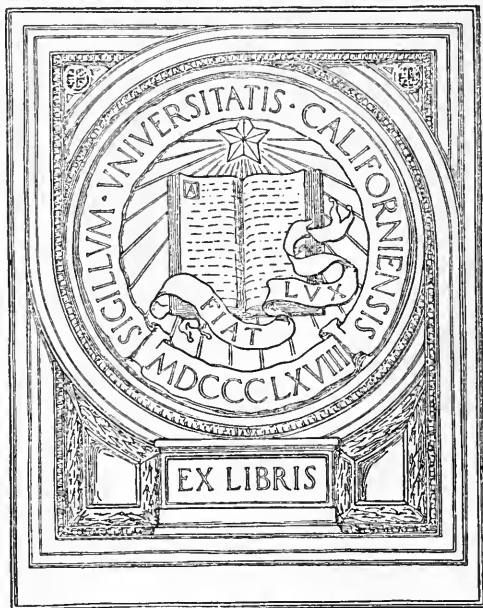


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COMPENDIUM
OF
CHURCH HISTORY

BY THE

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY THE

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176
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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

PART I. THE ANCIENT PERIOD.

(B. C. 4—A. D. 590.)

INTRODUCTION BY THE REV. JOHN DEWITT, D.D., LL. D. 1-3.

PRELIMINARY.

History—Church History—History of the Christian Church—The Christian Church—Visible and invisible—Church History and secular History—Advantages of the study—Divisions..... 5-10

CHAPTER I.

CONDITION OF THE WORLD.

Preparation for Christianity—Contribution of Greece to this preparation—Contribution of Rome—Corrupt religion and morals—Judaism—The Pharisees—Sadducees—Essenes—Scribes—Synagogue—Dispersion—Alexandrian influence—Proselytes—Samaritans—Political history..... 11-17

CHAPTER II.

THE APOSTOLIC AGE (30-100).

Birth of Jesus Christ—Ministry and death—Pentecost—Original community—Appointment of deacons—Martyrdom of Stephen—Preaching in Samaria—Preaching to proselytes—Preaching to Gentiles—Paul's conversion—First missionary journey—Question concerning Gentile Christians—Assembly at Jerusalem—Second missionary journey—Third missionary journey—Peter—James—The other Apostles—John—The Christian Church and the world—Persecution under Nero and Domitian—Fall of Jerusalem—Polity of the Church—Worship—Lord's Supper—Baptism—Other ordinances—Literary activity (writing of the New Testament)—Heresies..... 18-30

CHAPTER III.

THE SUB-APOSTOLIC AGE (100-170 A. D.).

Spread of Christianity—Christianity distinguished from Judaism—The Jews after the fall of Jerusalem—Rabbinical schools—Christianity and the world—Laws affecting the Church—Pliny's letter to Trajan—Hadrian—Antoninus Pius—Marcus Aurelius. Literary productions—Apostolic Fathers—Clement—Barnabas—Ignatius—Hermas—Polycarp—Papias—*The Teachings of the Twelve*—The Apologists—Justin—Tatian—Heresies—Pseudo-Clementine writings—Nazarenes, Ebionites, etc—Gnostics in general—Special Gnostic systems—Bardesanes—Development of local association—Catholic Church—Worship—Montanism..... 31-43

iii.

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Dr. J. B.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ANTE-NICENE PERIOD (170-325 A. D.).

| | |
|---|-------|
| Spread of Christianity—Attacks of Pagan philosophers—Apollonius of Tyana—Neo-Platonism—Porphyry—Persecutions—Alexander Severus—Maximin—Decius—Gallienus—Diocletian..... | 44-50 |
|---|-------|

CHAPTER V.

ANTE-NICENE CHRISTIAN THOUGHT.

| | |
|---|-------|
| Christian writings—Irenæus—Hippolytus—Gaius—Hegesippus—Julius Africanus—Tertullian—Minor Latin writers—Alexandrian School—Pantænus—Clement—Origen (life works, Theology)—Dionysius—Gregory Thaumaturgus—Methodius—Emergence of the Canon of the New Testament—The Rule of Faith—Heresies—The Alogi—Monarchianism—Dynamic Monarchianism—Theodotus—Paul of Samosata—Modal Monarchianism—Patripassians—Sabellius—Eeryl—Chiliasm..... | 51-59 |
|---|-------|

CHAPTER VI.

