Church! It seemed brightening at once into a universal noon. Tongues of flame and hearts of love were agents and symbols of the triumph of the kingdom. Alas! it was to prove a struggle of ages between light and darkness. Redeemed earth had to be brought by battles and martyrdoms to its millennial victory. Mortal infirmities soon clouded the Sun of righteousness. When the light was purest it was darkened by a lie. Even alms excited dissensions. Personal rivalries stirred venomous strifes. Judaism and Gentilism invaded the Church together. Idolatry substituted saints for gods, built her shrines, and erected her altars. Fanaticisms burst forth even from the cells of martyrs. Under Constantine the universal political triumph of Christianity increased the spiritual slavery and the ecclesiastical usurpation. Monkery, aspiring after angelic piety, withdrew men and women from the home to the convent and deprived the world of that salt which must be diffused through the mass it

would preserve. The Master wishes the lamp on the stand, the city on the hill, the sun in the heavens. Disregarding His word and will, earth plunged back from Pentecost to midnight. Yet behind her clouds Christ still shone. However darkened and discolored by mortal mists, His truth never ceased to illuminate. Beginning near the apostolic times, we will record in their own words the testimony of His witnesses down through the centuries to the Reformation.

Clemens Romanus.

He taught that doctrine, revealed to Paul and revived by Luther, which is the source and center of all individual and all organic liberty. In his Epistle to the Corinthians he writes: "We, too, being called by His will in Christ Jesus, are not justified by ourselves, nor by our own wisdom or understanding or godliness or works which we have wrought in holiness of heart, but by that faith through which from the beginning Almighty God hath justified all men."

Clemens Alexandrinus.

He bears the same testimony as Clemens Romanus: "Faith is the one universal salvation of humanity. The law became our schoolmaster to bring us to Christ, that we might be justified by faith."

Origen.

Equally clear is the most learned and original of the fathers in expressing that truth which is the root of our liberty in Christ: "The justification of faith only is sufficient, so that if any person only

believe, he may be justified, although no good work has been fulfilled in him, as in the case of the penitent thief, who was justified by faith without the works of the law. Jesus, who was going to paradise, took him as a companion, and carried him thither." And Origen also testifies to a universal freedom in the language of worship. He says: "The Grecians use the Greek language in their prayers, and the Romans the Roman; and so everyone in their own dialect prays to God and gives thanks as he is able, and the God of every language hears them pray in all dialects."

VIGILANTIUS.

It is through the writings of Jerome that we are acquainted with the testimony of this earliest Protestant. How earnestly and eloquently he rebukes the introduction of pagan services and superstitions into the worship of Christianity! Had his voice been heeded what ages of darkness and bondage might the Church have escaped! Vigilantius was assailed by the monk of Bethlehem. But the attack of Jerome preserved and immortalized his name. Rome condemned him as heretic, and thus placed him in the shining rank of martyrs and confessors. He saw that the exaltation of form into substance foreshadowed spiritual slavery and subjection. "What need is there," asked Vigilantius, "for you with so much respect, not only to honor, but even to adore, and in your adoration kiss, the dust folded up in a linen cloth? Under pretext of religion we see a custom introduced into the Church which approximates the rites of the Gentiles—the lighting of a multitude of tapers even when the sun

is shining. Men of this stamp give great honor to the most blessed martyrs, thinking with a few insignificant wax tapers to glorify those whom the Lamb in the midst of the throne enlightens with all the brightness of his glory. The souls of apostles and martyrs have settled themselves either in Abraham's bosom or in a place of refreshment or under the altar of God, and they cannot escape from their tombs and present themselves where they please. Do the souls of martyrs love their ashes and hover around them? After we are dead the prayers of none for another can be heard."

AUGUSTINE.

If this illustrious father encouraged monkery and saint-worship, if he promoted sacerdotalism and sacramentarianism, if he was an extreme ecclesiastic, he yet held and taught, however inconsistently, the great doctrine so powerfully unfolded and enforced by Paul. Indeed, the life of the Bishop of Hippo was saturated by the Epistle to the Romans. Bound to pagan superstitions, ascetic practices, and a narrow ecclesiasticism, Augustine in his spirit was nobly free by faith in Christ and the power of the Holy Spirit. He writes: "For, though natural gifts may be called grace, yet that grace by which we are predestinated, called, justified, glorified is quite another thing. It is of this the apostle speaks when he says, 'If by grace, it is no more by works,' and to him that worketh not, but believeth on Him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness."

The Bible is the law of liberty. Walking in its

light, men and communions are free. How beautifully Augustine recommends it as a companion and guide! Nor has any writer ever given man a wiser rule in regard to the use of the book of heaven. Well may our own age ponder his words of gold: "Accessible to all," says Augustine, "although fully understood by few, Holy Scripture, like a familiar friend, speaks at once to the heart of the learned and the unlearned. To the canonical Scriptures I have learned to give this honor, that I believe in writing them no author erred. If I should be offended in anything as contrary to the truth, I do not doubt that the manuscript was defective or the interpreter did not follow what was written or that I have not understood it."

Chrysostom.

We have seen this brilliant orator kindled into praise of virginity, extolling nuns as seraphs and saints as intercessors, efflorescing in his views of baptism and the eucharistic sacrifice, and expressing himself in a way that charms modest Catholics. Yet in his opinions of the Bible he differs from the pope. Far from Chrysostom the law of the pontifical *Index!* Instead of burning men for reading the Bible, he commends its universal use. If the Greek and Latin communions followed his precepts the Church Catholic would be walking in liberty.

"The Scriptures," says Chrysostom, "are as a paradise of delight, and this paradise is better than Eden. It cannot be that anyone should be saved who does not addict himself to this spiritual reading. A great safeguard against sin is the reading of

Scripture. The ignorance of Scripture is a precipice and a deep pit. Perdition is it to be uninformed in the divine law. This ignorance is it that leads to heresies and a corrupt life. The humble man may seek any truth boldly in the Scripture without danger of error. As aromatics yield their perfume so much the more when they are bruised, so do the Scriptures give up their hidden treasures of meaning in proportion as they are constantly handled."

GREGORY THE GREAT.

In the beginning of the seventh century this noblest of popes wrote in regard to the Scriptures in the same style as Jerome and Origen and Cyprian and Augustine and Chrysostom. He had no prescience of the *Index* or of the fires kindled by succeeding pontiffs for plain men and women who sought truth in the Bible. Between Gregory the Great and Cardinal Caraffa, Paul IV, who founded the papal Inquisition, is a red sea of martyr flames.

IONA.

Ireland's great Saint Patrick was a Scotchman. Transported as a slave at sixteen to the land he was to make famous, he relates, "The Lord opened the blind eyes of my unbelief so that I thought, though at a late hour, of my sins and turned with my whole heart to the Lord my God. And He looked down on my low estate, my ignorance, and my youth. He cared for me before I knew Him and ere I could distinguish good from evil. He protected and comforted me, as a father his son." We see in these simple words a more shining miracle

than in all the prodigies which have illuminated the name of Patrick. His great glory was his conversion by the power of the Holy Spirit and its fruits in a consecrated life. The love of Christ pervaded the man. By his preaching multitudes in Ireland were brought to the Master. Beneath all the silliness of the marvels with which legend has obscured his work, we recognize in Patrick a true witness for Jesus Christ. And it is probable that his light was reflected back from Ireland to his native Scotland. Less than a century after Patrick, Columba appears on the scene of the Church. He was a descendant of kings. As a boy he was enrolled for Christ. The Scripture seems to have been the rule of his life. He preached the Gospel along the shores of western Scotland and on the solitary islands near her coast. On the question of Easter he differed from Rome and antagonized popes. But the great work of Columba was to establish a school of Christianity at Iona. Hence went forth Aidan to proclaim the Gospel in England. And its monks seem to have been witnesses for presbyterial order as against episcopal exclusiveness. Out over the West from Iona shone the light of a pure testimony for the faith and liberty of Christ.

Claudius of Turin.

In him we have a bishop who reminds us of Vigilantius. Boldly he declaims against image worship and shrine adoration. "If those," wrote Claudius, "who have forsaken idolatry worship the images of the saints they have not, then, forsaken idols, but changed their names. Whether thou

paintest thy walls with figures of St. Peter and St. Paul, or of Jupiter and Saturn, neither the latter are gods nor the former apostles. If men must be worshiped it were better to pay that worship to the living than the dead. Whosoever seeks from any creature in heaven or on earth the salvation which he should seek from God is an idolater."

Nor is Claudius a mere protestant against error. He testifies in golden words to the universal power and presence of his Lord. With him God is the perfection of truth, "who changes not with time, is obscured by no night, nor dimmed by passing shadows. Every hour He is near everyone on the whole earth who turns lovingly toward Him. Confined to no place, He is absent from none. In the market place He dwells; in the heart His voice is uttered; whoever beholds Him is transformed by Him. The cycles of time vanish before me in the Eternal One. In Him, the eternal same, is neither past nor present; the eternal alone is. Therefore, would that yonder eternal Perfection would reveal Himself to man's mind, crying, 'I am that I am.'"

The Four Caroline Books.

We cannot defend the character and career of Charlemagne. He was a wise statesman, but a remorseless conqueror and a royal adulterer. The imperial warrior who imposed baptism by the sword, was also a friend of the learned and gifted and pious Alcuin of York, and received his excellent instruction. Perhaps under the influence of this ecclesiastic the great emperor became a foe to image worship. At the Council of Frankfort he set aside a

decree of the second Council of Nice, and withstood a pope in witness of the truth. The *Caroline Books* were probably prepared by Alcuin and transmitted to Charlemagne in the form of letters. However, they appeared A. D. 790, bearing the imperial name. They are most remarkable testimonies. Holy Scripture is exalted as a treasure stored with good and accessible to all seeking truth. The writer exclaims: "Unhappy memory which, in order to think of Christ, who never should be absent from the good man's heart, needs the presence of an image and which can enjoy Christ only by seeing His image painted on a wall! We Christians, who with open face behold the glory of God, are changed into the same image from glory to glory, are no longer bound to seek the truth in images and pictures. We, through faith, hope, and charity, have attained by His own help the truth which is in Christ. We, who look not at the things that are seen, but fix our eyes upon those which are unseen, rejoice to have received from the Lord mysteries greater, not only than images, but also greater and more sublime than the cherubim and the tables of the law."

Peter Waldus.

Toward the close of the twelfth century this witness for the faith and freedom in Christ was a rich merchant in Lyons, France. In a public assembly a citizen suddenly expired. Waldus was profoundly impressed with this spectacle of death. He sold his property and gave to the poor. He felt burning within him a passion to spread the Gospel. He hired two ecclesiastics and had the whole Bible

translated into the Romance language. The word of God became the fountain of his life, from which flowed living streams to others. Waldus formed a society within the Church. But now a mountain rose in his path. The Archbishop of Lyons forbade him to preach and to expound the Scripture. In this prelatical prohibition was the beginning of that war between Christian liberty and ecclesiastical authority which had its sublime outbursts at the Reformation. The Romance Bible of Waldus was sent to Rome for examination. It was a spark predestined to kindle the world into flame. Pope Alexander III in A. D. 1170 submitted the question of the archbishop to the Lateran Council. Thus for the first time in the history of the Church was presented the formal issue on the use of the Scripture by the laity in their own tongue into which every question between Rome and Reformation may be resolved. The true battle with the pope is over a free Bible. Hence in this appeal of archbishop to pontiff we have the origin of a war which has changed the face of the world. No formal decree was passed by the Lateran Council; but the pope took the responsibility, and confirmed the action of the archbishop. The holy father never announced a more pregnant decision. It shaped Rome's policy in regard to the Bible.

Little did the pontiff foresee what blood and flame were in his decree! Persecution began against the Waldenses. They clung to the Scripture, asserted their liberty, and were driven from France. Italy received the fugitives. Among the pious and primitive Vaudois in the Alpine valleys of Piedmont

they found a home and planted the banner of the cross, which was a symbol of liberty flashing light into the darkness of that mediæval ecclesiastical slavery. The Waldenses swarmed, too, along the Rhone and over Germany. Schools were founded. Germanic versions of the Bible were disseminated. All the seeds of the Reformation were scattered by the winds of persecution over Europe, and the soil prepared for a universal harvest. When Innocent III ascended the papal throne he was enraged at the success of these witnesses for a free Bible. He threatened interdict if the civil power did not interfere. The people resisted the pope. At last the pontifical thunder burst over Provence, and the land was made a waste by desolating armies.

PAULICIANS.

Their founder, Constantine, came in A. D. 654 from Mananalis, near Samosata. From an Armenian archbishop he received the four Gospels and Paul's Epistles. On these he based his scheme of doctrine. This fact indicates that he was an Oriental Protestant witness, corresponding to the Occidental Italian Vaudois and the French Waldenses. East and West were never without some testimony for liberty. And for Christian freedom Paul is the apostle. His Epistles, studied as expositions of the Gospels, prepare the way in all ages for the spiritual emancipation of men and nations. From him the Paulicians took their name and faith. Their first leader, Constantine, was a martyr by imperial decree. Simon, his successor, with his followers, was burned on a vast funeral pyre. So perish, East and West, the

witnesses for liberty! The history of the Paulicians has been written by their enemies. Deficient in learning to defend faith, they lapsed into Manichæism, and perhaps were corrupted by other heresies.

TAULER.

He was born A. D. 1290 at Strasburg of a senatorial family, in his youth became a Dominican, studied in Paris, returned to his native city, and was known as the "illumined teacher." This mystic monk defied a pope. John XXIII, most infamous of pontiffs and deposed from his throne, laid an interdict on Strasburg. Tauler continued to preach and labor. He was not moved by the papal *anathema*, and was honored and sustained by the people. Priests were reformed by this "friend of God." The quiet mystic monk was a noble witness for freedom. "Since Christ died for all," unterrified by Roman thunder, Tauler asserted, "the pope could not close heaven to any who died innocent, though excommunicated."

WYCLIF.

In an English village bearing his name, A. D. 1324, was born this heroic scholar. He studied at Oxford, where he was distinguished in both philosophy and theology and received his academical degree. A defense of realism was his first work. John Wyclif was by constitution a polemic. He had the originality, the courage, the genius of a reformer. Boldly he soared from the mists of philosophy into the sublimities of theology. His mind was speculative and practical. In his pulpit he was

effective before the people, and, in his chair, before the university. Previous to him never had Roman errors and immoralities been so courageously and powerfully assailed. To expose lazy and dissolute monks he used all the resources of his wit, and hurled fiery invectives against popes. Pontifical feuds and the vices and crimes at Avignon gave force to the arguments of Wyclif. All he urged was proved by the disgraceful lives of popes and antipopes, excommunicating each other during the Babylonish captivity. Like Luther, Wyclif would give the Bible to the people. He translated it from the Vulgate and made it the basis for our own version. The strong hand of the Duke of Lancaster long shielded him from the flames. His life was thus preserved for his work from the assaults of the hierarchy. In A. D. 1372 he was made doctor of theology, and in A. D. 1382 retired from Oxford to his parish at Lutterworth, where his labors were almost incredible. Seized with a paralysis, he worked and warred and witnessed until his last breath. He died in peace, A. D. 1384, at Lutterworth. But his dust was not permitted repose. Hatred pursued to the grave this mediæval apostle of liberty. His books, A. D. 1410, were burned, and, eighteen years after, his body taken from its grave. When his spirit was in paradise martyr fires consumed his flesh. Nor did this satisfy hierarchic hate. That the ashes of Wyclif might not testify they were cast into the river and borne toward that sea which is a sublime emblem of the universality of truth. Hear the words of this Baptist of the Reformation:

"But I say unto thee for certain that, though thou

have priests and friars to sing for thee, and though thou each day hear masses and found chantries and colleges and go on pilgrimages all thy life, all this shall not bring thy soul to heaven; while if the commandments of God are revered, though neither penny nor half-penny be possessed, there shall be everlasting pardon and the bliss of heaven. They are blasphemers of God who confidently advise things of a doubtful character which are in Holy Scripture neither expressed, commanded, nor forbidden. For Holy Scripture is the faith of the Church. Sanctity of life promotes this illumination so necessary for understanding the word of God, to continue which in the Church is the duty of theologians, not to invent things foreign to Scripture. The merit of Christ is of itself sufficient to redeem every man from hell. Faith in our Lord Jesus Christ is sufficient for salvation."

HUSS.

Transported by students to the University of Prague, in Bohemia, the works of Wyclif became the seeds of a rich harvest. In the soul of John Huss they found a congenial soil. He was born in A. D. 1369 in the Bohemian village Hussinetz. His parents were poor and accustomed to labor and privation. At Prague he studied philosophy and theology. Stanislaus, his teacher, was liberal in his views. In A. D. 1396 Huss received his master's degree and began to lecture. He was a man of God. The loose morals of monks and clergy shocked him into a violent antagonism. Attracted by his ability and uprightness, a rich merchant founded at

Prague a chapel for his preaching. It was called Bethlehem, and he was appointed rector. Here began his career. Huss made his pulpit a place of power. Bethlehem Chapel was the center of a movement which has never been expended. The light over it was the morning dawn of the Reformation. Wyclif prepared for Huss, and Huss for Luther. Bethlehem's pulpit first thundered against the corruptions of the laity. Clergymen applauded. But against these smiling ecclesiastics Huss soon hurled his lightnings. Then began the war which ended in his death. Wyclif possessed for Huss a powerful attraction. The English and Bohemian reformers were alike in doctrine and in purpose. Their writings excited an intense ecclesiastical antagonism to that free spirit of the Gospel which animated their burning protests against tyranny and corruption. The archbishop cast into the flames the works of Wyclif and kindled at Prague an inextinguishable fire. Although protected by King Wenceslaus, all the rage of the hierarchy burst over Huss. Black clouds covered his sky, vivid with portentous lightnings. In all his contests he appealed to Scripture. Here was his offense ; here his peril. We can comprehend the opposition of ecclesiastics when we hear Huss exclaim :

" My lord, understand me well. I said, I am ready with all my heart to fulfill the apostolical mandates ; but I call the apostolical mandates the doctrines of the apostles of Christ. And so far as the papal mandates agree with these I will obey them most willingly. But if I see anything in them at variance with these I shall not obey, even though the stake

were staring me in the face." We have again in Huss these strong words: "Ignorance of Holy Scripture, being a guilty ignorance, renders the priests more condemnable, as it is the mother of all other sins and vices among the people."

The crime of Huss was this exaltation of the Bible over the pope. With him, above the word of man was the word of God. Earth is lower than heaven. A death struggle with the Roman hierarchy was inevitable. After many trials in Prague Huss consented to proceed to the Council of Constance, with the assurance of the protection of the emperor. It was a vain trust. Ecclesiastics soiled the imperial honor and defeated the imperial pledge. Huss began his journey under the dark shadows of many doubts. But, while his life was insecure, his faith was unwavering. Reaching Constance November 3, A. D. 1414, he soon found that in the Council the hierarchy would prevail over the emperor. Huss had no shield but Heaven. He was consigned to a frightful prison and subjected to every indignity. Amid inexpressible sufferings he triumphed. Brought before the Council, he appealed to his Bible. He faced hierarchy and empire. What were the brilliance of papal scarlet and the splendor of imperial purple in the presence of this plain monk pointing sublimely to the word of God! Outdazzling earthly magnificence his faith saw the glory of Christ, the King of the universe. This vision gave strength to his soul and power to his eloquence. He denounced priests who neglected Scripture. He styled them messengers of darkness clothed like angels of light. He told them that they

were servants of antichrist. He asserted that their unfaithfulness to Scripture was the source of all corruptions. Asked by the Council to condemn the writings of Wyclif, he demanded proofs against him from the word of God. Papal *anathemas* did not satisfy Huss. The Bible was his rule. Exhausted by his efforts, he was led from the Council to his prison. He was condemned to be burned. Fire was an answer that silenced heretics. Having degraded him from his priesthood, his enemies placed on the head of Huss a cap painted with devils. It mocked, but did not pierce like his Master's crown of thorns. When the fire was kindled Huss sang with a loud voice. After he ceased to be heard his lips were seen moving amid the flames in praise or prayer. That his ashes might not pollute the earth they were cast into the Rhine. Invisible in the depths of the waters, they await that trumpet which will sound the resurrection to the true and everlasting liberty.

Jerome of Prague.

He defended himself with great power before the Council of Constance. A man of brilliant but erratic genius, he was persuaded to recant. His courage revived. Brought again before the Council, he spoke with dazzling eloquence. Jerome retracted all that he had said against Wyclif. Eminent members of the Council asked him to recant again. He was unshaken. Sentence was pronounced, and he was delivered to the State for execution. This martyr insisted that the flame should be lighted, not behind his back, but before his eyes, that he might defy the fire from which in his weakness he

shrank. Fastened by a chain to the stake, he sang a victor in the flames. The fires of Constance which consumed Huss and Jerome flashed into the next century to light the way for Luther.

DANTE.