ECCLESIASTICAL DEVELOPMENT.

| | |
|---|-------|
| Clergy and laity—The bishops—Presbyters and deacons—Lower clergy—Election and consecration of bishops—Support of clergy—Marriage—Hierarchical organization—Synods—Patriarchates—Primacy of Rome—Ecclesiastical law—Discipline—Schism of Callixtus and Hippolytus—of Novatian—Felicissimus—Fortunatus—Meletius—Worship—Baptism—Sacred Seasons—Quartodeciman controversy—Church buildings—Catacombs—Emblematic decorations—Asceticism—Hermits—Anthony—Manichæism..... | 60-69 |
|---|-------|

CHAPTER VII.

CHURCH AND STATE IN THE NICENE AGE (325-590).

| | |
|---|-------|
| Constantine and Licinnius—Christianity made the state religion—Character of Constantine—His sons—Julian—Restoration of Christianity—Attitude of Pagan philosophy—Suppression of heathenism—Hypsistarians and Eucharæ—Christianity in Persia—In Armenia—In Abyssinia—Among the Goths—Among the Franks—In Britain—In Ireland—St. Patrick—In Scotland..... | 70-77 |
|---|-------|

CHAPTER VIII.

THE HIERARCHY AND POLITY.

| | |
|---|-------|
| Extension of episcopal administration—Privileges granted by the government to Church—New officers—Qualifications for entering clerical life—Ecumenical councils—Patriarchates—Claims of Rome—Leo I..... | 78-82 |
|---|-------|

CHAPTER IX.

THEOLOGY AND CONTROVERSIES.

| | |
|--|-------|
| Arius and his views—Council of Nicæa 325—Semi-Arian controversy—Anomæans and Homoiousians—Ambrose and Hilary—Macedonianism—The Cappadocian theologians—Origen's influence—Origenistic controversy—Theophilus and Chrysostom—Christological controversies—Apollinaris—Theodore of Mopsuestia—Nestorianism—Etychianism—Monophysitism—Council of Chalcedon—Debates on Monophysitism—Fifth Ecumenical Council—Jacobites—Augustine—His work—His theology—Pelagianism—Julian of Eclanum—Semi-Pelagianism—Priscillianism..... | 83-97 |
|--|-------|

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

v.

CHAPTER X.

NICENE AND POST-NICENE INSTITUTIONS.

| | |
|---|--------|
| Eucharistic service—Doctrine of Sacrifice—Sunday—Easter—Epiphany and Christmas—Saint and martyr worship—The Virgin Mary—Angel-worship—Image-worship—Opposition to images—Church buildings—Discipline—Baptism—Law—Donatists—Monasticism—Cœnobites—Monastic rules—Western Monasticism—Jovinian..... | 98-105 |
|---|--------|

PART II. THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD. (590-1517.)

CHAPTER I.

THE GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

| | |
|--|---------|
| End of the Western Empire—The Church and the Dark Ages—Limits of the Middle Ages—Geographical distribution of races..... | 107-109 |
|--|---------|

CHAPTER II.

THE CHURCH IN THE EAST.

| | |
|---|---------|
| The disturbing elements—Arabia—Its people and its religions—Life of Mohammed—System—The Koran—Spread of Mohammedanism—Monothelite controversy—Sixth Ecumenical Council—The Quinisext Council—Subsequent history of Monothelites—Image-worship—Controversy—Seventh Ecumenical Council—Final Conflict—The Western Church on Image-Worship—Paulicians..... | 110-117 |
|---|---------|

CHAPTER III.

THE CHURCH IN THE WEST—THE FRANK KINGDOM.

| | |
|--|---------|
| Gregory I.—Controversy as to universal bishopric—Successors of Gregory—The Frank Kingdom—Charles Martel—Pepin the Short—Charlemagne—The Holy Roman Empire..... | 118-121 |
|--|---------|

CHAPTER IV.

CHRISTIANIZATION OF THE TEUTONS.

| | |
|---|---------|
| General character of medieval missions—Augustine and the Anglo-Saxons—The Keltic Churches—Christian literature in England—Columbanus—Willibrord—Boniface..... | 122-125 |
|---|---------|

CHAPTER V.

CHRISTIAN THOUGHT AND LIFE IN THE WEST.

| | |
|---|---------|
| The Court of Charlemagne—Isidore of Seville—Adoptionism—Adoptionism condemned—Ecclesiastical corruption—Legislation passes into the hands of the civil government—Law of Spain—of Charlemagne—Legislation as to clergy—Ecclesiastical discipline—Penitential books—Homiliaria—Church music..... | 126-130 |
|---|---------|

CHAPTER VI.

THE PAPACY AND THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE (800-1073).

| | |
|---|---------|
| Decline of the Carolingian dynasty—Temporary decline of the Papacy—The Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals—The Female Pope Joanna—Nicholas I.—Hadrian II.—John VIII.—The Pornocracy—Tusculan Supremacy—Synod of Sutri and Reforms..... | 131-136 |
|---|---------|

CHAPTER VII.

CHRISTIANIZATION OF THE SCANDINAVIANS AND SLAVS.

- Harald Klak—Ansgar in Denmark, in Sweden—Conversion of Denmark—Norway—Iceland—The Slavs—Christianization of Bulgaria—Moravia—Bohemia—Poland—Russia—the Wends—the Magyars..... 137-143

CHAPTER VIII.

CONTROVERSIES AND SCHISMS.

- Augustinianism in the Church—Gotschalk—His view condemned—His imprisonment—Controversy carried on—John Scotus Erigena—End of the controversy—Sacramentarian controversy—Berengarius and his views—Differences between Eastern and Western churches—Separation in the ninth century—Final schism..... 144-150

CHAPTER IX.

LIFE AND MORALS IN THE MIDDLE AGES

- Degeneration of morals—The Dark Century—The wholesome influence of the Church—Slavery—Private feuds—"Truce of God"—Discipline—Worship—Hymnology—Monasticism—Reforms—Clugny..... 151-155

CHAPTER X.

THE PAPACY AND THE EMPIRE IN CONFLICT (1073-1294).

- Accession of Gregory VII.—Reforms—Ideals of Hildebrand—Conflict with and submission of Henry IV.—Rebellion of Henry, and death of the pope—Successors of Gregory—Guelph and Ghibelline—Arnold of Brescia—Conflict with Frederick Barbarossa—Henry II. and Thomas à Becket—Innocent III.—Frederick II.—Fifth Crusade—Conflict renewed—Fall of the Hohenstaufen—Louis IX. and the Pragmatic sanction—The Hapsburgs—Gregory X.—Martin IV.—Sicilian vespers—Celestine V..... 156-164

CHAPTER XI.

THE CRUSADES—WARS OF THE CHURCH AGAINST INFIDELS AND HERETICS.

- Mohammedan control of Palestine—Peter the Hermit—The First crusade—Consequences—Knightly orders—Second crusade—Third crusade—Fourth crusade—Fifth crusade—Sixth and seventh crusades—Good and evil results—Albigensian crusade—Waldensians—Petrobrusians—Bogomiles..... 165-170

CHAPTER XII.

MONASTICISM AND SCHOLASTICISM—LEARNING AND PIETY.

- Spirit of independence—New orders—Cistercians—Other orders—The Carthusians—The Mendicants—Dominican order—Franciscan order—Growth of the Mendicant orders—Universities—Arabic and Jewish Aristotelianism—Scholasticism—Anselm—Abelard—Bernard of Clairvaux—Gilbert of Porrée—School of St. Victor—Peter Lombard—Alexander Hales—John of Salisbury—Albertus Magnus—Thomas Aquinas—Bonaventura—Duns Scotus—Roger Bacon—Raymond Lull..... 171-179

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

vii.