Sublimely in his "Purgatory" the great Italian sang: "It is true faith that renders us citizens of heaven. According to the Gospel faith is the principle of life. Faith is the spark that, spreading more and more, becomes a living flame and shines in us, like a star of heaven. Without faith there is no good work or upright life that may avail us. However great the sin, the arms of the divine Mercy are wider still and embrace all who turn to God. The soul is not lost through the *anathemas* of the pontiff. Eternal Love can still reach it so long as hope retains its verdant blossom. From God, from God alone, comes our righteousness by faith."

JOHN OF GOCH.

This witness for truth was born in a town bearing his name in the beginning of the fifteenth century. He founded the Canonry of the Prioress of St. Augustine, called Tabor, in A. D. 1451, and held the office of rector for twenty-four years, until his death. Always his appeal was to Scripture. Heresy he defined to be "an obstinate adherence to an opinion contrary to canonical truth." Cornelius Grapheus, the expounder of Goch, says:

"Has not God promised by the prophet Joel, 'I will pour out my Spirit on all flesh?' Where are laymen here excluded? Much do I wish that

Christ's philosophy, being common to all, were likewise translated by learned and good expositors into the vulgate tongue, so that every professor of the Christian religion, at least everyone who knows how to read, might purchase a copy for himself and by preparation of the Spirit be introduced to an acquaintance with evangelical truth. I also wish that, in order to the suppression of human opinion, learned priests were appointed over all the Churches who, upon the festivals, when the Christian people were assembled, with the Bible in their hands should twice a day, instead of preaching a sermon, instruct them in the doctrine of the evangelists and apostles in strict accordance with the word. Come all ye to whom Christian liberty is dear, contend for Christ and be of good courage! We will with honest minds draw from the wells of Holy Scripture, and not from the marshy puddles of Thomas and Aristotle."

John of Wessalia.

He was born at Oberwesel on the Rhine A. D. 1420, and became a doctor of divinity at Erfurth. With him the Scripture was the sole rule of faith. John asks: "By what audacity do the successors of the apostles enjoin, not what Christ has prescribed in his holy books, but what they themselves have devised, carried away as they are by thirst of gold and desire of ruling? I despise the pope, the Church, and the Councils, and I give Christ the glory."

John feared the wrong interpretations of doctors. He preferred to have the Bible explain itself. "No authority," he says, "of the wisest and most learned

Christians can here avail. He whom God condemns will be condemned, though pope and priest were unanimously to count him saved. Though there never had been a pope, all who are really saved would have been saved as well. Christ did not appoint fasts. As little did he ordain the celebration of stated festivals. He prescribed not set prayers, except the Pater Noster, and still less did he enjoin the priests to sing or read the canonical Psalms. All over Christendom the mass has been made a most burdensome service. Pilgrims to Rome are fools, for they might easily find and keep at home what they seek in a foreign land. I extol Christ. Let His word dwell in us richly!"

John Wessel.

This teacher was called "the light of the world." He was born about A. D. 1420 at Groningen, in a house still standing. Wessel was a doctor of divinity in the Universities of Paris, Cologne, Louvain, Heidelberg, and his native city. John held that the just must live by faith, working charity. He affirms that "Christians must obey the precepts of doctors and prelates only according to the measure laid down by Paul." And he says: "We are God's servants, not the pope's. The Holy Spirit has reserved to Himself the work of renewing, vivifying, preserving, and increasing the unity of the Church, and has not abandoned it to the Roman pontiff. Her sex does not prevent a woman, if she be faithful and prudent, and if she have charity shed abroad in her heart, from being able to feel, judge, approve, and decide by a judgment that God will ratify."

How clear and powerful is Wessel when he writes in regard to the authority of the Bible! He teaches the grand truths which make the spirit free even amid the spiritual fetters of ecclesiastical slavery. Never in mediæval bondage were wanting these noble witnesses for Christian liberty. John Wessel says: "So long as it appears to me that the pope or the school or any other society maintains any opinion contrary to the truth of Holy Scripture my first duty is to adhere with the utmost care to the Scripture. We ought to obey the doctrine laid down by prelates and doctors in the way recommended by Paul, that is, so long as their authors sit in the seat of Moses and teach consonantly to him. When, however, they propound what is contrary to his doctrine it is not obligatory upon believers to receive it or anything at variance with the law of perfect freedom. For we are servants of God, not of the pope. Only when the clergy and doctors agree with the true and sole Teacher ought we to listen to them; for he must be blind and foolish who follows a blind and foolish guide."

SAVONAROLA.

In A. D. 1475 he entered the Dominican order, preached in Florence from 1489 to 1497, was condemned by Alexander VI, the infamous Roderigo Borgia, and burned. This orator and martyr said to the monks: "God remits the sins of men and justifies them by His mercy. There are as many compassions in heaven as justified men on earth. None are saved by their own works. No man can boast of himself. O God, do I seek Thy mercy? I bring not unto Thee mine own righteousness; but when

by Thy grace Thou justifiest me, then Thy Righteousness belongs unto me. O God, save me by Thy Righteousness, that is to say, in Thy Son!"

ERASMUS.

He was a scholar, not a hero. Infirm in will and refined in nerve, he shrank from battles which demanded martyrs. But Erasmus had keen penetration, brilliant wit, and extensive learning. The sensitive scholar had little sympathy with the courageous Luther, who was a spiritual warrior and the true standard bearer of the Reformation. Yet before Erasmus withdrew from the perils of conflict he penned some testimonies which involved freedom and the fundamental truths for which Luther contended. He said:

"I am firmly resolved to die in the study of the Holy Scriptures. In them are all my joy and peace. The sum of all Christian philosophy amounts to this—to place all our hopes in God alone, who by His grace, without any merit of our own, gives us everything through Christ Jesus; to know that we are redeemed through the death of His Son; to be dead to worldly lusts, and to walk in conformity to His doctrine and example, not only injuring no man, but doing good to all; to support our trials patiently in the hope of a future reward; and, finally, not to claim merit for ourselves on account of our virtue, but to give thanks to God for all our strength and all our works."

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Reformation.

JERUSALEM was the mother of Christendom. Within and near her walls Christ taught, Christ died, Christ rose, Christ ascended. Here fell the fire of the Holy Ghost on the disciples, who scattered over earth to kindle the inextinguishable light of an everlasting kingdom. Yet in this metropolis of Christianity in less than two centuries pagan darkness obscured with its cloud the Sun of righteousness. A shrine of Venus, in derision of Jesus, was erected by a heathen emperor on the lofty terrace where had stood for ages the temple of Jehovah. The very name of Jerusalem vanished from the face of the world. God's city, where David reigned and the Messiah died, was called Ælia, after an imperial pagan. How small are earth's temporary localities compared with eternal realities!

Constantine the Great sought to restore the title and glory of Jerusalem. He lavished his imperial resources to realize his dream. Yet the city of God was taken, first by the Arab, then by the Turk, and for centuries has been oppressed, and is now insulted by the spectacle of a crescent glittering over the spot where was planted the cross of our salvation. Before the conquering Mohammedans, soldiers of a false prophet, Christianity was swept away from Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Arabia, and every

other region of western Asia. The light of the great school of Antioch was extinguished, and the homes, the cities, the provinces of the most illustrious teachers and bishops desolated and enslaved by Arabian and Ottoman armies.

Nor was the overthrow of Christianity less sad in Africa. Alexandria had been a seat of learning more famous even than Antioch. Libya had swarmed with disciples. Carthage shone like a sun amid the darkness of North Africa. In her region one synod had been attended by six hundred bishops. Here lived and taught and died Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine, most splendid of Latin fathers. First, the Vandals carried fire and sword through the land. Then, a locust-cloud, came the Arabs, and afterward the Turk, breathing vengeance and flaming destruction. Constantinople, the brilliant capital of Oriental Christianity, long withstood her Ottoman enemies. But in A. D. 1453 her walls fell before the thunder of Mohammedan cannon. On her metropolitan Church, converted into a mosque, for more than four centuries the world has seen a triumphant crescent. The whole Eastern empire and communion are enslaved to the infidel. It is almost impossible to resist the conclusion that Arab and Ottoman have been the agents of Heaven's vengeance to punish a Christianity enfeebled by luxury and corrupted by idolatry.

Scarcely less dark and discouraging is the history of the Western Church. We have seen from the pages of Augustine and Salvianus how frightful the morals of African and European Christendom. As the scourges of God in their own esteem, Goths and

Vandals and Huns punished the effeminate and idolatrous Churches. Rome fell and was abandoned to pillage. Greece, Illyria, Germany, Italy, Gaul, Spain passed under the dominion of barbarian conquerors. Arians and pagans held the scepter of the Occident. And yet the West differed from the East. Her life was not wholly dead, nor her light extinguished. Despite her feebleness, she converted her heathen tyrants. Goth and Vandal and Hun were baptized into the Church. But it was not the pure religion of the Gospels they embraced. They received a Christianity corrupted from its primitive simplicity, beauty, and power. Original democracy had been obliterated. The laity was unknown in an oligarchic government of bishops. Over the West the Roman pontiff asserted sovereignty. Saint-worship was a universal idolatry. Sacerdotalism ruled supreme. And the corruptions in the lives of ecclesiastics and people are such as we could not credit except on proofs the most incontestable.

Under the patronage of Gregory the Great, at the beginning of the sixth century, Augustine introduced papal Christianity into England. Except among the Vaudois of Piedmont and in western Scotland, there was no trace in Europe of an ecclesiastical democracy. Amid bleak and solitary Atlantic coasts and isles, Iona was a center of light. Hence went forth Patrick to convert Ireland, and, later, Aidan to illuminate England. Presbyters and bishops were of the same order. And they rose to resist together the Roman episcopate of Augustine. The papal monk first tried persuasion. When argument failed the sword followed. Britons refused to obey

the pontifical mandate and, especially, asserted liberty in regard to the observance of Easter. Augustine predicted war. His prophecy was fulfilled. King Æthelfrith killed more than a thousand Christians in the posture of prayer. He razed Bangor to the ground. England submitted to the pontiff of Rome. Aidan and Colman were Scotch bishops, with presbyterian ordination, who had been sent as missionaries to England. They, too, resisted Roman supremacy. In vain! Even Iona, the last fortress of the Christian Democracy, succumbed. Its preachers and teachers received the tonsure as a mark of submission to the pope.

Charlemagne was the most successful Roman missionary. His argument was the sword. He warred to extinguish heathenism on the battlefield. He gave his enemies choice between baptism and extermination. He made the sacrament of the peaceful Christ a sign of fealty and subjugation. To understand the subsequent state of Europe we must know that tribes and nations had often been converted by conquering armies. In leveling the way for Christian truth and liberty the Reformation had to upheave mountains imbedded in the very heart of the world.

But Rome also had papal heralds of a nobler class. Even the slaves of tyranny and superstition may be inwardly free and heroes of the faith. Columban was born in Leinster in Ireland. He, with St. Gall, about A. D. 606 carried the Gospel into the heart of the mountains of Switzerland, and left behind them permanent monuments of their love and labor. The light amid the Alps was from torches kindled

at the altar of Rome. From England, too, went forth men of power. Bright on the roll of Christian warriors are the names of Willibrod, apostle of Friesland, Adalbert, Bishop of Utrecht, Leofwin, martyred by the Saxons. The Frisian Ludger studied under Alcuin of York. But more illustrious than all is Boniface. He was born A. D. 680 in Kirton, Devonshire. Conceiving a passion for the life of a monk, he was educated at two convents. In A. D. 718 he visited Rome and took from Gregory II his authority to preach to the Germanic nations. He labored in Friesland and Thuringia. A second time he went to the pontifical capital and bound himself by oath forever to the papacy. The success of his labors was immense. Boniface was the apostle of Germany, as Augustine had been the apostle of Britain.

Anschar in A. D. 801 was born in Corbie, France, and was educated in the monastery of his native place. He had a vision of immeasurable light. Anschar saw a circle of the celestial hosts. While sun and moon were invisible, an illimitable brilliance filled the universe. A voice from the glory cried, "Go and return to me again crowned with martyrdom!" The monk obeyed. He was selected by the emperor Louis for a mission to Denmark. After making numerous converts in that country he proceeded to Sweden. At Hamburg he founded an episcopal metropolis and was consecrated archbishop. Anschar bound nations to the papacy. Bold preachers brought even Iceland under the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff. Thus to the pope heroic saints and martyrs gained the Teutonic

and Slavonic nations which were to be the lights of the Reformation. We cannot, therefore, marvel at the pain felt by the Roman Church when she saw torn from her Britain, Scotland, Switzerland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland, England, which she had herself won to the Roman faith. And Protestants should ever remember that, however imperfect their form of Christianity measured by the Scripture standard, yet under the rule of popes the greatest regions and races of Europe professed conversion.

We have seen that both in the Eastern and Western Churches had always arisen men and sects who were witnesses for faith and its liberty against the prevailing bondage and corruption. But they had been suppressed. Alexander III first declared war against the Bible of Peter Waldus, and Innocent III blasted the land of the heretic with his papal armies. Dominic, like an avenging spirit, hovered in the cloud of war; and when death had silenced martyrs in France his order presided over the Inquisition in Spain and gave thousands to dungeon, rack, and fire. Wyclif escaped flames, but his bones and books were burned. Huss and Jerome perished in the blaze kindled by the Council of Constance. The papal hierarchy triumphed in the assurance of universal victory. Just before the dawn of the Reformation all liberty of faith and thought and speech seemed to have perished from the earth, and over man was a sky of clouds with no star or rainbow.

Giovanni de Medici, second son of Lorenzo the Magnificent, was elected to the papacy as a splendid

representative of its successful sovereignty. Although the founder of his house was a merchant in Florence, yet the noblest blood of that proud city flowed in the veins of the young pontiff. He was born December 11, 1475, and crowned with the tiara March 11, 1513, before he was thirty-eight. From a conclave window it was announced by a cardinal, "I will tell you tidings of great joy. A new pope, Leo X, is elected." A more splendid career never dawned on any man. The Roman Church had outwardly triumphed over her enemies. Yet, while her victory seemed assured, she was confronted with difficulties which required signal ability. To the new pontiff she looked to secure her success and confirm her supremacy. And in his birth, his education, his gifts of mind and person was all that could justify human expectation. The festivities of his coronation at St. Peter's were in accordance with the brilliant hope of the Church. But the grandest ceremonial attended his possession of St. John Lateran, his cathedral. Rome was crowded. Italian princes, foreign ambassadors, gentlemen, noblemen, envoys, bishops, archbishops, patriarchs, cardinals added glitter to the concourse which assembled early in St. Peter's Square. Jeweled miters and splendid vestments adorned the ecclesiastics. The costumes of the officers of State were correspondingly gorgeous. Banners streamed in all the joy of jubilee. Leo came forth riding on a white horse, attended by his military guard, and under a canopy supported by exalted Roman dignitaries. A mantle of richest embroidery was about the pontiff. On his finger glittered the

diamond ring that wedded him to the Catholic Church. Before him the streets were strewn with flowers and spread with tapestries. Arrived at the Lateran, the pope on his throne flamed in scarlet and gold and, crowned with his tiara, felt himself indeed the lord of the world. Around him in dazzling splendor sat all earth's loftiest representatives of civil and ecclesiastical power, shedding their glory over the pontifical majesty.

Nor was the cathedral unworthy the occasion. The spacious nave, the sublime arches, the polished marble pavement, the gilded Corinthian pilasters, the venerable forms of prophets and apostles, the exquisite chapleries exhibited whatever genius could accomplish in painting, sculpture, and architecture, while above the magnificence swelled the mingled music of voice and organ. "It seemed to me," says the narrator of the pageant, "that it was the Redeemer of mankind on the Palm Sunday going to Jerusalem, there being substituted for hosannas to the Son of David, 'Life to the pope, the lion!'"

A picture of this Lateran assembly shows the pontiff throned above bishops and cardinals, and, conspicuous, the words, "Thou shalt put an end to the Council, and be called a reformer of the Church." One orator styled the pope, "our shepherd, our physician, our god upon the earth." To him also was applied a grand Messianic prophecy, "Thou shalt rule from sea to sea." Nor was the splendor of his dominion described only in inspired words. Painting was again invoked to aid by form and color. We have Leo depicted with one foot

on the land and the other on the sea, and grasping the keys of hades and heaven, which symbolized his dominion over the universe.

Alas! in the near future was a wreck mocking this splendor of pontifical expectation. Such a pageant, indicating its universal triumph, was never to occur again in the history of the papacy. Leo's reign was to be memorable, not by a united and triumphant, but by a divided and humiliated, Church. Bright prophecies of victory were followed by shadows of defeat. Causes were in operation which would rend the papacy and liberate humanity from ecclesiastical tyranny. Those keys symbolic of universal rule were about to fall from the hands of baffled pontiffs. Let us turn to the agent of a coming revolution that changed the face of Christendom!

Martin Luther was born at Eisleben, in that very Thuringia in which, four centuries before, the apostle Boniface had planted the papal Church. On the 10th of November, A. D. 1483, the child who was to become the reformer of the world saw the light. Between Leo and Luther what a contrast! The pope was a Medici, of princely blood, born in affluence, nurtured in luxury, a child of gay, proud, beautiful Florence, in all his instincts an Italian, effeminate in his tastes, skeptical in his religion, an epicurean noble, graceful in person and manners, a devotee of art and literature, fascinated with this world and reckless of the next. With Leo his pontificate was not a path to paradise, but a way flowering and brilliant with the delights and dignities of this earthly life. But Luther was son of a peas-

ant, with all the rough honesty of the Germanic race. His father was first a slate cutter and then a miner. From infancy poverty was his companion. The boyhood of Luther had little joy. He pursued his studies pinched with hunger, sang for a crust of bread, and often knew not whether he would be rewarded with food or repulsed with cruelty. Born amid rude scenes and men, he never attained the grace and courtesy which give charm to society. While Leo resembled a polished pillar in his Italian cathedral, Luther was like a rough column in his father's mine. But in him was a strength which could endure. By nature and education he had an affectionate heart, a sensitive conscience, a sturdy manhood. And he was born a leader of men. On his broad, open, powerful Teutonic face is the glow of genius. A great soul shines through those peasant features. Margaret Lindemann, wife of John Luther, was the worthy mother of the man born to create a new era for humanity. Not from mansion or palace, but a miner's home, went forth the power to regenerate nations, change the course of history and the face of the world. The forge of the father suggests the blows of the son on the iron of the papacy. Martin was first sent to a Franciscan school at Magdeburg, whence he was removed to Eisenach. It was here, while singing in the streets amid a crowd of poor scholars, that the splendid voice of the future orator won the ear and heart of Ursula Cotta. She became a mother to Martin. At eighteen Luther went to Erfurth, where he was deeply moved by the preaching of Weissmann. He received in A. D. 1502 his bachelor's degree, and in

1505 his master's degree. In 1507 he was ordained priest. The next year by the favor of the elector he was made professor at the University of Wittenberg. His doctor's degree came in 1512 and opened his true career to Luther. Henceforth he moves forward in his work before the eye of the world, and his history belongs to humanity. He is a man of power. He attracts multitudes of youth to his university. He has filled Europe with the fame of his doctrine and his eloquence. In him is impersonated the Reformation.

The first noticeable peculiarity in the change produced in Martin Luther is the independence of the solitary monk. A friend at his side is killed by lightning. Awe from death falls like a shadow over the brilliant student. He invites his friends, has a gay parting feast, retires to a convent to seek his salvation. And he begins in the old monkish way. Fasts, vigils, penance, mortification of flesh and spirit—these are to bring him peace. They fail. He exhausts himself with hunger and falls fainting in his cell. On the verge of death he is in despair. When Luther arose from the cold stones he wandered about a living corpse. We have his own vivid words:

"I was a pious monk, and observed the discipline of my order more strictly than I can tell. If ever there was one who, before the Gospel dawned, held in high esteem the precepts of the fathers and of the pope and was most sincerely zealous concerning them, I was especially so with all my heart. With fastings, vigils, prayers, and other exercises I have tormented and wearied my body more than

all those who are my most bitter enemies and persecutors."

A life of such self-inflicted tortures would have placed Luther with Francis and Becket and Loyola, high on the brightest roll of Roman saints. At this hour he might have been beatified and canonized by popes, had his name in their calendar, and, instead of being regarded as an excommunicated monster, he would have been adored as a patron and supplicated as an intercessor. But vain all his monkish asperities! By his increased mortifications he plunged himself into deeper darkness. He found himself bound by an invincible power in fetters he could not break. He was measuring himself, not by rules of monks, but by the law of God. He saw himself, not in the light of the precepts of fathers, but in the blaze of the holiness of Jehovah. He weighed his heart and life, not in the scales of papal decretals, but in the balances of the eternal justice of the Judge of the universe. This lonely monk by his anguish was driven beyond the help of priest or pontiff or angel. Absolution by man could not satisfy his immortal need. Luther must have remission from the Sovereign of the universe. His struggle for life brought death, and no deliverance by man. Salvation is direct from God. Remission of sin is by faith in the blood of Jesus, the incarnate Creator. Regeneration is by the power of the Holy Ghost exerted on the individual soul. Assurance of forgiveness comes not from the absolution of man, but is a testimony from the Spirit of God. And the rule of life is the word of Scripture.