CHAPTER XIII.

DECLINE OF THE PAPACY.

Boniface VIII. and Philip the Fair—Removal to Avignon—Babylonian captivity of the papacy—Feud with the empire—The Golden Bull—Rienzi—End of the captivity—The great schism—Attempts to heal the breach—Council of Constance—Council of Basel—Removal to Florence—Plan to reunite the Eastern and Western churches—Fall of Constantinople—Revival of crusading—The "wicked" popes—Leo X. 180-187

CHAPTER XIV.

LITERATURE AND PHILOSOPHY.

Scholasticism—William of Occam—Marsilius of Padua—Gabriel Biel—Mysticism—Eckhart—Tauler—Nicholas of Easel—Henry Suso—John Ruysbroek—The Friends of God—Thomas à Kempis—Natural Science—Raymond of Sabunde—Biblical learning—Nicholas de Lyra—Faber Stapulensis—The Renaissance—Reuchlin—Erasmus—Colet and More. 188-192

CHAPTER XV.

SPIRITUAL LIFE.

The Jubilee—Indulgences—Inquisition—Wyclif—John Huss—Hussite war—Calixtines and Taborites—Savonarola..... 193-197

PART III. THE MODERN PERIOD. (1517-1896.)

CHAPTER I.

THE RISE OF THE REFORMATION (1517-1555).

Leo X. decides on the sale of indulgences—Martin Luther's early life—Martin Luther a monk and professor at Wittenberg—The posting of the ninety-five theses—Leipzig disputation—Excommunication—Melancthon—Diet of Worms—Luther at the Wartburg—The Zwickau prophets at Wittenberg—Diets of Nuremberg and Speyer—Diet of Augsburg—Luther's marriage—His disputes with Henry VIII.—With Erasmus—Peasants' war—Zwingli—His removal to Zürich and spread of his views—Political complications—Lutheran and Zwinglian reforms compared—Sacramentarian controversy—Marburg conference—Religious war in Switzerland—Death of Zwingli—League of Smalcald—Conference at Ratisbon—Death of Luther—Smalcaldic War—Peace of Augsburg..... 198-209

CHAPTER II.

THE SPREAD OF THE REFORMATION.

The Reformation in Denmark—Norway, Ireland, Sweden—In France—under Francis I.—Under Henry II.—In England under Henry VIII.—Rupture with Rome—Progress of Reformation—Edward VI.—Geneva and Farel—John Calvin—*Institutes*—Calvinism at Geneva—Libertines—Servetus..... 210-218

CHAPTER III.

THE COUNTER-REFORMATION.

Effect of the reformation on the Catholic Church—Italy and the reformation—Oratory of the Divine Love—Two tendencies—Contarini and his party—Caraffa—Council of Trent—Decision as to Scripture—Theological questions—Sacraments—Suspension of sessions—Resumption—Paul IV. and Carlo Borromeo—Moral reforms and effects of the Council—The Inquisition—The Index Expurgatorius—The Inquisition in Spain—New monastic orders—The Jesuits—Origin—Constitution—Labors—Missions..... 219-228

CHAPTER IV.

STRUGGLES OF PROTESTANTISM ON THE CONTINENT (1555-1648).

Abdication of Charles V.—Phillip II. in the Netherlands—The princes of Holland—Break with Phillip II.—Formation of the Dutch Republic—Prince Maurice—France under Henry II.—under Francis II.—Charles IX.—Treaty of St. Germain—Henry III.—Henry of Navarre—Edict of Nantes—Beginning of the Thirty Years' War—First and second periods—Gustavus Adolphus—Richelieu—The Treaty of Westphalia.... 229-236

CHAPTER V.