Looking beyond fathers, beyond priests, beyond

monks, beyond popes, beyond himself, beyond mortal or angel, Luther obtains remission and regeneration by faith in the blood of Jesus, his God and Saviour. He has peace and joy and liberty. Nor were the solitary sufferings of his cell for the young monk alone. His race was involved in his birth-pangs. In him humanity was struggling for its regeneration. The reformation of the world took shape in Luther. One typical soul had to be taught by agony the vanity of all absolution and sanctification not direct from God. Deliverance came, not by priestly act or papal authority, but by personal faith. In this seed-truth was the whole Reformation. With the music of voice and organ pealing through the church, how often had Luther chanted in the creed, "I believe in the forgiveness of sins!" Yet to him the words were dead. They had no meaning to his mind, no power over his life. Now they flash into him immortal light. Luther believes and has peace. A new glory flames through his cell. The joyful monk walks forth in the liberty of the Gospel to free nations and generations. Scriptural Democracy is born again on the earth. Glory to God and love to man inspire its everlasting song.

Exulting in Christ, the renewed monk never dreamed that his experience antagonized the Church. Luther had hurled away the ecclesiastical fetters of ages, and yet was unconscious of his own liberty. Like an innocent child, he did not look beyond his young joy. He compared himself to a bird singing on a limb and letting God take care of him. With trust in his Redeemer came faith in his Creator. The almighty Maker of the universe

was with Luther a perpetual presence. In harmony with nature, he wished the world to share his happiness. He preached with power. Under his word convents and cities and kingdoms were born again. Europe by his writings woke to a new life. Universities were illuminated. A new literature of salvation sprang into existence. Sovereigns were converted and nations edified. Since the time of Paul the world had never known such a spiritual harvest. At this period of his triumphant life prayer and praise were the breath of Luther. Jehovah was his sun and shield. The word of God was his bread of life. His cell was bright with the light of his divine Christ. In his soul was that faith in the Lamb which looses the seals hiding the secrets of the universe. But the liberated and exulting monk can best describe this happiest and most fruitful experience of his life:

"There is nothing else in heaven or in earth wherein the soul is pious and free except the holy Gospel, the word of God concerning Christ. In the word it has enough—food, joy, peace, light, skill, righteousness, freedom, everything good. As the word is, so will the soul be through faith. And as iron glows with fire, so the word shines through the soul. The soul is freed by faith from sin. It is not possible for her sins to condemn her. They are laid upon Christ. The inner man is one with God, joyful and happy on account of Christ. His whole desire is that he in turn may serve God freely in free love. A Christian does not live in himself, but in Christ and his neighbor. Through faith he passes above himself into God; out of God he passes

again beneath himself through love; yet abides always in God, and God in him."

In these words of Martin Luther we have the power of the Reformation. Its success is not in a mere ecclesiastical orthodoxy. A right creed may be a dead form. The skeleton of belief must be clothed and filled by the Holy Ghost with living force. To the confession of the faith of the heart by the word of the lip must be added the testimony of a true life. Wherever the Reformation has spread it has carried with it the same everlasting truths, vital only as energized by the Spirit of God, and successful only as exemplified in the testimonies of faithful and pure and loving men. In Germany, in France, in Switzerland, in England, in Holland, in Scandinavia, in America, it bears the same mark on its forehead. By these it can be recognized, whether in the Confessions of Augsburg or Heidelberg or Dort or Westminster. Its universal signs are (1) remission of sins through faith in the blood of the divine Christ; (2) regeneration, assurance, and guidance from the Holy Ghost; (3) good works as an effect of our regeneration, and not as a cause of our remission; (4) Scripture, independently of Church or tradition, as the supreme rule of faith and life; (5) the individual responsibility of each man to God for his belief and his works; (6) acknowledgment of the sovereignty of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost as three Persons in one Godhead.

A slight circumstance brought Luther before the world and history. It grew out of the doctrine and practice of the Church in regard to papal indul-

gences and supremacy. On these subjects the greatest writers had declared themselves.

Alexander of Hales, the irrefragable doctor, A. D. 1245, in his *Treasure of the Church*, said: "Christ, the God-man, by His infinitely meritorious sufferings and death, has acquired a superabundance of merit, which is conjoined to that of martyrs and saints; of these the sum is a vast treasure. This is intended for the Church, to be administered by the pope through his representatives the bishops." A bull of Clement VII declared this doctrine of Hales an article of faith.

Thomas Aquinas, A. D. 1274, said: "With him, also, the merits of Christ and His saints formed an inexhaustible treasure. Its exhaustless plenitude was in the universal Church, to be distributed by the pope to its members." Aquinas also insisted that this power of the pope extended into purgatory. "For," he writes, "there is no reason why the Church should be able to transfer, for the common good, of her merits, which is the basis of indulgences, to the living, and not also to the dead."

Albert the Great, A. D. 1280, taught that six conditions must meet in indulgences: (1) repentance in the receiver; (2) faith in the keys; (3) competent authority to distribute; (4) a pious cause; (5) superabundance of the treasure of merits; (6) a proper appreciation of the deliverance wrought by the indulgences.

And behind these opinions of the doctors was the authority of pontiffs. Against Luther was the whole papal Church. He stood alone before the hierarchy. At the beginning of the Reformation,

A. D. 1520, Prierio expressed the true faith of his communion: "He is a heretic whosoever does not rest in the doctrine of the Roman Church and the Roman pontiff as the infallible rule of faith, from which Holy Scripture itself derives its force and authority." So afterward Bellarmine: "We shall endeavor to demonstrate that the Scriptures without the traditions are neither sufficient nor simply necessary." And Baronius affirms that "tradition is the foundation of Scripture." Erichiridion informs us that "the excellence of the nonwritten word far surpasses Scripture. Tradition comprises in itself all truth; we ought not to appeal from it to any other judge;" while Lindanus says, "Scripture is a nose of wax, a dead letter that kills, a very husk without a kernel, a leaden rule, a school for heretics, a forest that serves as a refuge for robbers."

These doctrines had slumbered in bulls and treatises. Suddenly they start from their sleep and awake the world. The confession of a parishioner to his priest set in motion forces which have revolutionized society and divided the Church. On the breath of one lip hung the Reformation. When the avalanche is ready a slight force wakes its thunder. A man told Luther his sin and refused penance. When urged, he pleaded a papal indulgence and claimed exemption. Luther was confounded. He was exulting in his new liberty in Christ. He was a bird singing in the morning sunlight. He was a young hero girded for battle, and yet seeing no signs of a death struggle. A cloud comes over his sky. Before Luther is a man who sets the pope above Jesus Christ. On his side is ecclesiastical

law. He is supported by the most illustrious doctors of the Church. With him are priests and bishops. Above all is the pope, defended by the sword of the empire.

Luther did not hesitate. The priest refused to recognize the claim of his parishioner. He would not concede in the pope a power to sell a privilege to sin. Leo had authorized this infamous traffic in souls to support his pontifical luxuries and finish his magnificent church. The price of salvation by papal authority was money. A scale was published for Germany. We have the ecclesiastical cost of crime: six ducats, polygamy; nine ducats, perjury; eight ducats, murder! And this monstrous traffic was advertised by methods which make puerile all our modern schemes to attract the public. Tetzel had a genius for notoriety. When he approached a town he halted outside the walls. The church bells were rung. A procession was formed. It passed through the gates and along the streets, marching to the sound of music with glittering banners and uplifted crosses. The whole population swarmed after Tetzel, arrayed in all the splendor of his priestly robes. Arrived at the church, the spectators were awed by the most imposing and impressive ceremonies of religion. When the solemn service was over, with the cross planted in view of the assembly, Tetzel mounted the pulpit and in a voice of thunder began to advertise his spiritual wares and in the name of the pope auction to the highest bidders the authority to sin.

Luther was not daunted by Leo's lightnings. In one hundred and six propositions he attacked the

whole infamy. His theses Tetzel burned. Their flames kindled Europe. A mere theological discussion the masses could not have understood. But to sell the right to commit crime, to open paradise for money, to exchange ducats for souls—such trade the dullest condemned. Leo's greed and Tetzel's rage brought the papal prerogative before the bar of Europe. It was now to be judged by the common sense and conscience of mankind. The verdict was not doubtful. Power was with the pontiff, and his authority was with Tetzel; but truth and right were with Martin Luther. And in his position, supported by Scripture against pope, was the force of the Reformation.

On the 15th of June, 1520, Leo published the bull which shattered his hierarchy. Forty-one propositions from the works of Luther were condemned. He was excommunicated, and his books decreed to the flames. Fire the monk answered by fire. He defied the pontiff. Just without Wittenberg he erected an immense pile. Professors, students, people stand about the blaze. Luther appears. His arms are loaded with volumes. The multitude gazes expectant. Canons, decretals, Leo's bull are hurled by the monk into the flames. This is the gage of battle. War is declared by fire. A struggle of ages is before the world. By his bold act Luther is free. Liberty came also to millions, never more to wear the yoke of Rome.

Charles V, in 1519, received the imperial crown. He was only twenty, and glowing with youth, hope, and enterprise. In 1521 he convoked the Diet of Worms. Luther was granted a safe conduct. De-

spite the opposition of friends, he resolved to appear, and his journey to Worms was a popular ovation. Cities opened their hearts and gates to express their approval and sympathy. And at the Diet Frederick, Elector of Saxony, and other noble German princes gave him support. But his path was full of peril. Potentates could not save him from flames. Even the imperial letter was a doubtful protection. Luther had no shield but God. The first charge against him was that above pope and Council he exalted Scripture. On the word of God, his rock, the monk stood unmoved before hierarchy and empire. How magnificent the scarlet and gold and purple of that assembly—princes and ecclesiastics in their splendor; on his throne the youthful Charles, descendant of kings and lord of half the world, dignified with the traditions of the old Roman empire, and rivaling Cæsars in imperial majesty; over all, visible in his legate, the power of the pope, whose tiara outdazzled the diadems of an Aurelius or a Constantine! And in the presence of such a Council Martin Luther with his Bible! The august assembly is awed by the solitary monk. He speaks before the world, its impersonation of truth and liberty. In that man is the genius of a new and last and best era of Christianity. One eloquent sentence of Luther expresses the Reformation:

"I entreat, therefore, your majesty and the members of this illustrious assembly to produce evidence against me; and, however high or low be the rank of the person who shall be able from sacred Scriptures to convict me of error, I will instantly retract and be the first to throw the book into the fire."

The Diet of Worms witnessed the sublimest act of the life of Luther. As a moral spectacle it was the culmination of the glory of his career. Had he perished before the throne of Charles his work would have ended without stain or discord. No martyr would have worn a more brilliant crown. His translation of the Bible within the grim walls of old Wartburg Castle, his wise and heroic leadership when he subdued the fanaticisms of his university and the tumults of the riotous people, his courage in refusing appeal to the sword and in denouncing war as opposed to the faith and love of the Gospel, show in Luther the same trust in God which was his shield at Worms, and they give additional brightness to the halo on his brow. But, alas! after the Diet, spots mingled with the glory. Human infirmities threw their shadows over Luther. He appears to have lost the joy and liberty which gave power to his early religious testimony. In the pulpit he did not seem to have that eloquence of the Spirit which had converted cities and kingdoms. What a contrast between his exquisite pictures of Christian love and his boorish insults to Henry, who, however feeble in argument, yet represented that majesty of government which Paul respected even in a Nero! At the Castle of Marburg Luther played pope with Zwingle, divided the Reformation, and created antagonisms which centuries have not buried. Petulantly he hurled James out of the canon, and jocosely pronounced Paul napping in Galatians, thus unsettling the authority of Scripture, disturbing the very foundations on which his whole lifework was erected, and

originating disputes which are now disquieting Christendom.

Yet, however painful and mortifying, these are small defects in Luther when compared with the magnitude of his achievements for humanity. He revived that doctrine of remission by faith, taught by Christ and expounded by Paul, which can alone give true liberty to men and nations. He so powerfully enforced Scripture against tradition and papacy that its supremacy will never be dislodged from the human mind. He restored the laity to the councils of the Church. He opened a new era of religious and political liberty, which gave impulse to literature, to art, to science, to government, and which is emancipating every department of society and every region of the world. Just as the Reformation prevails in any country the sovereignty of the people is recognized by Church and State. The work of Martin Luther will be most fully acknowledged when over earth has become universal the primitive Christian Democracy.

CHAPTER XIX.

Trent.

THE Council of Trent marked an era in the Roman Church. Before its determinations doctrines had been unsettled. They had for centuries been afloat in the decretals of popes, the enactments of Councils, the canons of synods, and the writings of doctors; and elasticity of creed had its advantages in policies of government. Beliefs were accommodated to exigencies. But, urged forward by the example of the Protestant Confessions, formal statements of doctrine were now required by the papal communion. The Council of Trent met the demand of its age. It revolutionized the Church of Rome. Now we find her creed, not in the statements of bishops or doctors or assemblies, or even of pontiffs. Friends and foes have a standard to which they may appeal. The laws of Rome are the decrees of Trent. To these all countries and centuries refer. Opposed forever to the Protestant Confessions are the Tridentine Canons. In this fact is the true basis of all controversy.

Father Paul of Venice has left the world a picture of the assembly in a small Alpine city which makes so deep an impress on history. With a master hand he exposed its intrigues and strifes. If less violence than in the ancient Councils, there

is more artifice. The cunning of Italian popes has never been equaled. Learning, perspicuity, and profundity characterized the book of Father Paul; nor, fifty years later, with all its acute apologies and subtle explanations, did the Jesuit Pallavicini undermine the immortal work of the Venetian. A Spanish doctor, Vargas, attended the imperial ambassadors to Trent. His letters explain the methods by which the papal delegates sought to mold the Council to the will of their pontifical master. Guided by these Roman authorities, we perceive such ambition, such artifice, such ignorance, such corruption working together in Trent that it is impossible to believe that the Holy Ghost hovered over the fathers, invisibly directed their opinions, and shaped their decrees in accordance with the will of God; while we can scarcely doubt that they expressed the will of the pope. Our knowledge of Trent impels us to reject as infallible both pontiff and Council, and to accept Holy Scripture as the universal standard for the universal Church.

Paul III in 1545 convoked his ecclesiastics to Trent. After him were the brief pontificates of Julius III and the second Marcellus. Then followed Paul IV, with his grim and ghastly career. It remained for Pius IV in 1563, after nearly eighteen years of painful labor, to bring to a successful termination this most important Council of the Roman Church.

Alessandro Farnese gave a boy a wreath to present to the next pope. The lad took it to Giovanni Angelo Medici. Nor was the youthful prophet mistaken. Giovanni became Pius IV. His origin

was humble. Bernardi, his father, was a Milanese contractor, and his brother a robber-soldier. Giovanni Angelo studied law, went to Rome, became a cardinal, and was detested by Paul IV, a Neapolitan aristocrat. Yet the Milanese plebeian succeeded his haughty enemy. Unlike his imperious predecessor, the gloomy organizer of the papal Inquisition, Pius IV was genial, cheerful, and accessible. Yet he sentenced to death Paul's atrocious nephews.

Pius IV was the first pontiff who caught the catholic spirit of his age. His predecessors had sought to subjugate the world to the papacy. Pius saw that the ambitious policy of a Hildebrand, an Innocent III, and a Boniface VIII was a splendid vision. The nations, he realized, could no longer be dazzled by pontifical dreams. Europe had outgrown its ecclesiastical masters. Rome had lost England, Holland, Switzerland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and her noblest kingdoms in Germany. This dominion was irrecoverable. Pius IV accepted the fact. He will take the world as it is. He will recover what he can, and not expect too much. He will have peace even at a large price. Protestantism cannot be overthrown, and Romanism must legislate according to the inevitable. Pius will leave the clouds and make sure the earth. Hence his practical success. He achieved what was unattainable by the old pontifical visionaries.

Charles V had forced both German Catholics and Protestants to sign his "Interim," which professed to be a scheme of reconciliation. All parties were dissatisfied. Paul III hated the compromise. Besides, Charles also wished Protestant representatives

at the Council. This, too, excited the wrath of Paul. He adjourned the assembly to Bologna against the imperial protest. After violent contests between pope and emperor it was finally brought back to Trent. From 1545 to 1563 there had been a perpetual scene of artifices, wranglings, and discontents. So great were the divisions among Roman ecclesiastics that some of the members inclined to Protestant doctrine. In Curia and in Council reform had been suggested. Supported by French and German prelates, Cardinal Lorraine demanded the cup for the laity and the sacraments in the language of the people. Opinions were discordant, obstacles insurmountable, elements irreconcilable. Rome was rent in her own Council. Carpi, an old cardinal, oppressed by the prospect, wished to die that he might not witness the burial of the Church. Over the pontificate of Pius IV hung a cloud. If he cannot reconcile the Council his life is a failure. His patience, his tact, his courage, his energy dispelled the darkness. Pius IV brought back the sun, but to be forever in a Protestant eclipse. By him the Council of Trent was guided to its conclusions, and to him we owe that formulated scheme of doctrine which is the irrepealable law of the Roman Church.

As opposed to the statements of the Protestant Confessions of Augsburg, Heidelberg, and the Anglican Homilies and Articles, we have the Roman doctrine of justification. In Session VI, caput 7, it is affirmed: "The formal cause of justification is righteousness or charity, which God imparts appropriately to each according to the measure of his dis-

position, and which inheres in the hearts of the justified." Here Trent places the ground of our remission in ourselves. We are to look for it within. Why am I justified? Because I find in myself the infused righteousness of love. My justification, then, is subjective and varies with my spiritual states. Changing with my changing conditions, it is like my own changing moods. It builds on myself, and is no more stable than myself, and hence must be confirmed by the absolution of a priest who is himself a man. Only on human infirmity is my foundation. Assurance is impossible. The soul groping in uncertain twilight is open to every seduction. Not trusting wholly in Christ, it turns to priests and saints. Looking to man, it must pay to man a price for man's salvation. Under such a scheme, sooner or later eternal life must be bought by money. The Scripture points to Christ. Faith in the blood of my divine Saviour brings me remission and the Holy Ghost. Forgiveness is for nothing in myself, nor is it by man; it is an act of God. It is founded on the death of the everlasting Christ, our incarnate Jehovah—Jesus. It is witnessed by His Spirit in the assurance of sonship. Trent confounds justification and sanctification. After deserting Scripture, this is Rome's next plunge into mazes of inextricable darkness.

The canonical books of our Anglican Version are adopted by all Protestant Confessions. These only are for us Scripture. But to these Rome adds apocrypha and tradition, and now, behind all, by the Vatican Decree of Pio Nono, papal infallibility! But let Trent speak for itself! We will

give in full the Decree of April 18, 1546, which says:

"This sacred, holy ecumenical and general Council of Trent, lawfully assembled in the Holy Spirit, the three legates of the apostolical see presiding therein, having constantly in view the removal of error and the preservation of the purity of the Gospel in the Church, which Gospel, promised before by the prophets in the sacred Scriptures, was first orally published by our Lord Jesus Christ, who afterward commanded it to be preached by His apostles to every creature as the source of all saving truth and discipline; and perceiving that this truth and discipline are contained both in written books and in unwritten traditions which have come down to us, either received by the apostles from the lip of Christ Himself or transmitted by the hands of the same apostles under the dictation of the Holy Spirit; following the example of the orthodox fathers, doth receive and reverence with equal piety and veneration all the books, as well of the Old as of the New Testament, the same God being Author of both, and also the aforesaid tradition pertaining to faith and manners, whether received from Christ Himself or dictated by the Holy Spirit and preserved in the Catholic Church by continual succession. Whosoever shall not receive as sacred and canonical all these books, and every part of them, as they are commonly read in the Catholic Church and are contained in the Vulgate Latin edition, or shall knowingly and deliberately despise the aforesaid traditions, let him be accursed!"

A Catechism of Trent was published in 1866 by

Pius V, which chiefly explains the sacraments. But it is the Creed of Pius IV, A. D. 1564, in which we have an authoritative papal exposition of the doctrines of the Council. It is of universal acceptance and obligation. As the Nicene Creed is Catholic, so the Creed of Pius is Roman. Each of its decrees is with *anathema*. If I reject all or any I am a heretic accursed. This Roman creed, under *anathema*, condemns every human being outside the Roman Church to everlasting woe. Volumes have been written in its explanation. But its words are so clear and plain that it is its own best interpreter. And it expresses in papal language and by papal infallibility the whole doctrine of the Council of Trent. It is well, therefore, to give the Creed of Pius IV entire:

1. Having recited the Nicene symbol, it proceeds:

"2. I most firmly admit and embrace apostolical and ecclesiastical traditions and all other constitutions and observances of the same Church.

"3. I also admit the sacred Scriptures according to the sense the holy mother Church has held and does hold, to whom it belongs to judge the true sense and interpretation of Holy Scriptures; nor will I ever take or interpret them otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the fathers.