CHURCHES OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

Accession of Mary—Persecutions—Accession of Elizabeth—Origin of Puritanism—Independency—James I.—Authorized version of the Bible—Severity against Catholics—Conflict with Parliament—Charles I.—Strafford and Laud—The Book of Sports—Conflict with Hampden and Cromwell—Long Parliament—Execution of Strafford and Laud—Civil war—Execution of the king—Reforms in Scotland—Organization of the Congregation and Covenant—John Knox—Mary Queen of Scots—Melville—Efforts to episcopalianize the Church of Scotland..... 237-246

CHAPTER VI.

DEVELOPMENT OF PROTESTANT THEOLOGY.

The Augsburg confession and the *Loci Communes*—Agricola and Antinomianism—Schwenkfeld and Osiander—Lutherans and Melancthonians—Adiaphoristic controversy—Synergistic controversy—Flacianism—Crypto-Calvinism—Formula of Concord—Rise of Arminianism—The Remonstrance—Synod of Dort—Westminster Assembly—The Solemn League and Covenant—Work of the Westminster Assembly..... 247-254

CHAPTER VII.

THE POLITICAL CHANGES AND THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

Changes brought about by the treaty of Westphalia—Decline of Holy Roman Empire—Poland, Sweden, and Spain—Growth of Russia and the Netherlands—France—The last Stuarts—The Gallican question—Jansenism—Port Royal—Pascal and the Provincial Letters—Quesnel's *Moral Reflections*—Bulls in Veniam Dominus and *Unigenitus*—End of Jansenism—Quietism—Madame Guyon and Fénelon—St. Francis of Sales—The Jesuits on the mission-field—unpopularity at home—Suppression of the order..... 255-261

CHAPTER VIII.

LUTHERAN ORTHODOXY AND DISSENT.

| | |
|---|---------|
| Lutheranism in Germany and Scandinavia—Pietism—Spener—Francke—Zinzendorf—The Moravian Brethren—Moravian theology—Swedenborg—Swedenborgianism—The New Jerusalem Church—Kenotic-Cryptic controversy—Calixtine controversy—Syncretism..... | 262-266 |
|---|---------|

CHAPTER IX.

THE ANGLICAN AND REFORMED CHURCHES.

| | |
|--|---------|
| Cromwell and the Independents—Charles II.—Scotland—Cameronians—James II.—William and Mary—Queen Anne—Bounty Fund—Sachevernell case—Bangorian controversy—Roman Catholics—The Reformed Church in France, in Switzerland—Holland, Cocceians and Voëtians—Federal Theology—Amyraldian theology..... | 267-271 |
|--|---------|

CHAPTER X.

PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY

| | |
|--|---------|
| Bacon—Descartes—New beginning in philosophy—Spinoza—Locke—Leibnitz and Wolf—Berkeley and idealism—Kant—Deism—Herbert of Cherbury—Thomas Hobbes—Charles Blunt—John Toland—Anthony Collins—Bolingbroke—Hume—French Deists—Voltaire—Rousseau—The Encyclopedists—German Rationalism—(The <i>Aufklärung</i>) Frederick II.—Degeneration of pulpit—Lessing—Unitarianism in England—Samuel Clark—Nathaniel Lardner—William Whiston—Theophilus Lindsey—Joseph Priestley—Unitarian defences—Bull—Waterland—Butler—Paley—Scholars and theologians—Leighton, Burnet, Prideaux, Bingham, Jeremy Taylor, Pearson, Barrow, South—Puritans Baxter, Owen, Howe, Seldon, Milton, Bunyan—Latitudinarianism Cudworth—Tillotson—Hymn-writing, Toplady, Watts, the Wesleys, Doddridge..... | 272-280 |
|--|---------|

CHAPTER XI.

QUAKERS AND METHODISTS.

| | |
|--|---------|
| Universal decline of spiritual life in the post-Reformation age—Reformation age—Origin of Friends—The Inner light extravagances—The Oxford Methodists—Wesley and the Moravians—Wesley's visit to Herrnhut—Whitefield—Preaching by the revivalists—Wesley's work—Name of organization—Methodist society becomes a church—Whitefield in Wales and America—Results—Theology and learning..... | 281-286 |
|--|---------|

CHAPTER XII.