"4. I confess that there are truly and properly seven sacraments of the new law, instituted by Jesus Christ and for the salvation of mankind, though all are not necessary for everyone, namely, baptism, confirmation, eucharist, penance, extreme unction, orders, and matrimony, and they confer

grace; and of these baptism, confirmation, and orders cannot be reiterated without sacrilege.

"5. I also receive and admit the ceremonies of the Catholic Church received and approved in the solemn administration of the above sacraments.

"6. I receive and approve all and every one of the things which have been defined and declared by the holy Council of Trent concerning original sin and justification.

"7. I profess and believe that in the mass offered to God is a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead, and that in the most holy sacrifice of the eucharist there is truly, really, and substantially the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity, of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that there is made a conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the body and of the whole substance of the wine into the blood, which conversion the Catholic Church calls transubstantiation.

"8. I confess that under one kind Christ is received whole and entire, and a true sacrament.

"9. I constantly hold that there is a purgatory, and that the souls there are helped by the suffrages of the faithful.

"10. I believe that the saints reigning together with Christ are to be honored and invoked; that they offer prayers to God for us; and that their relics are to be venerated.

"11. I most firmly assert that the images of Christ and of the mother of God, and also of the other saints, are to be had and retained, and that due honor and veneration are to be given them.

"12. I also affirm that the power of indulgences

was left by Christ in the Church, and that the use of them is most wholesome to Christian people.

"13. I acknowledge the holy Catholic and Roman Church to be the mother and mistress of all Churches, and I promise and swear true obedience to the Roman bishop, the successor of St. Peter and the prince of the apostles and the vicar of Jesus Christ.

"14. I profess and undoubtedly receive all other things delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred canons and general Councils, and particularly by the holy Council of Trent; and I condemn, reject, and anathematize all things contrary thereto, and all heresies whatever condemned and anathematized by the Church.

"15. This is the Catholic faith, out of which none can be saved, which I now freely profess and truly hold. I promise, vow, swear, and profess the same, whole and entire; and to procure as far as in me lies that the same shall be held and taught and preached by all under me or intrusted to me by virtue of my office, so help me God and the holy Gospels of God!"

In the decrees of Trent we have the most formidable barrier to Christian liberty and unity. The world has outgrown Jesuitism and Inquisition. These have no more power to harm than the screws and racks exhibited to children in the Tower of London. Like the crumbled Coliseum, their day of blood is over. But the work of Trent remains. It is a fetter of iron bound into the flesh of the Roman Church. The pope and all his bishops are under a vow to their creed which chains their lives.

How pleasing the smile and warm the welcome of the holy father in his Vatican palace! How hospitably he extends his right hand to Greeks, and his left to Protestants! And in addresses and on platforms how the hearts of his American bishops glow with the patriotism of American citizens! Nor are they insincere. The man is better than the ecclesiastic. But, while the heart is American, the creed is Roman. Tridentine vows mock, like ghosts from the past. Rejecting Trent, Greeks and Protestants are alike under its *anathema.* One hand of the holy father grasps in welcome, and the other hurls an *anathema.* I reject tradition; I am under his *anathema.* I deny the mass; I am under his *anathema.* I refuse saint-worship; I am under his *anathema.* I disbelieve purgatory; I am under his *anathema.* I repudiate his supremacy and infallibility; I am under his *anathema.* Let the holy father reverse the decrees of Trent, recall the declaration of the Vatican, and annul his *anathemas!* Then he may begin an effort to unite Christendom.

CHAPTER XX.

Jesuitism.

THIRTY years after the Diet of Spires the area of Protestantism was vastly wider than now. Let us turn to our map of Europe! Norway and Denmark, part of Switzerland, Holland, England, Scotland, and Germany are the countries where the Reformation has perpetuated itself. Austria is almost wholly papal; but in 1563, which marked the close of the Council of Trent, not one thirtieth of her population had remained Catholic. Hungary and Bohemia were both largely alienated from Rome. Protestantism then pervaded even South Germany. Bavaria inclined to the Reformation, and in Belgium it numbered many adherents. How were these countries won back from Protestantism to the papacy? By argument? By spiritual conversion? By what agency was the ecclesiastical map of Europe shaped into its present divisions? We answer, By Jesuitism, with the aid of the Inquisition.

From the early centuries the monkish orders constituted the armies of the Roman pontiff. They were trained and devoted soldiers, always under his command. Without them his victories would have been impossible. From the secular, or parish, clergy we must widely distinguish the regular, or monastic, clergy. Eminently the latter were the

pope's servants. Over the world, with tongue and pen, and sometimes sword, they fought his battles. Only by centuries of education could the ancient orders have prepared the Church for that crowning and once-triumphant organization we style Jesuitism. Before we proceed to its history it will be necessary to survey the rise and work of its predecessors and pioneers.

Augustines.

About A. D. 390 the great Bishop of Hippo retired to a monastery. While he presided over monks his sister superintended nuns. It does not appear that Augustine was under any life vow. He was a bishop ruling an association of his celibate clergy. But out of this organization most probably grew the famous Roman order bearing his name, which centuries after placed on its roll Martin Luther.

Benedictines.

Their founder was born A. D. 480 in Nursia, Italy. While yet a youth Benedict fled from the vices of Rome and took refuge near Subiaco. Here was his first miracle. For three years he lived in an inaccessible cavern. Romanus, his friend, let down his food by a rope. The tinkle of a bell amid the rocks indicated that his meager morsel was descending. Beneath his crag roared the Anio. But the secluded mountain cave was discovered. At once the youthful hermit became famous. He was made an abbot. So rigid was his discipline that the monks tried to release themselves by poison. But Benedict escaped murder by miracle. The cup

burst in his hands. His fame increased and his followers multiplied. Ascetics swarmed into his solitude. On peaks, in clefts, amid oaks and chestnuts about Subiaco, he established twelve monasteries. New edifices rose on Monte Casino, from which the Benedictines spread over the world. Silence, humility, and obedience were the three virtues of their order. Their occupations were worship, reading, and labor. Benedict had a brilliant vision of the universal diffusion of his order. His bright dream was accomplished. Scattering over Europe, his innumerable monks were the consecrated and successful soldiers of the papal army.

Dominicans.

At Calahorra, in Spain, lived the noble house of Guzman. Here in A. D. 1170 Dominic was born. At fifteen he went to the university. Devoted to charity, he once sold his clothes to feed the poor. To redeem a captive he offered himself to be a slave. When twenty-five he became a canon in Osma and remained there many years. On his way across the Pyrenees to Denmark he encountered the Albigensian heresy. The pope's legates had been baffled in all their efforts to extirpate the pestilent sectists. Dominic suggested an heroic remedy. He bade the legates renounce their pomp and luxury. He told them to meet fanaticism with zeal, and falsehood with truth. He set the example which he recommended. In the pulpit his eloquence became resistless. Because he delivered such multitudes to the secular power for prison and flames he was styled the persecutor of heretics. Zeal for blood gave

title to his name. With this ghastly reputation Dominic visited Rome. In the papal capital he was unrivaled as a preacher. Crowding from all lands, pilgrims came under the spell of his fiery eloquence, and the flame of his zeal kindled Europe. From Rome as a center the order of Dominic spread over the world. Everywhere among the nations was heard the voice of his preachers. His converts were found in Italy, Spain, France, Poland, Germany. To nuns and friars he added a lay order. Dominic died in 1221, and was canonized and adored. His monks were to be found even in Palestine and Abyssinia. In the great universities of Italy, England, and Germany some rose to be masters. Brightest among the Dominican luminaries shone Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas.

Franciscans.

A merchant of Assisi was the father of the most illustrious of monks. The year 1182 witnessed the birth of Francis in that secluded mountain village. His mother was devoted to her son. The parish clergy were his teachers. But his father took the boy early into business. Francis gave small promise of the future ascetic. He delighted in splendid dress and gay banquets. Mirthful songs burst from his lips. Assisi rang with his revels. But after a severe illness he arose disgusted with his riotous life. In a second sickness visions haunted his fevered brain, and he was kindled into ecstasies. Mysteriously he talked to a bride. She was poverty. Proceeding to Rome, he flung his all on St. Peter's altar. His mother admired, and his father opposed. In

his zeal, with a strange perversity of conscience, he committed a crime. Francis sold without authority his father's property and gave the proceeds to the Church. Then he became a mendicant, and afterward a hermit. We see him washing the feet of lepers and dressing their loathsome sores. Reputation for miracles followed these pious exercises. Disciples were attracted to Rivo Torto, where Francis founded an order. For authority the saint went to Rome. From a terrace on the Lateran Innocent saw a mendicant approaching. At first the pontiff repelled his suppliant, but finally gave the solicited approval. Poverty was the foundation of the order of the Franciscans. No monk was to receive property. Money was forbidden, and resistance to violence prohibited. Three years after the beginning at Rivo Torto masters were sent to Spain, France, and Germany. In 1219 a second chapter embraced three thousand monks. Friar minors preached among all the great nations of Europe. A vision of Francis became famous among monastic legends and receives universal assent in the Roman Church. It places his name on the loftiest roll of papal saints. Francis was praying. A seraph with six wings appeared. The celestial apparition vanished, but left on the hands, the feet, the side of the monk the marks of the crucifixion. His wounds ran blood, and his *stigmata* made him illustrious. To him are ascribed innumerable miracles. Pope Alexander VI declared that he saw the *stigmata* on the body of the saint. Belief in this miracle is almost a Roman creed.

We have seen that Benedictines, Dominicans,

Franciscans, and numerous other orders were the peculiar servants of the pope. But zeal waned, discipline relaxed, property accumulated, and morals became corrupt. Convents and monasteries, perverted from their religious ends, were degraded into seats of vice and crime. In exposing and denouncing their infamies the Reformation had an irresistible advantage. Its arguments were unanswerable facts. To heal the papal wounds was not possible to the ancient orders. Their day and work were over. A new era had come, demanding a new organization. The Roman Church had provided for it a society which restored its sway over a large part of Europe. Nor could any association have been better adapted to its object.

JESUITISM.

Ignatius Loyola was its founder. His family name was Don Inigo Lopez de Recalde, and he was of a noble race. The castle Loyola in Spain was the place of his birth. Love and arms were the passions of his youth. His dream was knighthood. Loyola began his career, not with the cowl and tonsure of the monk, but the helm and plume of the warrior. In 1521, at the defense of Pampeluna, he received disfiguring wounds which ended his career as lover and soldier.

Disappointment and suffering revived his native religious enthusiasm. Ignatius no longer dreamed of victories on the battlefield. Excluded from military rank, the maimed knight began to emulate the conquests of St. Francis and St. Dominic. He became inflamed with aspirations for saintly re-

nown. Ecstasies and visions now came to Loyola. Christ and Satan he saw in combat. The conflicts of the soldier were exchanged for the struggles of the monk. Ignatius became a knight sworn to the Church. Before an image of the Virgin he brings his armor and, with his pilgrim staff, keeps vigil. The mail of the warrior he exchanges for the garb of the hermit. Daily he spends seven hours on his knees. He rises for prayer at midnight. Thrice each day he scourges his flesh. His life now seems to him one continuous sin.

The struggles of Loyola and Luther—how similar! Each sought peace by ascetic practices. Each mortified his flesh. Each was plunged into despair. Here the resemblance ended. Luther was delivered by faith in the blood of the crucified Son of God. Luther was made free by the Holy Ghost. Luther sought truth in Scripture. Joy and liberty and victory came into his life. But Ignatius seems never to have thought of the word of God. He lived in phantasies. He turned for truth to visions. He followed monkish legends. Reduced by fasting and vigil and scourging, suffering in body, disordered in mind, he fancied he saw the Saviour and the Virgin. The doctrine of the Trinity he did not learn from his Bible. It was revealed to his eye. Creation was made visible, not by inductive science, but mystic symbol. Mysteries of faith became palpable to excited sense and frenzied soul. Ignatius believed in himself, was guided by visions, and had no need of Scripture. Between Loyola and Luther is all the difference between Romanism and Reformation.

The ignorance and crudity of the founder of Jesuitism became evident to himself. He went to Paris. Here he formed intimacies with Peter Faber and Francis Xavier. Both were superior to him in ability and learning, but both came under the spell of his dominating personality and submitted to his exacting discipline. Ignatius also gained Lainez and Bobadilla. With his friends he proceeded one day to a church on Montmartre. Faber read the mass. Then all vowed themselves to poverty and the conversion of the Saracens. Having taken an oath, they received the host and enjoyed a repast at the fountain of St. Denis. That hill overlooking gay Paris was the birthplace of Jesuitism, the most subtle and powerful agency ever devised to stifle spiritual liberty, and prevent the return of the Church to its original Christian Democracy.

From Paris Ignatius and his friends went to Venice, and thence to Rome. In the papal capital he found his lifework. Jesuitism was organized to suppress the rising freedom of humanity. It was the declared foe of that liberty of faith which was the trumpet note of the Reformation. The members of the Society of Jesus were to devote themselves (1) to preaching, (2) to confession, (3) to education. The power of the president was absolute. His will ruled the volitions of his subordinates. These, by long and stern discipline, submitted to him as the corpses of the dead are moved by the hands of the living. In its very essence Jesuitism was the extinction of free thought, free speech, free action. Rather, it was the grave of human personality. Behind president and members was the

pope. His pontifical will was the world's true master.

To their chief the subordinates of all lands made their reports. The eye of the president was over earth, and his hands touched all the springs of social, political, commercial, and ecclesiastical influence. In the great European cities pulpits passed under his power. He directed in all countries academies, colleges, and universities. Over the conscience he obtained mastery, gained the secrets of courts, molded monarchs, and directed policies. Jesuitism won nations from the Reformation back to the pope. Philip by the sword of Alva could never have retained Belgium, nor could war alone have reclaimed Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, and Bavaria. But Jesuitism came to the rescue of papacy. It allied itself to kings and nobles. It sought the aid of bishops to establish schools in chief cities. It brought over the youth to the pope, and when necessary it fomented wars and employed the Inquisition. Jesuitism thus counteracted the Reformation and established the Roman dominion in countries where it had almost perished.

After two centuries of vigor and victory the Society of Jesus began to decline. From its own authors Paschal proved that their rules vitiated conscience, licensed vice, and authorized crime. His blows from Paris rang over Europe. Jesuitism staggered long, but fell shattered and disgraced. Commercial corruptions completed its overthrow. On the 21st of July, 1773, Clement XIV pronounced the suppression of that order which had been founded for the overthrow of Protestantism and

to extinguish religious liberty. It was organized to glorify the pope, yet a pope dug its grave. Clement said:

"Inspired, as we trust, by the divine Spirit, impelled by the duty of restoring concord to the Church, convinced that the Society of Jesus can never effect those purposes for which it was founded, and moved by other reasons of prudence and State policy which we retain within our breast, we do extirpate and abolish the Society of Jesus, its offices, houses, and institutions."

On Sunday, August 7, 1814, Pius VII read mass in the Church of the Jesuits and, before the altar of Ignatius Loyola, promulgated a bull which empowered the Jesuits to regulate their lives according to the rule of their founder, receive moneys, establish houses and colleges, and devote themselves to the service of the Church by preaching, confession, and instruction. Pio Nono gave sympathy and encouragement to the order, and Leo XIII has not yet pronounced its subversion. But Jesuitism is practically dead. No pope can galvanize its corpse into life. Thus may perish all the foes to that Christian Democracy destined yet to peaceful triumph over all!

Jesuitism assisted the birth of the papal Inquisition. The Dominican institution was monastic and partial. But in Spain it had been a powerful agency in the destruction of liberty. It arrested a man on suspicion and tortured him on confession. In the gloom of his dungeon it starved its victim into imbecility or despair. When crazed or exhausted a disguised priest entered his cell. Soft tones, simu-

lated sympathy, artful promises tempted to confession. Then the testimony of this tonsured murderer was followed by trial and conviction. Or to extract admission victims were tortured in the midnight glare of flames. Screws and pulleys strained and tore, until the mangled sufferer with feeble lip admitted guilt. His execution was a festival. People, nobles, kings, ecclesiastics crowded to witness the agonies of martyrs. Church and State, having united in the murder, combined in the pageant. In grotesque costume, with painted devils above his head, the victim was marched into the palace square. If steadfast he was burned; if he recanted he might be strangled. Over his head was a red flag emblazoned with the image of the pope. Such in Spain was the Dominican Inquisition!

It was not enough. Cardinal Caraffa, afterward Paul IV, thought he could improve St. Dominic; and he did! He wished his institution in the pontifical capital near the pope. "As St. Peter," he said, "subdued the first heresiarchs in Rome, so must the successors of St. Peter destroy all the heresies of the world in Rome." Ignatius Loyola was an adviser of Cardinal Caraffa. The apostolic see appointed six inquisitors general. These chose assistants and determined appeals. No station, no dignity, was exempt. The suspected were to be imprisoned, the guilty put to death, and their property confiscated. On July 21, 1542, the bull was published. All authority came from the pope. As sovereign he reserved to himself the right to pardon. Caraffa was one of the six inquisitors. He furnished his house in Rome with prisons, chains,

blocks, and all the grim necessities of his ghastly office. What he began as cardinal he delighted to execute as pope. Paul IV gloried in his papal Inquisition.

It was soon discovered that the power of the Reformation was in the Bible. Hence was revived the war begun by Alexander III in his struggle with Waldus. The *Index* became a necessity to the Inquisition. This was a list of books specified by the cardinals and prohibited by the pope. To read the Scripture was the chief crime forbidden and punished. But the *Index* best explains itself:

"Inasmuch as it is manifested from experience that, if the Holy Bible, translated into the vulgar tongue, be indiscriminately allowed to be read by everyone, the temerity of men will cause more evil than good to arise from it, it is in this point referred to the judgment of the bishops and inquisitors, who may by the advice of the priest or confessor permit the reading of the Bible, translated into the vulgar tongue by Catholic authors, to those persons whose faith and piety they apprehend will be augmented, and not injured, by it, and this permission shall be in writing. But if any shall have the presumption to read or possess it without any such permission he shall not receive absolution until he shall have delivered up such Bible to the ordinary. Booksellers who, however, shall sell or otherwise dispose of such Bibles in the vulgar tongue to any person not having such permission shall forfeit the value of the books, to be applied by the bishop to some pious use, and be subjected by the bishop to such other penalties as the bishop shall judge proper to the

quality of the offender. But regulars shall neither read nor purchase such Bibles without a special license from their superiors."

Here, then, was the law of Rome! To own and read the Bible the Reformers believed to be every man's inalienable right and inviolable duty. Just given to the nations in their languages, it had awakened a new world of light and love and joy. It was now a guide and a friend. It not only pointed the way to the life eternal, but had become a family treasure sacred with records of marriage and birth and baptism and death. The Bible thus gathered into itself all that was dearest in time and most precious in eternity. Shall this book be held at the will of an ecclesiastic? Shall priest and bishop say who shall sell and buy and read it? Shall a pope have power to burn, bury, behead men and women who, without written episcopal permission, have in their homes a Bible? These questions touched both civil and religious liberty and involved all man's interests on earth and in heaven. The *Index* planted the Roman communion in the way of human freedom and progress. It rose, like a mountain of fire, before the reviving Democracy of the Church and of the Commonwealth.

To enforce the *Index* the pope invoked the sword. The Inquisition will try the culprit, but the State must put him to death. Priests will condemn, and monarchs execute. Pontiff and emperor combine in blood to extinguish liberty. This is seen in an edict of Charles V, issued in 1550, revived by his son Philip II, sanctioned by popes, and forced by priest and armies on the Nether-

lands. The imperial decree began a war of eighty years, in which a million perished. The peculiar pontifical favor is seen in a gift to Alva of a jeweled hat and sword, expressing approval of a work of blood in which the Spanish general was himself instrumental in killing eighteen thousand martyrs, in addition to innumerable victims in sieges and battles. When Philip, who revived the diabolical decree, was ill the same pontiff prayed that God would take years from his own life and add them to the existence of the sick tyrant. At Yuste, on his deathbed, almost with his last breath, Charles enforced on his son the execution of the edict, which for more than half a century involved Holland, and then Europe, in a blaze of war.

"No one shall print, write, copy, keep, conceal, buy, or give, in churches, streets, or other places, any book or writing made by Martin Luther, John Œcolampadius, Ulrich Zwingle, John Calvin, or other heretic reprobated by the holy Church; nor in his house hold conventicles or illegal gatherings, or be present at any such in which the adherents of the above-mentioned heretics teach, baptize, and form conspiracies against the Church. Moreover, we forbid all lay persons to converse or dispute concerning the Holy Scripture, openly or secretly, especially on any doubtful or controverted matters, or to read, teach, or expound the Scriptures, unless they have duly studied theology and been approved by some renowned university, or to preach, secretly or openly, or to entertain any of the opinions of the above-mentioned heretics." The penalty was that "such perturbators of the general quiet be

executed, the men with the sword, and the women to be buried alive, and all their property in both cases to be confiscated to the crown. We forbid anyone of whatsoever condition to ask of us or of anyone having authority to grant pardon, or to present any petition in favor of such heretics, exiles, or fugitives, on penalty of being forever held incapable of holding any civil or military office and of being arbitrarily punished besides."