NEW CONDITIONS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

| | |
|--|---------|
| Philosophy and politics potent factors—French revolution, causes—Outbreak—Radical changes—Bonaparte—Restoration of Church affairs in France—Changes in the rest of Europe—Progress in England—Philosophy until Hegel—Fichte, Herbert, Schelling—Hegel—Schopenhauer—Comte—Spencer—Scottish philosophy—Jacobi—Lotze..... | 287-293 |
|--|---------|

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

| | |
|--|---------|
| Pius VII.—Gregory XVI.—Pius IX.—Vatican Council—Dogma of infallibility—Old Catholic movement—The pope as a prisoner at the Vatican—Leo XIII.—Diverging tendencies in Romanism—Ultramontanism—The Kultur-Kampf—Schools Jesuits—May laws—Reconciliation..... | 294-298 |
|--|---------|

CHAPTER XIV.

PROTESTANTISM IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

Reunion of Lutheran and Reformed churches in Germany—The Reformed Church in France—Waldensians in Italy—The Church in Holland—Free Church in Scotland—Schleiermacher—His influence—Strauss, Baur and the Tübingen school—Ritschl—S. T. Coleridge—Broad Church party in England—Tractarianism—Low Church party—Edward Irving and the Catholic Apostolic Church—Practical tendency—Missions, Carey, London Missionary Society, its missionaries—Morrison, Williams, Ellis, Moffat, Livingstone—Scottish Missionary Society, Robert Haldane—Church Missionary Society—The missionary idea across the Channel—Special missions—Churches as missionary organizations—Bible societies—Sunday schools—Evangelical Alliance—Its constitution and work..... 299-308

CHAPTER XV.

CHRISTIANITY IN AMERICA—IN THE COLONIAL ERA.

Discoveries—Explorations and colonizations of western hemisphere—Missionaries with Spaniards—Olmedo—French and Jesuits—English colonies—The Pilgrims—Winthrop and the Puritans—Hooker and the Connecticut colony—Calvert—and Maryland—Pennsylvania—Georgia—Smaller companies—Carolinas—Dutch settlement, New York—Catholicism and Puritanism in America—Forms of Protestantism—Roger Williams and Rhode Island—Church Government in Massachusetts—Cambridge platform—Saybrook platform—Half-way Covenant—Education in the Colonies: Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Princeton—Theologians—Hutchinsonianism—Solomon Stoddard's view of the Lord's Supper—Religious life—Witchcraft delusion—Missions—Eliot—Sargeant—Brainerd..... 309-320

CHAPTER XVI.

THE NATIONAL ERA.

Low condition of religion—Deism and infidelity—Revival of 1796-1803—Free Church system—Denominationalism—The Episcopal Church—Timothy Cutler—White—Seabury—Low Church and Broad Church—Rise of Unitarianism—Parker—Transcendentalism—New England Theology—Missions of Congregationalists—Emerson—Baptists—Missions—Campbellites—Presbyterians in New England—Makemie Disruption of 1745-1748—Disruption of 1837—Cumberland Presbyterian Southern Church—Presbyterian missions—Dutch and German Reformed Churches—Lutherans—Methodism—Divisions—Roman Catholics—Archbishop Carroll—Universalists—Rely—Murray..... 321-334

INTRODUCTION.

EVERY writer on education recognizes the fine influence exerted by the study of history in disciplining and cultivating the faculties and in enlarging the intellectual horizon. The study of history can best be pursued from the point of view of the Christian Church. For the Christian Church, as the exponent, guardian and missionary of the Christian religion, not only is entrusted with the most important interests of individual men and of human society, but, for that very reason, stands in the most intimate and complex relations to all other institutions and forces, and to all events which affect the welfare of mankind. In this view of it, the history of the Christian Church is the history of man from the standpoint of religion; and this is the true standpoint. No other point of view embraces within its range so large a prospect, or presents its details in their profoundest inter-relations. In these respects, the point of view of politics, or of the fine arts, or of science, or of industry and commerce, or of all combined in the term civilization, must yield to that of religion, and especially of Christianity considered as the absolute and therefore the universal religion.