This edict raised a sublime issue. It was the right of the Christian people to the Bible. Aided by Jesuitism and Inquisition, the papacy and the empire united to stifle the liberty of man to make, to sell, to buy, to own, to read the word of God. Philip II was monarch of the most wealthy, extensive, and magnificent empire our earth had yet seen. He ruled the noblest part of the Old World and commanded the glittering treasures of the New. His were the resources of Europe and the gold of America. By sea and land his navies and armies were supreme, and behind Philip were the power, the glory, the majesty of the Roman pontiff. How small Holland and England in the presence of this stupendous political and ecclesiastical combination! Yet Philip's empire was wrecked in the contest. From the smoke of the battles of centuries Protestantism emerged the sun of a modern world. It has proved a light in science, in art, in literature, in government, and brightened the whole path of human liberty. From the fires of Church and State rose the Bible, and, winged by the flames kindled for its destruction, it flies over earth, bearing in it the seeds of the life eternal. By it you

can measure the nations. With it is light, and without it blight. Compare Prussia with Italy! Compare Scotland with Ireland! Compare Spain with England! Compare Peru and Brazil and Mexico with the United States! Possessing the Bible, Teutonic races rise, while, deprived of the Bible, Latin races sink. Protestantism with the Bible has taken our world from the grasp of Rome. The light and liberty of the Christian Democracy will be restored to humanity by the freed sons of the Reformation.

CHAPTER XXI.

Popes.

ROMAN genius for war and rule created the Roman empire. To conquer Italy required centuries. The defeat of Carthage secured the control of the Mediterranean. When this center of the civilized world was hers Rome sent forth her victorious eagles to its circumference. What her sword won her policy preserved. Her success in war and her wisdom in council made inevitable her universal dominion. And as the Italian gift for conquest and government created the empire, so, too, it established the papacy. One was formed by generals and statesmen, and the other by priests and pontiffs.

A seat in the Roman capital was the unrivaled advantage of the Roman bishops. It was, indeed, an indispensable condition. An illustrious metropolis sheds glory over a monarch. For ages before popes Rome had been a center of conquest, dominion, language, philosophy, art, literature, religion. Earth venerated her impurpled queen. All nations saw in her Pantheon images of their divinities. On her Palatine stood the imperial residence of her monarch, adored as a god. Unrivaled in magnificence, her Forum was the famous seat of legislation and eloquence. Above all rose her Capitol. Here the spoils of the world were brought in brilliant triumphs. Even when war and fire and time had desolated

Rome the memories and monuments of her imperial glory were ineffaceable. In such a city the throne of her pontiffs was transfigured in the light of this historic splendor and exalted by the majesty of the ancient empire.

Legends of Peter also made Rome venerable. On the subject of his visit to the capital of the world Scripture is silent. But tradition speaks. All lists of the Bishops of Rome begin with Peter. However else they differ, in this they agree. And their authors could have had no interest in augmenting authority in popes; but the reverse. Ignatius mentions an epistle which Peter wrote from Rome. Tertullian says that Clement was ordained bishop by Peter in Rome. As Peter's Cyprian styles the Church of Rome. Eusebius begins his list with Peter as Bishop of Rome. True or false, on this tradition of fathers was built the papacy.

But the persistent claim of pontiffs to universal appellate jurisdiction was the means by which they confirmed and extended their supremacy. As early as A. D. 109 a controversy arose about Easter. It went raging on until A. D. 162, when the venerable Polycarp visited Bishop Anicetus, to reconcile in Rome ecclesiastical differences between East and West. A century later the controversy broke out again. Pope Victor asserted his universal sovereignty by excommunicating all the Churches of Asia Minor. So early was this stupendous claim of pontiffs in the ancient capital of the empire!

In the schism of Felicissimus the illustrious Cyprian turned for help from Carthage to Rome. An imperial commissioner, Marcellinus, in the time of

Augustine presided over an African Council. And in the Pelagian controversy the great Bishop of Hippo himself sought support from the Pope of Rome. Also to her pontiff Chrysostom appealed in his extremity. In each Ecumenical Council the popes had representatives of their supremacy. Innumerable ecclesiastical disputes arose in Syria, in Egypt, in Byzantium, in Greece, in Carthage, in Gaul, in Spain, in Illyria. Each party in these controversies tried to gain the favor of the Roman bishop. And emperors by their rescripts confirmed the pontifical claim to universal ecclesiastical sovereignty.

The first popes had slight title to eminence. Clement was a pious man and a respectable writer, but with little originality of thought or power or of expression. Of his immediate successors we know nothing but their names in imperfect lists and records of uncertain date and origin. Not one of the great Latin fathers was a Roman pope. Indeed, Ambrose only was an Italian. Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine were from North Africa; and from these the Western Church derived its most brilliant luster. Through the mists of the Montanist and Patropassian contests dimly rise into view, like shadows, the names of Eleutherus, Victor, Zephyrinus, and Calixtus. Fabianus was a victim in the Decian persecutions; and Lucius and Cornelius succeeded to episcopal miter and martyr crown. All three were buried together in the catacombs. During the Diocletian sufferings a cloud obscures the Roman pontiffs. Liberius commenced his episcopate with hostility to Athanasius and excluded him from the Western communion. Then this pope

oscillated to orthodoxy and anathematized the Arians. He is exiled to inhospitable Thrace. To escape banishment and secure restoration he becomes a second time heretic and now again condemns Athanasius. An ovation meets him on his return. But he was opposed, and before he regained his episcopal throne Rome ran blood. Her churches were defiled with murder. In this red glare Liberius vanishes from history.

The Vulgate Bible, translated by Jerome, makes famous the pontificate of Damasus. But even around this pope history shows us lurid and lowering clouds. He reached his throne through frightful massacres. Siricius signalized his episcopate by the first transmitted papal decree. It was issued to promote clerical celibacy, excited contests for a thousand years, stained the world with blood, and gave it monkery. Not one pope so far has possessed gifts which could secure sovereignty over the nations. Now we come to a pontiff who laid the first firm stones in the foundations of the papacy.

Innocent I.

Albano was the seat of Numitor, grandfather of Romulus. It is situated on the bank of the exquisite lake that bears its name, near the line of the Appian way, across the Campagna, in view of the imperial city. Here Innocent was born. On his mind burst the magnificent conception of the universal dominion of the Latin Church. As the empire sinks the papacy shall rise. Innocent declared his jurisdiction, not only over Italy, but over Spain, Gaul, and Africa. The land of Cyprian and

Augustine was addressed by the Roman pope in the language of the imperious master. It was he who pronounced sentence in the Pelagian dispute and encouraged Chrysostom when driven from his throne in Constantinople. Even the plunder of Rome by Alaric increased the influence of the papacy. During the first siege Innocent was in the city. An enormous ransom was accepted by the barbarian conqueror. To meet his insatiable demand temples were despoiled of their gold and statues of gods melted into money. Afterward the Arian victor took the capital. But his wrath fell on its pagans. He pillaged their palaces and transported them as slaves. When this storm of destruction by Alaric had expended its violence the clear sky looked down on another Rome. The heathen city had vanished. Out of its ruins rose a Christian metropolis, from which pontiffs were to extend their title to the sovereignty of the world.

Leo the Great.

Like Innocent, this pope glowed with a splendid vision of the future of the Latin Church. He would exalt Christian Rome into a glory brighter than the glare of pagan Rome. The world should be a pontifical empire. Leo was born in the imperial city. When yet young he began to perform ecclesiastical service. As an acolyte he bore letters to Africa concerning Pelagius. Even while deacon he received peculiar honors. After the death of Sixtus, in the year 440, Rome exalted Leo to the vacant episcopal throne. Enthusiasm was boundless, and he accepted the pontifical scarlet with the assurance

and dignity of an emperor born to the imperial purple. In him was the native majesty of an ancient Roman. He was full of faith in the destiny of his city as the seat of a universal Christian dominion. The spirit of his conquering and dominating ancestors stirred in the heart of Leo. Yet his vision was mellowed and magnified by his religion.

Leo was a preacher of renown. He is the first pontiff whose sermons have been transmitted. Hitherto pulpit eloquence had distinguished Carthage, Antioch, Milan, and Constantinople. Now it is to adorn Rome, but without the efflorescence of the Orient. Leo will not even revive the splendor of the Latin Cicero. But what is better, the discourses of Leo display a severe Roman majesty suited to the everlasting verities of Christianity.

Hilarius aspired to a Gallic pontificate. He had deposed Celidonius as the husband of a widow. The degraded ecclesiastic went to Rome. To meet his complaints Hilarius followed on foot across the Alps. Both accuser and accused before Leo acknowledged the jurisdiction of Rome over Gaul. The pope condemned Hilarius, and in his decision was supported by an imperial edict of Valentinian. And in a contest with Priscillianism Spain, too, turned to the pontifical capital. Over Illyricum Leo extended his dominion on the very ground of the universal supremacy inherent in the successors of Peter.

But from the East, rather than the West, this pontiff received the most illustrious accession to his authority. His title to renown is deserved and brilliant. It was the letter of Leo that shaped the

decree of Chalcedon and gave true expression to the doctrine of the Person of Christ.

In the later years of the pontificate of Leo Attila with his Huns thundered at the gates of Rome. An embassy came before the conqueror. At its head was the venerable pope. The victor was awed by the pontiff, imposing with the majesty of age and office. He consented to retire from Italy. At this hour of supreme peril Leo delivered Church and State. He thus confirmed his episcopal throne and surrounded his head with a halo in history. Before the close of the fifth century Innocent and Leo had laid the foundation of the universal supremacy of the papal Church. They had also prepared for the work of a yet more illustrious pontiff.

Gregory the Great.

Not far from A. D. 540 was his birth year. He sprang from a noble family; indeed, he was said to have had a papal ancestor. Wealth gave grace to his senatorial name and his aristocratic position. But he bestowed on the Church his ancestral patrimony. In Sicily Gregory founded six monasteries, and in Rome a seventh, to which he retired. He devoted himself to prayer, study, and composition. Charity and abstinence spread his fame. Miracles were soon ascribed to Gregory. His monastery became a scene of supernatural wonders. When made abbot he forced on his monks his own austerities. One brother, Justus, dying, confessed that he had three pieces of gold. Gregory treated the expiring monk as a Simon Magus, forbade approach to his bed, denied him burial, and only after the sacrifice

of the mass for sixty days was the miserable Justus released from his intolerable purgatorial fire.

This prince of pontiffs in A. D. 590 was elected to his throne. Italy was a ruin. Western Europe groaned under barbaric conquerors. The Lombards stood ready to pour down from the Alps. Anarchy and despair oppressed the world. A great pontiff was needed. Gregory was the man for the crisis. Yet he sought to escape the responsibility and fled in disguise to a forest. Tradition affirms that he was discovered by a pillar of fire which, hovering over his head, was the guide of Heaven to the pontifical throne.

It was Gregory who gave Christianity the magnificent chant which bears his name and yet resounds in Roman and Anglican cathedrals. He was an illustrious preacher, a wise administrator, an impartial judge, an eloquent orator, and a successful pontiff. Throne and pulpit gave power and dignity to his sovereignty. Amid the splendors of his ritual his papal figure was an ideal of venerable pontifical majesty.

Gregory was also a great temporal ruler. He could summon to arms when Rome was imperiled by the barbarian. A Lombard king he won from the Arian heresy to the orthodox faith. But the most illustrious achievement of his pontificate was the conversion of Britain through the agency of Augustine. His success was a stupendous fact in the history of Europe, which has affected the future civilization of the world.

This greatest of the Roman popes rebuked John, Patriarch of Constantinople, when he assumed the

title of universal bishop, and pronounced his arrogant assumption blasphemous.

On March 12, A. D. 604, Gregory died. Alas, how fickle popular favor and pontifical fame! Famine followed the death of the pope, and the Romans avenged their misery by burning his library. They resolved to disinter him and insult his corpse. A pious fraud saved his dust from outrage. Ascending a pulpit, an archdeacon swore that the Holy Ghost in the shape of a dove was often visible over the head of Gregory. In the pictures of the Latin Church this miracle has been made immortal.

Stephen II.

On March 26, A. D. 752, he was elected pope. The Lombards again threatened Rome. Its peril was the means of linking papacy and empire. In his despair Stephen crossed the Alps to seek aid in France. As the pontiff approached the king fell prostrate. In this reverence of the Frankish monarch was the beginning of a political and ecclesiastical alliance which gave triumph to the Roman Church. Pepin sent an army into Italy and forced the Lombard Astolph to buy an abject and ignoble peace. But the royal barbarian soon forgot his covenant, marched on Rome, and demanded the person of the pontiff and the possession of his territory. By sea and land Stephen sent messengers to Pepin. His appeals were neglected. A forged letter, as from paradise, saved the pope. St. Peter wrote the epistle in his own name. History has preserved it. Hear words from the hand that holds the keys:

"I, Peter the apostle, protest, admonish, and adjure you, save the beloved city of Rome! Obey, and, by my suffrage, our Lord Jesus Christ will give you in this life length of days, security, and victory; in the life to come will multiply His blessings upon you among His saints and angels."

Peter prevailed. His letter from paradise promising present felicity and angelic fellowship drew King Pepin with his army from France, over Alps, to Italy. Astolph was forced to abandon his conquests and bestow the contested territory on the pope. This magnificent gift was the foundation of the temporal dominion. It conferred on the papacy the most fruitful and beautiful regions of Italy. Henceforth Rome, Lombardy, and Ravenna were represented in the pontifical tiara. Stephen showed Pepin a deed of Constantine the Great ceding to the papacy this splendid dominion. Like Peter's letter, this dotation was a forgery. It is betrayed by its bad Latin, which could not have been written in the period of Constantine. All scholars, Catholic and Protestant, repudiate the dotation as a fraud. Yet on this admitted fabrication rests the title to that dominion symbolized by the triple crown of pontiffs!

Leo III.

Charlemagne succeeded his father Pepin; and after Hadrian's death, on the day following Christmas, 795, Leo III was chosen pope. The gift to Stephen was confirmed by Charlemagne, and the new pontiff sent the monarch the keys of the city and of Peter's sepulcher, with Rome's standard and the title of patrician, in recognition of his imperial

sovereignty. But a cloud gathered over the brilliant prospect of the pope. Riding in his pontifical pomp, armed men sprang from ambush, threw him from his horse, tried to mutilate his person, to cut out his tongue, put out his eyes, and leave him a wreck unfit for his throne. He was beaten and found lying in his blood. But Leo recovered. His escape was esteemed a miracle, and he became venerable under the halo of a deliverance from heaven.

Letters from the pope urged the emperor to Rome. But as Charlemagne would not go to Leo it was best that Leo should go to Charlemagne. He went. He cemented the alliance begun by Pepin and Stephen and continued by Hadrian. He united for ages the pontifical and the imperial power. Leo returned in triumph. Italy gave him an ovation. Soldiers, scholars, ecclesiastics, people poured forth to welcome their successful pontiff. Charlemagne afterward held a synod in Rome, investigated charges against Leo, and accepted his oath to his innocence made before the majesty of the universe.

On the last Christmas of the eighth century the emperor was present at the service of the Nativity. He came with a magnificence suited to his imperial majesty. Rome rushed to the spectacle. Leo himself chanted the solemn liturgy. When the service ended the pope approached the emperor, placed on his brow a diadem, and saluted him as Cæsar Augustus. The assembly burst into tumults of acclaim. Papacy and empire in the circle of that crown were bound together for centuries. All the vast territories swayed by the scepter of the con-

queror, Charlemagne, were brought more powerfully under the influence of the Roman Church, while the emperor, splendid with a papal diadem, was invested with an awe greater than attached to Roman Cæsars. The coronation is made immortal by a fresco of Raphael.

Yet the thankless Romans did not appreciate this stupendous achievement of their pope. A conspiracy was formed for his murder. Leo detected the plot, seized his enemies, and executed their leaders. Fire and sword now devastated Rome, once more given to pillage. In the midst of a popular tempest the soul of Leo passed into eternity, where foe could not follow. But his Romans went forth from their gates to plunder his neighboring estates, and the flames of incendiaries lighted to his tomb the pope who had married Church and Empire.

Nicholas I.

In the sixth century the papal decretals, beginning with Siricius, were collected by Dionysius Exiguus. His work circulated over Europe in Spanish and Gallic recensions. One of these was by Isidore, of Seville. But under his venerated name was perpetrated a stupendous fraud. A series of the decrees of pontiffs, beginning with Clement, a pope nearly three hundred years before Siricius, appeared in the ninth century. In this work bishops not long after the Augustan age wrote in barbarous mediæval Latin. Frankish customs were represented as prevalent in imperial Rome. Popes before Jerome quoted the Vulgate of Jerome. Victor, a pontiff in A. D. 192, appears

addressing Theophilus, an Alexandrian archbishop in A. D. 385. Decrees were invented, altered, and interpolated. Scripture is absurdly and stupidly perverted. The forgery exalted sacerdotalism and papacy. It depicted episcopacy in a supremacy of authority. On the apex of a hierarchy ascending rank above rank sits the Roman pontiff, his chair the throne, his crook the scepter, his miter the diadem of Christendom!

Nicholas I was made pope in A. D. 858. During his pontificate the spurious Isidorian decretals appeared in Rome. Before this time they were unknown. Yet they professed to have been always from apostolic times the supreme law of the Latin Church. It is beyond belief that Nicholas did not know these decretals to be forgeries. Yet he accepted the fraud to exalt his prerogative. On the fabrications of Isidore inventions were piled by the great Anselm. In the middle of the twelfth century was published Gratian's *Decretum*. Upon Isidore and Anselm this built the falsehoods which complete the papal system. As the territorial dominion of the Roman pontiffs was erected on the forgeries of Constantine's dotation, so the ecclesiastical dominion of Roman pontiffs is erected on the Isidorian decretals. On fraud, from foundation to summit, rests the imposing and marvelous structure.

Hildebrand.

He was elected in A. D. 1073, and took Gregory VII as his pontifical title. His ambition was a papal autocracy over earth. To realize this world-dream he resolved to make celibacy universal. And

in this he showed his Italian instincts of rulership. Only an unmarried clergy can execute the absolute pontifical will. A system against nature, to succeed, must first violate nature. Ten centuries had not established celibacy over Europe. In some countries married priests lived with their wives and children. But in other lands concubinage prevailed, and its license to the clergy made a large part of the episcopal revenues. Hildebrand determined to enforce clerical celibacy over Europe. In 1074 he issued his papal command declaring that priests who did not leave their wives should cease their sacred functions. Homes were blasted, hearts were lacerated, husbands were degraded, wives were branded prostitutes, and children bastards. Intolerable misery multiplied suicides. Whole regions of Europe were darkened by the madness of despair. But the heart of the pontiff-monk was as hard as the wall of his cell.

Charlemagne had endowed the Church and protected Leo; but Leo crowned Charlemagne and declared him emperor. Did Leo hold of Charlemagne, or did Charlemagne hold of Leo? These questions caused innumerable wars between the papal Guelfs and the imperial Ghibellines. Germany was perpetually agitated, Italy desolated, Europe disturbed by the battles of the pontiffs against the emperors. With Henry IV Hildebrand made an issue upon the old burning question. He excommunicated the monarch and released his subjects from allegiance. Like a thundering Jupiter, he hurled over the world his *anathemas*. Henry first resisted and then yielded. Terrified with despair,

the German emperor in winter climbed the snow of the Alps to beg absolution. In the white robe of a penitent he stood three days shivering before the Castle of Canossa. Hildebrand consented to receive the humiliated royal rebel. What a contrast! This descendant of kings, in his splendid manhood, claiming imperial authority from Roman Cæsars, kneels to the plebeian pope, small in stature, but august above emperors in his awful claim to open and close the portals of eternity. Henry is absolved; but he acknowledges that he wears the diadem of Cæsar and Charlemagne from the hand and at the will of pontiffs. Yet he had his revenge. Ten years after he marches on Rome. He takes the city and gives it for pillage to merciless Normans. A prisoner in his own castle, St. Angelo, the pope sees his pontifical rival place the imperial crown on the head of the monarch he had degraded at Canossa. Hildebrand fled from Rome in flames and died in exile at Salerno.

Innocent III.

The father of this pope claimed descent from Lombard dukes, and his mother from Roman senators. Young Lothario began his education in Rome, continued it in Paris, and graduated from Bologna. He was early made a canon of St. Peter's, and at twenty-eight a cardinal. In 1198 he was exalted to the popedom. We have expressed in his inaugural sermon his lofty pontifical aspiration. In him alone was the sublime ideal of the papacy realized.

Just as the twelfth century was closing Innocent assumed to decide between the titles of three claim-

ants to the imperial crown of Germany. Otho, Philip, and Frederick were rivals for the lofty dignity. To the first Innocent awarded the diadem. Ten years of war in Germany followed his decision. Havoc and murder wasted and stained the land. Philip was assassinated, and after years of fierce battles the victorious Frederick was crowned emperor.

Philip Augustus of France had renounced his Danish wife and married his beautiful Agnes, for whom he had a passion of love. Innocent interposed his papal authority. He commanded the king to repudiate Agnes and restore Ingeborg. Philip refused. France was placed under interdict. A cardinal legate declared the ban. Churches were closed, crosses veiled, relics entombed, sacraments ceased; the dead were cast out like dogs, or buried in unconsecrated ground. Festivals, ceremonies, processions were prohibited over the kingdom. A pall like death spread over France. The papal decree closed man's intercourse with God, and barred earth from heaven. *Anathemas* terrified Philip, and he yielded to Innocent. France virtually held her crown from Rome.

Nor was England less subservient to an Italian pontiff. Innocent commanded Stephen Langton to be chosen Archbishop of Canterbury. King John was furious, and swore the prelate should not enter England. Royal blasphemies answered papal thunders. Innocent declared an interdict. A cloud hung over England black with papal wrath and charged with papal lightnings. Like Henry of Germany and Philip of France, John of Britain submitted. He acknowledged himself a vassal of Rome.

He delivered his crown and, as a subject, received it back from Innocent. He paid to an Italian pontiff an annual tribute of a thousand marks to show that sovereignty was no longer in England. Papacy ruled Europe. But brief its ideal of dominion. From the death of Innocent III its political power declined, until now it is a cipher in the world.

While in the plenitude of his supreme and universal pontifical sovereignty Innocent annulled MAGNA CHARTA and excommunicated every Englishman who signed that paper, the immortal safeguard of Democracy.

CELESTIN V.

He was Peter Morone, a solitary in Abruzzi. In his infancy he said he saw the Virgin descend from a picture to chant the Psalter. When in manhood, starved and filthy, he lived in a hole. Here he believed he heard a bell from heaven calling him to prayer. Angels showered roses on his head. On Cardinal Malebranco's nomination this half-crazed and repulsive monk, by unanimous acclaim, was elected pope. He was found, like a wild beast, in his hermit cave. Before him the cardinals fell on their knees. Peter was amazed. He would not believe the announcement and tried to escape. At last the King of Naples persuaded him to accept the pontifical dignity. But under his papal robes he would wear his monk's haircloth. Kings held his bridle, and cardinals kissed his foot. Orsini gave his scarlet mantle and a miter flaming with gold and jewels. Peter was crowned and anointed pope. Infallibility did not correct his Latin or preserve him from scoundrels. Celestin V lavished his treas-

ures and dignities on knaves and became their dupe. In his palace he pined for his cell. The monk, perplexed into despair at last, resigned his pontificate on the ground of his ignorance. Infallibility urged its fallibility as a reason for its abdication. His cardinals received his demission of his pontificate. Celestin relieved himself of robe and miter and crown, resumed his monk's habit, and returned happy to his mountain cave. But, dreading his popularity, his successor imprisoned him in the Castle of Fumone, where a fever released him from his miseries.

Boniface VIII.

This pontiff in his *Unam Sanctam* affirmed that "if the temporal power errs it is judged by the spiritual. We therefore insist and define that it is necessary to salvation to believe that every human being is subject to the Pontiff of Rome." This bull of Boniface, supported by the Vatican Decree of Pio Nono, makes it the irrepealable creed of the Latin Church that without submission to an Italian pontiff no man can believe in Jesus Christ and attain heaven.

By his papal thunders Boniface tried to terrify and subdue Europe. But vain the flash of his lightnings. The world had outgrown the fulminations of Innocent, and mocked the *anathemas* of Boniface. Betrayed, deserted, insulted, he was driven from his palace. This lord of earth and dispenser of heaven sat weeping amid the ruins he had made. He begged a morsel of bread and a drop of water. Boniface was conducted to prison with his face toward the tail of his horse, and died a captive in solitary agony.

Clement V.

Bernard de Goth, Archbishop of Bordeaux, met the King of France in a forest. The monarch dazzled the prelate with a vision of the papal crown. He could wear the tiara if he made certain pledges. Bernard sold himself, and Philip had him elected pope. The meaning of the bargain soon appeared. Bernard called himself Clement V, was crowned at Lyons, and moved the pontifical residence from Rome to Avignon. The French capital became more corrupt than the Italian. It was a moral plague spot on Europe. On the 20th of April, 1314, Clement expired. His treasure was stolen; his body was neglected; only a sheet was left him for his shroud. The house in which he lay took fire. His corpse was partially burned, and, as if in mockery, his ashes were interred with solemn pomp. Clement stamped on Avignon his shameful character. After a life of luxury he left enormous wealth, disgracefully accumulated, and a memory forever blackening to the papacy.

Benedict XIII and Gregory XII.

By the exile of Avignon, Rome, in the plenitude of its pontifical power, received a shattering shock, from which it has never recovered. The Church was rent with strifes. Ecclesiastical contests made infidels and affected the whole constitution of society. Nation warred with nation, and pope with pope. Senile infallibilities hurled their excommunications at each other. Europe was bewildered when pontiff damned pontiff. For seventy years this schism shook the world. At its close Benedict XIII and Gregory

XII appeared, each consigning the other to everlasting flames. The Council of Pisa was convoked to terminate this disgrace. Both popes were condemned as infamous by a decree read by the Patriarch of Alexandria, which affirms that their "crimes and excesses adduced before the Council were true and of public fame, and that by their enormous iniquities they are unworthy of all honors and dignities; and, though by the canons they are actually rejected by God, nevertheless the Church, by this definite sentence, deposes, rejects, and cuts them off, both and each, from any longer assuming the sovereign pontificate."

John XXIII.

A conclave of sixteen cardinals at Bologna elected Balthasar Cossa pope. He chose John XXIII for his pontifical name. The regularity of his election was incontestable, and he was crowned, enthroned, accepted by the Church, and acknowledged over Europe. No pontifical title was ever more legitimate. He was soon proved to have been a pirate, an adulterer, and a tyrant. John was a monster of iniquity, black as Nero. Two of his secretaries are witnesses to his crimes. On the 5th of November, 1414, he opened the Council of Constance. Seldom has the world seen a more magnificent assembly than that in the Alpine town encircled by its mountains and imaged in its lake. In their gorgeous ecclesiastical state sat in that Council twenty-five provosts, fifty doctors, one hundred and thirty-four abbots, one hundred and fifty bishops, thirty-three archbishops, twenty-nine cardinals, and four patriarchs.

The splendor of the empire was represented in the person of the imperial Sigismund. Over his imposing assembly John presided with all the insignia of his pontifical authority.

After Huss and Jerome had been burned, an attack was made on the pope who directed the proceedings against the martyrs. Heretic and pontiff were tried by the same tribunal. Self-condemned, guilty, and terrified, John fled. But in his absence he was deposed, and the pontifical chair pronounced vacant. A decree also declared that the sovereignty of the Church was not in the pope, but in an Ecumenical Council. The charges on which John was condemned were schism, heresy, maladministration, scandals, and notorious crimes.

Alexander VI.

The noble liberality of Leo XIII has opened to the world the Vatican library. Already his generosity has borne fruit. Dr. Ludwig Pastor has written from Vatican records a life of Alexander Borgia. Thus by Catholic testimony on the papal father, his monster son, and his lascivious daughter are fixed stains of crimes red as pontifical scarlet. Borgia bribed Cardinal Sforza with four mule-loads of silver for his vote and influence in the conclave. Having lived illicitly with a Roman lady, Alexander had children by her daughter, Rosa Vanozza. At the marriage of Lucretia Borgia in the Vatican the pope's mistress Julia was present. Licentious plays and songs disgraced the nuptial festivities. Infessura testifies that Rome's clergy and converts were as infamous as the pontiff. Cæsar

Borgia, Alexander's son, was a monster. He murdered his brother and threw his body into the Tiber. By his orders his sister's husband was stabbed on his palace steps. The pope sent out a guard to protect his son-in-law. Cæsar laughed at his father's precautions, burst into the wounded man's chamber, drove out his wife, and summoned the executioner to strangle his victim. He slew Perolto, Alexander's friend, while covered by the pope's mantle. Blood from the son's dagger flew into the father's face. Papal Rome surpasses imperial Rome in crime.

Sixtus V.

After the Council of Trent the Church wanted an authentic edition of the Latin Bible. This Sixtus promised to provide. His bull declared his edition, corrected by himself, alone authentic and the universal standard. All rejecting it were excommunicated. To change a word exposed to *anathema*. Sixtus opened hell's gates to each man who censured a book published on his infallible authority. But his edition was found full of blunders. Of these two thousand were traced to Sixtus. A second edition ascribed the errors of the first to compositors and assistants. A papal lie shielded the papal infallibility. Cardinal Bellarmine was directed to circulate the falsehoods. He himself tells the story and congratulates himself on the execution of his task.

Urban VIII.

This pope started the procedure against Galileo. The philosopher's faith in Copernicus excited an ecclesiastical tempest. Priestly rage was universal.

Galileo completes his telescope and turns it to the heavens. What a spectacle of glory! Venus is not seen with her splendors as a star. She shines a crescent on the blue of heaven. This is a proof to the eye of the Copernican system. But with this vision of truth and glory papal thunders burst over Galileo. He is accused as a heretic, he is persecuted to his solitary grave, he is denied both a monument and an epitaph.

Vatican records recently made public show that Urban charged the Florentine Inquisition to cite the philosopher to appear at Rome before the holy office. The examiners met in the Church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva. After investigation they declared the Copernican system "wrong and contrary to the Scripture." Under fear of torture, on his knees, touching the Gospels, Galileo was forced to swear false the opinion that "the sun is the center of the system and immovable," and to say, "I abjure, curse, and detest the error."

When blind, ruptured, a pitiable fragment of a man wrecked by priests, Urban would not permit Galileo to leave Florence or to speak of his condemned opinions. After his death the pope forbade a monument to commemorate the philosopher. Not until 1734 was it allowed in Santa Croce by the holy office. Only in 1757 did Benedict XIV remove Galileo's writings from the papal *Index*. As late as 1822 the Congregation gave its first permission to publish works on the motion of the earth and the stability of the sun as taught by Copernicus.

Gregory XIII.

Of this pope Salviati was nuncio at the French court. He kept a journal, which has been recently published. From Salviati we have authentic testimony in regard to the massacre of St. Bartholomew. From his Catholic pages we learn that on the day of the murders Charles IX wrote to Rome. Within two days Beauville, the ambassador's nephew, set off for the papal city. The news of the massacre was already there. A secret messenger had been dispatched by Mandelot, Governor of Lyons, to inform Gregory that the Huguenots had been slain. His holiness ordered the bearer of the ghastly news to be rewarded with a hundred crowns and Rome to be illuminated. Salviati wrote that "he desired to fling himself at the pope's feet for joy. It was a fair sight to see the Catholics in the streets wearing crosses and cutting down the heretics." When the letter was received at the Vatican Palace the cardinals attended the pontiff to a "Te Deum" in the nearest church. For three days and nights Rome was illuminated. Gregory said that the news was worth to him more than fifty victories of Lepanto, where the naval power of the Turk was overthrown. Protestants were more hateful than Mohammedans. With thirty-three cardinals the pope attended a thanksgiving mass in the Church of St. Louis, and proclaimed a jubilee. He issued a bull which says: "Forasmuch as God armed the King of France to inflict vengeance on the heretics for the injury done to religion and to punish the leaders of the rebellion, Catholics should pray that he may have grace to pursue his auspicious enterprise and so complete what he has begun so well."

To commemorate the massacre Gregory ordered medals to be struck. He also summoned Vasari from Florence to prepare a picture for the Hall of Kings. We have seen that grim painting. For three centuries it has hung in the Vatican. Each pope may pass it on his way to mass in his Sistine Chapel. What a scene of horrors! What a proof of priestly cruelty! What a satire on pontifical infallibility! Demons, daggers, blood, death, massacre it would seem could please only demons!

Pio Nono.

A roar of artillery from St. Angelo announced the day of the opening of his Vatican Council. Each church in Rome peals its bell. The streets of the papal city are thronged, and the wide piazza and noble colonnades of its grand cathedral become filled. *Schemata* have been prepared, committees selected, and St. Peter's welcomes prelates from every region of the earth. Pio Nono thinks that he has begun a new ecclesiastical era which will regenerate humanity. On the dogma of papal infallibility he expects to build a structure of ecclesiastical beauty and glory. Hence this his assemblage in all the splendor of the gold and scarlet of Rome!

Bursts of music come from the partitioned transept of St. Peter's where the Council is about to sit, and out through the door and above the vast crowd, and rise into that sublime dome which seems like the visible crown of the papal system. Cardinal Patrizi celebrates mass. Bishop Fessler places the Gospels on a throne above the altar. Head of the

magnificent pageant, the holy father appears in the utmost gorgeousness of his pontifical splendor.

But opposition develops. To carry his decree Pio Nono requires all his resources of caress and patronage and rebuke. Both his smiles and his frowns become necessary. Winter lingers into spring, and summer changes Rome into a furnace, and during this weary period of stormy discussions two adverse prelates made themselves famous by the point of their argument and the power of their eloquence. But, despite these unanswerable protests, Pio Nono's decree passed his Vatican Council. On the 18th of July, 1870, from the pulpit of the august assembly, the Bishop of Fabriano announced its decision:

"If, then, any shall say that the Roman pontiff has the office merely of inspection or direction, and not full and supreme power of jurisdiction, over the whole Church, . . . let him be *anathema!* . . . We teach and define that it is a dogma divinely revealed that the Roman pontiff, when he speaks *ex cathedra*—that is, when in the office of pastor and doctor of all Christians, by virtue of his supreme apostolic authority, he defines a dogma regarding faith and morals to be held by the universal Church —by the divine assistance promised the blessed Peter, is possessed of that infallibility with which the divine Redeemer willed His Church to be crowned. . . . If anyone, which God forbid, presume to contradict this definition, let him be *anathema!*"

This proclamation of Pio Nono, seemingly the result of his own personal influence, was yet the

outgrowth of the Roman Catholic history and is the crown of the Roman Catholic system. Nature herself marshaled her elements to make the occasion memorable. Ecclesiastics as they voted were saluted by thunder peals from heaven. St. Peter's shook and reverberated with celestial artillery. Without, assembled thousands waited in a glare of lightnings. And how marvelous the effect on Pio Nono! His humiliation in three months was deep as that of Hildebrand or Boniface. On his knees, like a vulgar pilgrim, he climbed Pilate's staircase, bade farewell to his Lateran cathedral, and retired for life, self-imprisoned within his Vatican boundaries. After his pontifical abasement what a rush of events! We are bewildered at the vastness and rapidity of the revolution: Sedan; Metz; in Paris conquering Germans; the Emperor of France a captive; Napoleonic imperialism, that life guard of papacy, shivered into fragments; on the steps of the palace of Louis the Grand the Prussian William proclaimed German emperor; Victor Emmanuel in the pontifical palace of the Quirinal; the papal territory, procured by forgery, vanished like a cloud; a French republic; a united Italy; a Protestant German empire; political Romanism shattered forever; a way opened for the triumph of the future universal Christian Democracy!

CHAPTER XXII.

Anglicanism.

ANGLICANISM, in its Articles and Homilies, repudiates Rome. Its standards flame with burning invectives against papal idolatry and usurpation. They style the pontiff antichrist, and his capital Babylon. Indeed, Anglicanism, as a secession, can only justify its existence by its condemnation of Romanism. Nor is it by its principles less completely separated from the Greek communion. While its Articles, with unequaled clearness and beauty, state the doctrines of the Reformation, yet by the exclusive claims of its apostolical succession it has erected an impassable barrier between itself and Protestantism. We perceive, therefore, that it stands alone in the world. By the necessities of its life Anglicanism is forced to present itself as the sole legitimate representative of Christianity. *It* is the stone which will rise into a mountain and fill the earth. Let us examine its title!

The genius of Anglicanism is conservatism; and its key is compromise. Henry VIII gave it the impress of his own policy. He renounced papal supremacy, and retained papal doctrine. Catholics he burned for allegiance to Rome, and Protestants for refusing the creed of Rome. The English king was for the Reformation and against the Reformation. Cranmer both shaped and reflected the policy

of Henry. Conservatism in the monarch and radicalism in the archbishop gave an uncertain character to the whole Protestant movement in England. Even in his death Cranmer exhibited the vacillations of his character. He was no assured martyr. He had no joy; he won no crown. A false hand signed a recantation, and when made a true hand burned in the fire. Cranmer amid flames was a contradiction.

When Mary came to the throne Latimer and Ridley, of all the bishops, alone had the grace of martyrdom. There was an episcopal stampede to Rome. King Philip gave England conservative advice. It was accepted. If the nobility returned to the pope they were permitted to retain the plunder of the monasteries. When Elizabeth grasped the scepter we find the same facility of faith and service. Yet amid this servility and selfishness there were noble men who returned from Continental exile to vindicate in immortal works the doctrines of the Reformation. They came from Switzerland glowing with the faith of Calvin, and were elevated by the queen to the highest offices in her gift. Left to themselves, they would have made the Anglican Church a pure Protestant communion. But Elizabeth resisted with the power of her personal influence and royal prerogative. As a sovereign of two great religious parties she wished creed and ceremony wide enough to embrace Catholics and Protestants. Reform was arrested, and two antagonistic elements left in the Articles and Offices of the English Church. Compromise became hereafter its indelible characteristic.

Down far into the next century we have remarkable proof of the tendency we have described. England is associated with the cause of freedom and progress in every period of her history and in every region of the earth. What heroic patriots have been nurtured in her national Church! Liberty owes her triumphs over the world largely to the British empire. Yet at this moment Charles I is on the calendar of the English Church. A man who used his prerogative like a tyrant, who plunged into war to support usurpation, who gave no oath he did not break, and felt his royal honor bound by neither pledge nor covenant, has his name on the roll of Anglican saints. And until within a few years his son Charles II was with him on the sacred list. For more than a century this royal adulterer, who polluted his court, polluted the stage, polluted literature, his realm, his times, history itself, was on the English calendar with apostles and martyrs and angels and archangels.

Three things give character to Anglicanism—apostolical succession, clerical priesthood, and baptismal regeneration. Let us pause for a brief examination:

I. Apostolical Succession.

Archbishop Cranmer claimed no exclusive right for the episcopate. For years he permitted the Presbyterian Knox to minister in English parishes. Jewel, most brilliant of Anglican Reformers, was appointed by Elizabeth to the see of Salisbury. A queen's smile, a superb palace, a noble cathedral, with the state and revenues of a lord, did not make him forget the Continental Calvinistic divines who

gave shelter from Mary when she reddened England with martyr fires. The *Zurich Letters* are side lights on the heart, the life, the doctrine of the man. But we are not left to incidental proofs. Jewel has bequeathed his testimony in those memorable words which express his own Anglican position: "Lawful succession standeth, not only in succession of place, but also, and much rather, in succession in doctrine and diligence. Faith cometh, not by succession, but by hearing; and hearing cometh, not of legacy and succession from bishop to bishop, but of the word of God. It is not sufficient to claim succession of place; it behooveth us rather to have succession of doctrine."

Archbishop Whitgift says: "It is certain that any one certain kind or form of external government, perpetually to be observed, is nowhere in the Scripture prescribed to the Church. One Church is not bound of necessity in all things to follow another. You may not bind us to follow any particular Church, neither ought you consent to any such servitude."

Dr. Andrew Willet, Prebend of Ely, wrote that "every Church is not tied to the same manner of ordination of ministers, so that it be agreeable to the word of God. But, according to this rule, every Church may make choice of that form and order which is most agreeable to their state, so that, when the calling of bishops is received, by them ministers must enter; where there are none, the calling of the Church must be followed."

Nor did the learned Archbishop Ussher differ from Jewel, Whitgift, and Willet. With approval he quotes these words of Dr. Rainolds: "Pres-

byters were constituted bishops by the Holy Ghost that they might superintend and feed the flock; and that this might be more effectually accomplished by their united council and consent they were accustomed to meet together in one company, and to elect one as president of the assembly whom Christ in the Revelation denominates the angel of the Church, and to whom He writes those things He meant him to signify to others. And this is the person whom the fathers in the primitive Church denominated bishop. The intrinsic power of ordaining proceedeth, not from jurisdiction, but only from order; but a presbyter hath the same power in kind with a bishop; therefore, a presbyter hath equal power to give orders."

And the great Bishop Stillingfleet asserts: "In the first primitive Church the presbyters all acted in common for the welfare of the Church, and either did, or might, ordain others to the same authority with themselves, because the intrinsical power of order is equally in them and in those who were afterward appointed governors over presbyters."

Dr. Lightfoot, late Bishop of Durham, is the brightest Anglican luminary of our century. He gave his whole strength to the subject of orders. Years were spent by him in the elucidation of Ignatius. His industry and ability have made him a master and an oracle. We have the conclusions of his life labor in his *Apostolic Age*. "The episcopate," Lightfoot says, "was formed, not out of apostolic order by local action, but out of the presbyterial, by election; and the title, which was originally common to all, came at length to be appro-

priated by the chief among them. If this account be true we might expect to find in the mother Church at Jerusalem, which as the first founded would ripen first to maturity, the first traces of this developed form of ministry. Nor is this expectation disappointed. James, the Lord's brother, alone, within the period compassed by the apostolic writings, can claim to be regarded as a bishop. And this position is the more remarkable if, as seems to have been the case, he was not of the twelve. As we turn to Rome it has often been assumed that, as the metropolis of the world, a monarchic form of government would be more developed than in other parts of Christendom. But such a presumption vanishes before the slightest evidence of facts. And the most noteworthy evidence we possess does not countenance the idea. The earliest document mentions only two orders and is silent about the episcopal office. Again, not many years after the date of Clement, St. Ignatius writes to the Romans; and although the remaining six of the Ignatian letters all contain injunctions of obedience to bishops, in this epistle alone there is no mention of the episcopal office."

We see, then, that since the Reformation the greatest Anglican writers have taught that the bishop is a presbyter, superior, not in order, but in office. Yet against this view is the law of the English Church. The Anglican communion exalts itself as the sole normal and legitimate representative of Christianity. Its orders are repudiated by both Greeks and Latins, while it repudiates all Protestant orders. Hence the Anglican Church stands isolated in Christendom. It resembles a

solitary island in mid ocean. Only within its rock-bound limits do we find Christianity.

Nor is eucharist less guarded than ordination. The only lawful approach to the table of the Lord is episcopal confirmation. Through a bishop the minister comes to his office, and through a bishop the member comes to the Communion. Between the soul and Christ is a bishop. Yet the best Anglican authors oppose this high Anglican position. Here, then, we have the inevitable Anglican incertitude. Compromise and conservatism, with a resulting vacillation and antagonism, are in the genius of Anglicanism.

II. Clerical Priesthood.

The title of an office stamps its functionary. Its impress is visible on the whole man. Yet we have seen that the name "priest" in the New Testament is never applied to ministers, and is always applied to Christians. Against scriptural usage, the Greek and Latin communions have priests. While not biblical, they are consistent. Offering is essential to a priest. And he has an offering if the bread and wine are converted by him into the body and blood of Christ—indeed, a stupendous offering. Accept the theory of the mass, and its sacrifice is sublime. Angels and mortals might well adore in awe. But the English Articles and Homilies style transubstantiation a superstition, against the nature of a sacrament, without Holy Scripture. Such a declaration destroys the very function of a priest. It leaves him only bread and wine to offer. What a pitiable service! Instead of being sublime, it is

puerile. Anglicanism denies transubstantiation, and retains "priest"—incertitude at its very altar.

Nor is its absolution less equivocal. Greek and Latin priests remit the sins of individuals after confession. The penitent is forgiven as a person. Each man leaves his priest absolved. How in Anglicanism? Its office is not for the individual, but the congregation. Examine it! You find that it is only a prayer for all who repent and believe. Even its condition is not a personal faith in the blood of Christ, but a general belief in the Gospel. All is left in a shadow of uncertainty. No relief is given to the individual conscience. Anglicanism has thus a priest without a sacrifice, and absolution without remission. It abolishes that confession which is the sole support of absolution, and yet retains absolution—destroys the foundation, and would preserve the edifice. Such are the enfeebling inconsistencies when the Church uses the State to conciliate religious parties for political government!

Moreover, in the very titles of the clergyman appears an ecclesiastical battledore. How we love our Episcopal Prayer Book! How pure and beautiful and spiritual its offices! How often it exalts us to the loftiest communion with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost! Inimitable its collects, its Litany, its "Te Deum," its "Benedicite!" But even on God's sun are spots, and we who are Anglicans must not claim perfection for our matchless offices. The compilers of our American Prayer Book were noble men who breathed the life of the Reformation. Only the more strange their

inconsistency. Our clergyman begins his service. In the rubric he is styled "minister"—his Protestant title. Now he is about to read absolution. An instant change! He is called "priest"—his Roman title. In the Communion office he commences "minister," but before he places the bread and wine on the table he turns "priest." We have traveled the whole distance from Geneva to Rome, and back from Rome to Geneva.

III. Baptismal Regeneration.

The new birth is the beginning of eternal life. Without it we can never love and serve Christ our King. On earth it creates in man that character which is to shine and beautify forever in the celestial glory. What a stupendous fact in a mortal history! Our Saviour affirms that unless born from above we cannot see the kingdom of God. Him we behold only by spiritual illumination. He is revealed to us by the Holy Ghost. But He tells us that we enter His kingdom by water. Our invisible King we know by His Spirit, and by baptism we come within His visible kingdom. So taught the Master! All this is predicated of adults.

In the Scripture we can find nothing clearly revealed in regard to the new birth of infants. We cannot tell whether their regeneration is even a possibility. Can we rest such a doctrine on the tradition of fathers? Uncertain foundation! Regeneration, eternal life, character that fits for heaven—truths and results transcendent and everlasting! Yet, in the theory of Anglicanism, its whole spiritual life grows from infant baptism.

Without Scripture I can know nothing on the subject, and Scripture says nothing on the subject. Unsustained by Scripture is an office on which is founded spiritually the Anglican Church. Priest and bishop pronounce the infant regenerate; yet priest and bishop have no authority from the word of God. Not on the sands of human tradition, but only on the rock of the divine revelation, should priest and bishop rest a doctrine involving in itself the everlasting life. Over baptism, also, is a cloud of the Anglican incertitude.

From first to last conservatism; everywhere compromise; the result uncertainty. Yet Anglicanism has no title to its present claim except as a Catholic Church. As against the corrupted Greek and Latin communions and the unauthorized Protestant communions, it alone would represent Christianity, whose very genius is, not compromise, but aggression. Only by daring and enterprise can the world be conquered to its divine King. Anglicanism in its deepest nature wants the gift essential to universality.

And this conclusion is sustained by facts. Let us turn to Great Britain. Is Anglicanism extending her catholicity over the Greek and Latin Churches? The reverse. Alas, the Roman magnet is stronger than the English. Secessions are from Anglicanism to the pope, and not from the pope to Anglicanism. The positive pole outdraws the negative. Witness Newman and Manning and, with them, a lay and clerical multitude! But how with dissent? After the Reformation it was opposed, not, indeed, by flames, but prisons. Puritans, Baptists, Quakers, Independents, although not burned,

were scourged, branded, pilloried, mutilated, confined in dungeons, and exiled to America. With Anglicanism were the priests, the bishops, the universities, the aristocracy, the monarch, palaces and cathedrals and revenues, the machinery of government, the power of the Church, and, enforcing all, the Court of High Commission. Out of banishments and imprisonments and impoverishments dissent has grown like a tree made strong by tempests, whose branches throw their shadows over the world. Dissent in the Isle of Man outnumbers the establishment. Dissent in Wales is about to subvert the establishment. Dissent in the rest of England looks forward to triumph over the establishment. The free spirit of the Protestant Christian Democracy, by the energy of its enterprise, is more potent than an oligarchic, episcopal conservatism, and dissent proves itself more catholic than establishment.

But the crucial test is America. Before the Revolution our relations of population were reversed. The South outnumbered the North. Virginia was queen of colonies, as she afterward became mother of States and Presidents. In this rich and extensive and powerful Commonwealth, from the beginning, Anglicanism had the privilege of patronage from the Church and protection from the State; and in Maryland its advantages were early and great. Let us admit that the English communion and Protestant denominations were balanced in opportunity. Yet in a century how surpassing the growth of those sects, impelled and animated by a vigorous Christian Democracy!

Methodists report, in round numbers, 5,000,000; Baptists, 4,000,000; Presbyterians, 1,500,000; Lutherans, 1,300,000; Episcopalians, 600,000; Congregationalists, 580,000; other Protestant sects, 2,500,000.

Episcopalianism, an American growth from Anglicanism, thus numbers in our country less than a twenty-fifth of the aggregate of the Protestant denominations. And, judging from the past, time will increase the disparity. We have a right, then, to infer that Anglicanism will never realize its claim and its aspiration to constitute the universal Church. With its noble history, its grand liturgy, its wealth and learning and culture, like all the sects that sprang from the Reformation, defects mar its catholicity, and it must esteem itself but a branch of the glorious and overshadowing tree of Christianity.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Protestantism.

IN its infancy the Reformation was protected by the political conditions of Europe. The armies of the Turk, marching from Constantinople under the banners of Solyman the Magnificent, thundered at the gates of Vienna. Directed by the Sultan, desperate corsairs from Tunis, Algiers, and Tripoli swarmed out over the Mediterranean, captured merchant ships, and slew or enslaved crews and passengers. Southern Spain had within it all the suppressed fires of a volcanic Mohammedan revolt. Between Charles V and Francis I raged perpetual wars, involving popes and exciting Europe. Like the holy father, England oscillated between France and Spain. Amid these conflicting interests of warring nations both pontiff and emperor were compelled to neglect the youthful Reformation. Thus ever, at the opportune moment, the rising tempest was diverted from the tender tree until its roots struck deep into the soil and its branches lifted themselves high into the light. But the Reformation was confronted with a yet more dangerous peril. It was tempted to defend itself by political and military combinations. Luther resisted. Martyrdom threatened, princes persuaded, warriors armed; but he answered in his Master's words, "They who take the sword shall perish by

the sword." Amid these struggles with friends and enemies the first Diet of Spires, in 1526, obtained toleration, because the pope and the emperor were busy with the complications of Europe. But in 1529, at the second Diet of Spires, the conceded privileges were withdrawn; and in a paper complaining of the injustice originated the name "Protestant."

Charles V had now made himself irresistible by his brilliant achievements. France and England dreaded and envied the power of his empire. He took and plundered Rome and forced the pontiff to submission. The imperial warrior, successful in battle and diplomacy, seemed about to grasp the scepter of the world. Now he will extirpate heresy and in the fires of martyrs burn away the stains contracted by the pope's capture and Rome's pillage. War menaces the Reformation. Luther is dead. With him are buried his counsels. A military league is formed. Catholic and Protestant meet in furious battles. Blood stirs revenge and perpetuates strife. Maurice betrays the emperor, who flies from Innsbruck to escape capture. From his height of glory Charles is plunged into the deepest humiliation. The sword saves the Reformation, and the Peace of Passau establishes it on a legal basis in Germany—a brilliant and unexpected achievement, but by a mere worldly policy. When Christian princes drew the sword they unloosed the powers of death and hell. Germany was a scene of fire and blood and plunder. Multitudes perished in battle, fields were ravaged, homes burned, cities destroyed. Amid this massacre and misery the

peaceful kingdom of Christ could not advance over the world.

In Spain the Reformation was crushed out by the Inquisition. Before the young giant could become strong he was murdered. All the powers of pope and king directed a diabolical machinery of death. Flames lighted every city with the ghastly glare of human holocausts. Philip II kindled fires in which thousands were reduced to ashes. Priests, bishops, cardinals, amid all their magnificence of office, sat above the vulgar crowd, about the throne of the king, with him to behold and approve spectacles of torture. So effectual was the work of these human demons that the Reformation never took root in Spain.

The Huguenots of France resorted to the sword. Bloody battles and murderous executions startled Europe. Christians were martyrs and warriors. Instead of converting, they slaughtered their enemies. After two centuries of strife they failed. The Reformation was strangled by the blood of the massacre of St. Bartholomew and buried by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. When the witnesses of Christ had been destroyed France was prepared for the fiends of the Revolution. Had the Huguenots, like the early Christians, died as peaceful witnesses for the faith we should now have a great Protestant republic ennobling Europe and evangelizing the world.

Zwingle, in Switzerland, blew the blast of war. The minister of salvation went forth in warrior's arms to kill. He filled his Alpine valleys with his soldiers. Instead of feeding, he starved his enemies.

Grim mountains heard the tramp of armies, the roar of cannon, the groans of slaughter. Instigated by a preacher of the Gospel of peace, canton rose against canton, and Protestant fought Catholic. Christians slew each other like pagans. With what result? Zwingle perished in battle. By death and misery he taught the Reformers of his country that the weapons of their warfare were not carnal, but spiritual. Had the wisdom of Christ been followed we believe that to-day we should behold, not a divided, but a united, Protestant Switzerland.

Sweden, Norway, and Denmark escaped serious religious wars within their borders. But they were drawn into the political maelstroms of Europe. With popes and kings and emperors they were precipitated into strifes that desolated other States. Gustavus Adolphus, hero of Protestantism, fell, fighting in Germany, victor in a plundered land and over slaughtered enemies.

Eighty years of war in Holland cost a million of lives. Liberty of faith was the issue. Philip II resolved to strangle the newborn Christian Democracy. All who read the Bible he would burn, bury, or behead. Imperial and pontifical power combined against Holland. In the Old World and in the New the dominion of Philip was unexampled in extent and wealth. His conquering veterans were commanded by the most brilliant masters of war. Land and sea were at his disposal. Against his vast empire, supported by the papacy, William and his son Maurice had little more than two millions of Hollanders. Yet they shattered Philip's dominion. Spain came exhausted from the con-

test, and ever since has been declining into impotency; while Holland during the strife increased in power and wealth, extended her discoveries toward the north pole, pushed east and west her colonies, founded universities, fostered literature, created art, made education universal, and carried her flag in triumph round the world. Her heroic enterprise, her indomitable courage, her wise statesmanship, her wide and varied success eclipse history. Greece, Rome, Switzerland, America can show no splendor of achievement bright as that of the Dutch Republic. But religion suffered. Carnal, not spiritual, was Holland's policy. Military glory she acquired, traffic she extended, wealth she accumulated, learning she promoted, liberty she established. But worldly enterprise and success enfeebled piety. Faith and hope and love were not increased by her victories on land and sea. She bore her banner over the earth; but how little she has accomplished for the evangelization of nations!

We turn to England! Nowhere had the Spirit of God been more powerful than in her Reformers. The youth of her universities became her preachers, confessors, and martyrs. The flower of her learning went up in papal flames. And two of her bishops witnessed in fire. Testimonies unto death were given for Christ by clergy and people. Her Articles and her Homilies are among the noblest monuments of the immortal truths of Protestantism. A nation seemed born again. A new era began for humanity. England was the world's predestined center of liberty and salvation. Yet what an apostasy under Mary! Elizabeth in her struggle for life and throne was a

sovereign, rather than a Christian. In the chilling atmosphere of her court the Church was petrified. Her reign began that strife of sects which has since torn the Anglican communion; and under her successors Presbyterianism and Episcopalianism fought for ascendency, while both were subjected by the sword of Independency. Victorious in battle, Puritanism triumphed over throne and altar. The sect that prayed most killed most. Lamb and dove were no longer the symbols of Protestant England, but, over her slaughtering Christians, from her banners glared her lion. King, aristocracy, Church went down under the sword and foot of Cromwell. But piety promoting carnage does not honor Christ. He never commanded to enforce creed by cannon. Hence the wars of Cromwell were followed by the licentiousness of Charles, the folly of James, and the Revolution of William. An illustrious warrior and an unequaled statesman, the Prince of Orange had not been famous for piety. He was in constant struggle, too, with Louis XIV of France in field and cabinet, and he left behind him an unfinished contest to be ended by the bloody battles and the brilliant victories of Marlborough.

Protestantism had gained, and Catholicism had lost. By the sword, by diplomacy, by literary enterprise, by scientific achievement, by commercial success, rather than by love and faith, the nations born from the Reformation went forward to supremacy over the Roman pontiff. Victories were more prized than conversions. Europe became a scene of dead formalisms, narrow bigotries, embittered sectisms. Protestantism had lost the power of the Spirit of

God. Her Articles and Confessions were as orthodox as Paul, but no longer animated with the zeal and power of Paul. England was deluged with skepticism and immorality. Her Church became dead in faith, in charity, in enterprise. Her clergymen too often used her revenues for their pleasures. Her universities, founded for religion, were perverted to worldly learning. Her capital was notorious for drunkenness, violence, and licentiousness. Her rural population was brutal in taste and habit. If Romanism had proved a failure in guiding and teaching Europe, now Protestantism appeared powerless to convert men into the spiritual kingdom of Jesus Christ.

At the hour of deepest darkness arose light. The Reformation had not been confined to one country. Its manifestations were simultaneous in many lands. Its morning star was Le Fèvre, in the University of Paris. He was herald of Luther, its sun. Zwingle, Farel, Calvin spread salvation's light amid the mountains of Switzerland. Witnesses for Christ illuminated Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Scotland, Bohemia, Holland, Hungary, as well as France and Germany, while England shed the glory of truth over the nations. And now, in the third century of the Reformation, at the same time in the Old World and in the New, the beams of the Gospel burst forth from the cloud that covered humanity. The American Edwards and the Anglican Whitefield with an amazing energy of converting eloquence proclaimed salvation in two continents. Other evangelists preached with the power of the Spirit of God. By these an impulse was given to the kingdom of Christ which, we trust, will enlarge until our world bows to

its Redeemer. But from a number of successful preachers we will select one whom we believe most typical of the movement which will end in the universal triumph of Christian Democracy.

John Wesley was born June 17, 1703, at Epworth. In childhood he was trained intellectually by his father, the learned and pious, but eccentric, rector of the parish, while he had the spiritual nurture of his mother, one of the noblest and loveliest of the Christian women of England. Both the paternal and maternal influences left deep impress on the mature man. From infancy to manhood Wesley breathed in Epworth Parish the atmosphere of Anglicanism. He had in his veins the best blood of old England, and was born with many of the highest gifts of his race. In lineage and culture he possessed every advantage for his future work. He entered in 1720 the college of Christ Church, Oxford, in which the strongest Anglicanism has found a citadel. In 1725 he was ordained a deacon. Afterward he was made a fellow of Lincoln, where, from 1729 to 1735, he was tutor. From his cradle until this time Anglicanism had stamped itself on Wesley. He was an extreme High Churchman. He repudiated the orders of dissenters. He would not acknowledge their baptisms. He mingled water with the wine of the sacrament. He observed saints' days. He even inclined to hear confessions. At Oxford, a century before Pusey, he was a Puseyite. Wesley and Newman began with the same opinions and under the same influences and at the same Anglican center. The one became a Roman cardinal, and the other the typical Protestant evangelist.

We have seen how the doctrine of remission by faith had, in the ancient Church, been buried beneath the cold and glittering mountains of sacerdotalism and ecclesiasticism. And now amid the wars of Europe it was once more hidden from view. The assurance of the forgiveness of sins had been the power of the Reformation. Beneath our humanity is a sense of guilt. Paul taught the way of its removal. Paul in words of light showed that it is remitted by faith in the blood of our divine Redeemer. Paul with this stupendous truth had converted multitudes in Asia and in Europe. Paul had carried with him the light of this salvation to Rome, the capital of the empire. And, when for centuries it had been obscured, it was again kindled by the Reformation. Yet it became dimmed in the very land of Luther, and no longer illuminated even the German universities. But it had its witnesses in an obscure sect of Moravia. Here, amid fanaticism and ignorance, a simple people, taught by the Bible, testified that their sins were forgiven through faith in the blood of Christ. They claimed assurance from the Spirit of God. They were filled with joy, and were victors over life and death. They proved their faith in the atonement of the Master by their obedience to the commands of the Master. In Moravia was that religion of joy which alone can convert the nations. But the land is remote and the people unlearned. England is to have the empire of the earth, and America its Pentecost.

Governor Oglethorpe invited Wesley to go as a clergyman to Georgia. The High Anglican ac-

cepted. On his voyage he met the Moravians. His ship, in mid ocean, witnessed an association that was to restore to the world the power of the Reformation. For a simple sect was predestined a learned interpreter. From Anglicanism, an ice mountain, warmed by the beams of the sun, salvation was to flow out in fresh streams over the world. The Moravians, Wesley says, taught him from the Bible that way of faith he expounds in his lucid and admirable sermons. On his voyage from Georgia to London, however, he describes himself as still under the law.

In this state he was thrown with Peter Böhler, an educated Moravian, who had studied at Jena and had been ordained by Count Zinzendorf. On the morning of May 24, 1738, Wesley tells us that he attended St. Paul's. Nor do we believe he ever lost his love for the grand cathedral service of the Church of England. His heart was always in her liturgy. But now he was in gloom. Wesley was cheered by the morning anthem, but, while gladdened, he was not relieved. He was oppressed by a sense of guilt, and guilt needs more than song. Fasts, vigils, saints' days, sacraments, observances had proved vain. High Anglicanism brought no peace. Like Paul and Luther, Wesley was near despair. He was slain by the law. He was a slave, with no power to rend his fetters. He as yet saw no way of deliverance. Salvation did not come to him in the cathedral. When night arrived he went to a meeting at Aldersgate Street, London. Obscure the place, and informal the service! The Preface to the Epistle to the Romans by the great

German Reformer was read. As salvation had shone over Germany, it was now kindled in England. The light of faith burst on the soul of Wesley. What had occurred two centuries before at Erfurth was repeated at London. Reformation and revival had beginning in the same truth. As Wesley hears, he believes in the blood of Christ for the remission of his sins. He experiences the witness of his forgiveness. He knows that his load of guilt is gone. Reconciled through the cross, he calls God Father and receives the Holy Ghost. Here was new life for himself and millions. Out of that moment sprang our regenerated Christianity. To this conversion of Wesley we trace a new birth of Protestantism to liberty, diffusiveness, and victory.

His instantaneous transformation we will relate in his own words, which have nothing of fanaticism or exaggeration. Wesley was not a man of moods and fancies. He had the self-restraint of culture and common sense. This gives power to his testimony when he says:

"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. . . . I then testified openly to all there what I now first felt in my heart."

John Wesley soon began to preach with an energy like that of Paul. He had in himself the same spring of living power. In his long ministry of more than fifty years he converted multitudes. The denomination organized by him embraces millions. In America it outnumbers each other Protestant

sect. And it carries salvation into every region of the earth. Nor is the indirect influence of Wesley less than the direct. He originated methods of revival employed by all who love the Reformation. It is becoming, therefore, that we study the sources of his power. We will consider the three great characteristics of his doctrine and ministry:

I. Humanity's Redemption by Christ's Death.—Early in his ministerial studies Wesley corresponded with his mother about his religious views. He recoiled from the doctrine of reprobation. When his theology matured we have his final conclusion in his lucid sermons. He taught that our race was redeemed by its divine Head, Jesus Christ. With convincing argument from the Bible he proved his doctrine and made it the foundation of his theology. As a first principle, Wesley held that Christ "tasted death for every man;" that Christ is the "Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world;" that Christ is "a propitiation for the sins of the whole world;" that through Christ "the salutary grace of God hath appeared unto all men;" that Christ is the "Light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world;" that, through Christ, "in every nation he who feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted;" so that in Christ human life itself is embraced and justified. Godhead, assuming, not a part of our nature, but the whole, redeemed the whole. Godhead, giving its infinitude to atonement, does not divide itself and includes our race. Godhead in Christ takes its guilt from humanity. Birth brings every man within a universal covenant of salvation, from which he may be

cut off by sin and restored by grace. Eternal life is procured for all, offered to all, and may be rejected by all unto eternal death. By nature man has no power to turn himself to God, but he has a gracious ability in the use of which is his sole responsibility. The heathen are left to the mercy and justice of the Redeemer at His judgment seat. There He will adjust the equities of His universe. For infants death is the gate to paradise. Escaping life's pangs and perils, they will people heaven, thrilled with the everlasting joy, and twinkling like stars amid the larger celestial luminaries. Such a view of humanity relieves it from its ghastly gloom and surrounds it with the brilliance of love and hope. It accounts for much of the genial joy that beamed out over life from Wesley and his faithful followers in every part of the world.

II. The Witness of the Holy Ghost to the Remission of Sin.—As a High Anglican, Wesley never conceived that he could have the assurance of his forgiveness. The merit of works mingled in all his early views. Free salvation by faith was hidden in a cloud. Hence Wesley lived under a shadow of doubt, in a twilight of comfort, ever learning, and never coming to, the knowledge of the truth. His religion was a gloom, relieved by occasional sun rays, in which he was creeping forward to an assured salvation. When the Moravians opened to him his great privilege he was skeptical. He examined his Bible. He went to Germany. He questioned the witnesses. He acted, not from fanatical impulse, but with grave deliberation. After pause, after investigation, after hesitation, he was convinced. Be-

fore him stood the word of God in opposition to the doubt of man: "He that believeth on the Son of God hath the witness in himself;" "The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God;" "Because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of His Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father;" "Ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear; but ye have received the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father."

Wesley is persuaded. He believes his Bible. In himself he receives the testimony of the Holy Ghost that his sins are remitted and that he is born from above. Now his regeneration is not a creed, but a fact. His absolution is not from a priest and hence unsatisfying through human infirmity and incertitude. Believing God's word, he receives God's Spirit, and is thus strong in God's testimony. At last he knows his sin forgiven, his guilt remitted, his soul renewed. He calls God Father. His nature is revolutionized and his work begun. New light is in his mind, new joy in his affections, new power in his words, new victory in his life. Twilight is over, and he has the morning sun. His ministry centers in the doctrine of the assurance of forgiven sin. Witnessed remission by faith in the blood of Christ energizes all his sermons, which convert multitudes. On this truth alone can the lever of the Gospel move the world.

Wesley had found the secret of pulpit power. When Protestantism recovers it millennium will be near. How can we have access to our Father unless assured of His forgiveness? Doubt obscures

His promises and hides His face. Doubt loads conscience with a burden of fear. Doubt makes filial confidence impossible. We have receded from the Reformation into the mists of doubt. Men should have no peace until they have found a witnessed forgiveness and been made conscious partakers of the Holy Ghost. Certitude of faith makes spiritual muscle. It gives manly strength, generous courage, loving enterprise. This enabled Luther to face the emperor, defy the pope, dare flames, and convert cities, States, and kingdoms. This to the soul of Calvin imparted strength, fire to his words, power to his life. In the great Protestant revival Wesley only returned to the truths of the Protestant Reformation. And these brought, not only success to his ministry, but brightness to his life. He was a genial and triumphant Christian. No asceticism tinged his life with gloom. A cell could not hide his light. Wesley, the scholar and gentleman, mingled with publicans and sinners that he might bring them to Christ, the sun. His conversion began with social joy. As soon as he attained the assurance of his forgiveness a troop of friends took him to his brother Charles, who also had found Christ. Together they sang a glad hymn. Amid the gasps of death Wesley exulted. "I'll praise, I'll praise!" he exclaimed. "The clouds drop fatness! Pray and praise! The best of all is, God is with us!" With the glow of victory on his venerable face the patriarch passed from earth to paradise.

III. Wesley also Developed the Power of Testimony with Life and Lip for Christ.—Our Lord is confessed when we recite the creed. It is a refined

and dignified method of publicly avowing our faith, and is suited to many individualities. Nor should more be exacted as a law of the Christian. In the form of the confession must be liberty. Yet the creeds, adapted to many, leave no play for the personality. The man is lost in the multitude; hence a tendency to a chilling formalism. When we confess Christ in the venerable creeds, so orthodox in doctrine, so simple and sublime in language, we lose the glow of sympathetic love. We express our faith in an intellectual truth, rather than our trust in a personal Saviour.

He who witnesses for Christ in his own words, however imperfect, impresses with the force of his own individuality. In him are greater liberty and power, and he often moves others with a responsive sympathy disproportionate to the agency. The Spirit of God seals the true testimonies of humble believers, which are more edifying than elaborate Ciceronian oratories. Wesley's uneducated preachers were forced to fill their sermons with their own experiences. Living fire burned in their ungraceful, and sometimes ungrammatical, appeals. But the flame was kindled from a coal on the altar of Jehovah, and the illuminating power was often a search light into conscience or a ray guiding to the cross of our incarnate God, where alone we obtain remission for our human guilt.

The disciples of Wesley followed their teachers, and the master was quick to perceive the use of personal testimonies in Christianity. Witnessing for our divine Redeemer was made part of his system. It gave glow and energy to the whole move-

ment. It created a new fellowship of faith and love and life. It waked an impulsive power which will continue through the ages and inspire Christianity until it hears the trumpet which proclaims its Judge. Outside of Anglicanism all Protestantism, not by system, but on occasion, adopts the methods of Wesley. Testimony by the lip for the Master now kindles the flame of salvation in every part of our world. Ignorance and fanaticism sometimes convert liberty into egotistical display. Human infirmity mingles with all human service. Yet wherever the Spirit of God is poured out on men He moves to confession with the lips, and this now seems a vast accepted agency in the conversion of our world.

The grand work of Protestantism is, by all her varied instrumentalities, to reestablish that liberty of faith which can alone restore the primitive Christian Democracy. Free in spirit, the Church will be free in organization. Whatever the form of government or worship, the sovereignty of the people will be acknowledged. Constantinople and Rome and Canterbury will experience the old Catholic fellowship. But in such a work the energy is not a mere creed. Articles and Confessions, like the ancient geological rocks, may fossilize life. Behind the truth must be the Holy Ghost. He, a universal gift, will create universal unity. The impulsive force of the world's conversion is the mightiest in the universe. It moves heaven as well as earth. Science tells us that she has photographed sixty million suns. About these revolve their satellites. And beyond are systems, numerous as sands and

leaves and ocean drops. Earth, inhabited by man, proves that other spheres are glorious with the intelligence of angels and cherubim. Around one central world circles the magnificence of such a peopled universe. Christ made all; Christ planned; Christ impels; Christ irradiates creation; and Christ, my God and Brother, died for me! With the Holy Ghost He inspires our dead and dark and loathsome souls and leads us back to His Father and our Father. The love excited by such a salvation is the conquering power of Christianity.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Millennial Democracy.

FOR centuries history, political and religious, revolved about Constantinople. Indeed, its situation made it the natural metropolis of the Roman empire. Constantine created a new world-center in his capital. Its harbor, the Golden Horn, is picturesque in beauty and admirable in convenience. As the old Byzantium, it was classic in its connections with some of the most touching and graceful legends of the Greek mythology. Constantinople commands the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, and thus the Atlantic Ocean way to the western world. It is a coveted capital for Asiatic and European Russia, and could be used as a railway center for the Orient, bringing conveniently near Persia, India, China, and Japan. From it the scepter of empire could touch Egypt and the Suez Canal, and, indeed, all Africa. We may say that Constantinople is the key to the Eastern Continent. Freed from the incubus of the Turk and with the aids of modern progress, it is not unlikely to be the most powerful and magnificent capital in the future of history.

To adorn his metropolis Constantine erected the Church of St. Sophia. It was destroyed by fire. On its ruins Justinian built a marvel of architecture, in which grace of form, beauty of color, and splen-

dor of ritual attained their ideal. In A. D. 1453 the Turk took Constantinople and converted St. Sophia into a mosque of his prophet. He tore down the cross, and placed his crescent glittering over an edifice which for a thousand years had been an object of Christian love and veneration. Can we wonder at the aspiration of Russia to restore the symbol of our salvation? For nearly ten centuries a prophecy has told her that this is to be her immortal achievement. It is the dream of the Slav. Possessing Constantinople, the Russian empire becomes the first power in the world, and, compact in territory, will maintain its scepter when the remote and scattered colonies of England may be independent republics.

A few years since the czar fought his way to San Stefano, and the brilliant prize seemed within his grasp. At the opportune moment he hesitated. His delay was fatal. The Treaty of Berlin interposed a barrier behind which stand the great powers of Europe. But England was the agent that created this formidable and irritating obstacle. Her auxiliary is the triple alliance between Italy, Austria, and Germany. To quiet the Mohammedan in India she keeps the sultan on his throne. England has Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, Egypt, and now wants Tangier to secure control of the Mediterranean and keep her way open to her Asiatic empire. Should France and Russia combine, her naval ascendency would be menaced, and, that destroyed, ends her territorial dominion. Alsace and Lorraine create but local questions; the pope's struggle for his temporal dominion is a senile aspiration;

and contests about the holy places of Jerusalem are puerile ecclesiastical disputes. But the Armageddon battle of the near future will be for Constantinople. From that center either Russia or England will dominate Europe, Asia, and Africa.

The war between Japan and China has changed the face of the Orient. It is impossible now to predict the relations those empires will have to each other and the nations of the Eastern and Western Continents. Commerce, manufactures, war, art, literature, government will be surely revolutionized. Progress has touched the dead Oriental world into another life. And old Africa is parceled out by Europe and will soon exchange barbarism for modern civilization. The mightiest physical forces of the universe, directed by the tip of man's finger, are producing changes in the condition of humanity more dazzling than dreams of poets and visions of prophets. And all intellectual developments, social transformations, and political revolutions connect themselves with Christianity. It may be remarked that the various progressive movements of modern life in every part of the earth are tending to the sovereignty of the people and the establishment of a universal Democracy.

Let us now pass from the civil to the ecclesiastical!

By the sultan's permission the Greek patriarch has his cathedral in Constantinople. He is legal head of the Oriental orthodox communion. Of the Greek Church the Russian is a branch, over which the czar is supreme. In this great ecclesiastical division of our world the Scriptures are not, as by the popes, prohibited to the laity, nor is celibacy indis-

pensable to the clerical office. All the white, or parish, clergy have wives. Only the black, or higher, clergy must by law be unmarried. The Greek Church repudiates the "filioque" in our Nicene Creed which the Latin Church adopts. Between the two communions thus are wide differences in doctrine and practice. But there is a yet deeper separating chasm. The Greek Church rejects the orders of the Latin Church, will not admit the ministrations of her priests, and stains her with the sin of schism. For more than a thousand years these Eastern and Western communions have been divided. Attempts to unite them have not only been failures, but have colored some of the most ludicrous and grotesque pictures in history. And now, in our century, the Vatican Decree declaring papal infallibility hurls against the Greek Church a papal curse. Rome anathematizes Constantinople, and Constantinople anathematizes Rome. Each communion dooms the other to everlasting fire. Little marvel that efforts toward compromise and intercourse have failed!

The Anglican Church is acknowledged by neither the Greek Church nor the Latin Church. By both its orders are spurned. Yet its Homilies, authenticated by its Articles, denounce the pope as antichrist, saint-worship as idolatry, transubstantiation as a fable, pontifical supremacy as a usurpation. Nor will it have communion with any of the sects who deny the exclusive validity of episcopal ordination. Anglicanism thus alienates itself from Protestantism and the whole ecclesiastical world. All schemes and negotiations to effect external unity

have only developed the impossibility of the enterprise. Christendom resembles a group of islands in an ocean whose angry, separating waves cannot be bridged.

Is our earth promised to Christ? Shall the fullness of the Gentiles come in and even Israel be saved? Exalted above earth, to Jehovah's house shall all nations flow? As the ocean its bed, shall the knowledge of the Lord cover the world? A thousand years shall Satan wear his chain? Have we a true prophetic symbol in the stone towering into a mountain and filling the world? Are all the signs of historical development in the Church deluding, and, instead of completion, is the divine structure to be forever unfinished and unfurnished, and its Author mocked as one who began to build, but failed in His work? And are inspiring prophetic visions, brilliant with the glory of rainbow promise, to pass away in clouds and mock the hopes they have excited? Such a miserable failure seems inconsistent with the lessons of history, the teachings of Scripture, and the character of God.

If the leaves of the tree of Christendom are diseased we should examine its root. Does the fruit wither? The blight is from within. Not in the bark, but in the sap, is the lingering death. Is Christianity an original, scriptural Democracy, which, first losing its interior liberty of faith, passed into the bondage of oligarchy and autocracy? Then its cure must be from within, and not from without. Paul was its typical preacher and expounder. When he converted Asian and European Gentiles what did he proclaim? Ever, in sermon and epistle,

above all, beneath all, permeating all with the light of love, now with the voice of the thunder, and now with the gentleness of the rainbow, Paul preached remission of sins through faith in the blood of our incarnate God and Saviour, Jesus Christ, followed by the gift of the Holy Ghost in regeneration, in adoption, in assurance, in comfort, in sanctification, in enlightenment, in power. Paul aimed to bring Christ into the man, and cast out that pride which seeks oligarchy and autocracy. Paul sought to establish in the heart the love and purity and liberty which can alone maintain in the world the beauty and the victory and the brotherhood of a Christian Democracy. Nations were born again. The seeds of life were planted for an immortal harvest. Luther in the Reformation and Wesley in the revival of Christianity followed Paul. By the same everlasting truths America has been made a center of evangelical power for the world. This Gospel is salvation. From within it works outwardly. By converting individuals it would regenerate humanity. Only by spiritual revolution can you restore and extend Christian Democracy.

Never was earth's gloom deeper than when Luther appeared. The work of his forerunners, Wyclif and Huss, seemed to have perished in the flames. From his Lateran cathedral Leo trumpeted forth his victory and the universal supremacy of his Church. Crowned with his tiara, exalted on his throne, heresy and schism were now beneath his pontifical feet. Yet the doctrine of remission by faith shattered his kingdom and made his diadem tremble. For years, in the height of his converting power,

Luther preached without adapting his ceremonial to his doctrine. While proclaiming justification like a Protestant, he was celebrating mass like a Catholic. Hurling words of fire against the pope, he was worshiping as the pope. He was conforming to the Church at his altar, and revolutionizing the Church from his pulpit. In the infinitude of the work of salvation questions of observance were invisible as if lost in the dazzle of a sun.

Suddenly the incongruity burst on the Reformer. He began a change. The people were prepared, and the revolution achieved itself. Without a blow the idolatries, the corruptions, the usurpations of Rome fell by their own weight. Cast out of the heart, the pope had no more power over the life and the worship. It was so over Europe. When fanatics dashed down images and defaced churches and defiled and plundered monasteries, when warriors grasped the weapons of military strife, when contending hosts fought in battle, when any mere outward political or ecclesiastical changes were attempted, the Reformation was arrested. Conversions ceased. The Holy Ghost was withdrawn. Clouds covered the sky. But always the power of God attended the proclamation of a free salvation in Christ. Liberty and holiness followed faith. A brotherhood of heart made a democracy of life, and gave new impulses to civil and ecclesiastical freedom for all time. And who did the work? Converted priests shook Rome and emancipated the world.

We want Luthers in the Greek and Latin Churches When monks like the German Reformer appear in

those communions, then her spiritual fetters will fall from Europe. And such men must be martyrs. They must dare the czar as Luther defied the pope. There is a time in the history of all nations when the Gospel must be witnessed in flames. In burning truth persecutors burn themselves. The hammer flies back from the anvil into the face of the wielder. Russia wants blood, not of monarchs, but of martyrs. Instead of the fiendish glare of anarchistic hate in her Siberian dungeons, let the light of Christian love be seen on the faces of men praying for their enemies, and the czar will be conquered as were pontiffs and emperors. The Gospel will succeed where socialism fails. Only by its power, working in the heart through the Holy Ghost, can idolatries be overthrown, superstitions scattered, and usurpations destroyed. Brought by faith into the liberty of Christ, humanity will be prepared for a universal Christian Democracy.

But we must remember that ecclesiastical sovereignty in the people does not necessitate uniformity in organization and worship. As in the State, so in the Church, it may choose either a monarchic or a republican form. It only insists that the power of election be in itself. In apostolic times government in one region was by bishops, and in another by presbyters. And liturgies took color from localities. The primitive Catholic unity developed into a natural and generous variety. Indeed, the greater the inner liberty the greater may be the outer difference. This condition is in the very life of freedom, and thus becomes its law.

Let the Greek Church cast out its idols, withdraw

its worship from its saints, cease its altar adoration, and take Christ as its only Mediator! Rejecting its icons, must it abolish its patriarch? With transubstantiation, must it also repudiate hierarchy? Must its splendid ceremonial be abandoned when its priestly absolution ceases?

Let the pope purge himself from superstition, recede from his claim to supremacy and infallibility, and walk, not in his own human light, but only by the illumination of the oracles of his God! If his sovereign people elect, he may still sit on his pontifical throne and retain the magnificence of St. Peter's.

Who would withhold from the Archbishop of Canterbury his liberty of worship in the pure and beautiful service of London's venerable cathedral? He has the same right to his choir that the Quaker has to his quiet. One man prefers the dignified Greek and Latin and Anglican ceremonial solemnity, and another the spontaneity and sympathy of denominational worship. Each has a right to his choice. What we claim for ourselves we must concede to others. The liberty left in Scripture is in accordance with the peculiarities of race and nation. What suits China does not suit England. Always taste in Africa will differ from taste in America. Eskimos and Frenchmen will never worship alike. Christianity is neither arctic, nor antarctic, nor tropical. It is for poles and equator. A catholic religion must have an adaptation wide as our humanity. Millennial unity in faith and love may exhibit itself in innumerable forms, as the same life in the universe animates insect and archangel, and

the same light shines over creation in colors of beauty and glory more delicate and more dazzling because broken into an infinitude of hues and splendors.

In the brightest future of our earth external differences may be multiplied, while all Christians are one in the saving truths of our religion. Let Greek patriarch and Roman pope and Anglican archbishop and Protestant minister have the same remission by faith in the blood of our incarnate God, and the same renewal by the Holy Ghost, and the same access to the Father, and the same brotherhood of universal love, and the same rule in the Scripture! In all else their differences may be multitudinous. Charity then becomes unity. Fellowship in Christ makes liberty among disciples. Only a millennial Democracy can create a true Ecumenical Council. The light of future love will yet shine down from heaven on a spectacle which will thrill mortals and angels and wake the songs of a universe—from east and west, from north and south, Greeks, Latins, Anglicans, Protestants, led by pope and patriarch and archbishop and minister, partaking together the emblems of our common salvation! When such an assembly convenes we may leave the small discords of earth to be hushed in the everlasting harmonies of heaven. Christian Democracy, an expedient of time, is to be exchanged for a celestial and immortal Kingdom.

THE END.