For religion, after all, is the central, persistent and universal historical force and cause. The claim made by St. Paul (Rom. i. 16) that the gospel is the power of God

(*δύναμις Θεοῦ*) is by nothing more strikingly and abundantly confirmed, than by the history of the peoples of Europe and America since this gospel has entered as a force into their civilizations. No one can read the great and accepted histories of these peoples or of sections of them, such as Gibbon's Rome, Guizot's Civilization, Hallam's Middle Ages, Robertson's Charles V., Hume's England, Macaulay's English Revolution, Motley's Rise of the Dutch Republic, Bancroft's United States and others which need not be mentioned here, without being profoundly impressed by the fact, that all of these great historians, whether deists, moderates, or believing Christians, agree in the belief that not politics but religion is the greatest of historical energies, the true historical cause of causes. For this reason, it is through the study of the history of Christianity that we have a right to hope that we shall achieve and be able finally to formulate the philosophy of history.

But how shall the history of Christianity be studied? What can the layman or theological student or clergyman do, in order to grasp surely and hold in his mind this vast and complicated mass of facts? We all know that the materials of history are so abundant and so various, that when one first thinks of them with a view to their mastery, he is apt to be overwhelmed and to abandon the task in sheer despair.

This despair, I believe, would in most cases be dissipated if the student were to give himself in the first place to the modest work of making himself perfectly familiar with a brief and trustworthy outline of Church history. At all events, the mastery of such an outline is an indispensable prerequisite to the interested and intelligent study of

the subject. One must have a synoptic view of the whole life of Christianity in the world, in order to understand the detailed narrative of a particular historical personage or period or movement. Hence the writer who contributes a satisfactory outline of Church history, that is to say, an outline marked by clearness, reasonable fullness, accuracy and true perspective, renders a great service to all historical students and readers.

Precisely this great service has been rendered by my friend and former colleague, Prof. A. C. Zenos, of McCormick Theological Seminary, in the volume I have the great honor thus to introduce. I know no better outline than this one. The author's knowledge of the sources and literature of the subject is exceptionally large. The conception of history which dominates his book is the true conception. He holds that the historical movement is vital and organic. And his experience as Professor of History in one of the largest and most influential of the theological seminaries of the Church has enabled him to adjust his volume to the needs of theological students. His work merits a wide circulation and faithful study.

JOHN DEWITT.

PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
July 13th, 1896.

PRELIMINARY.

HISTORY is either the sum and substance of events themselves or the narrative and record of those events. It is that which happens or a true account of it. The History. word may be and is used legitimately in both of these senses. As long as it is clearly understood which of the meanings is attached to it there is, of course, no harm from this twofold use of the term. History as a study, as a species of literature and a science, deals with the second of the two conceptions above named. It is an attempt to represent to the mind as truthfully as possible, that is, in its chronological and genetic flow the history that has taken place. By as much as this is accomplished, by as much, that is to say, as the record corresponds with the events that have occurred, the true and complete idea of history is fulfilled. It becomes therefore extremely important to begin with a clear conception of the special field which the student of any special history is about to enter.

In a very broad sense Church History has been defined as the history of God's people on earth. In this sense it begins with the creation of the first human pair. When by the Fall the human race forfeited as a unit the title and the privileges of the people of God, a promise was given of restoration (Gen. iii. 15). In the fulfillment of this promise two stages are to be distinguished: First the period of the unfolding of the promise. This, regarded from another point of view, is a period of preparation. A portion of the race was separated, made the special guardian of the promise and subject of its beneficent provisions. The promise itself became more and more clearly revealed, not only to

the people that received it, but to the world through them. Church history during this stage of the development of the promise is the history of this specially favored portion of the human race. They are the people of God. The second stage in the realization of the promise begins with the actual and complete fulfillment of it in the person of Jesus Christ. Appearing within the people of God as organized in the first stage, Jesus Christ proclaimed the kingdom of God. He called to his side a body of men whom he especially instructed and trained to be the leaders of the new order of things. He promised them the Holy Spirit to take his own place as their guide, when he himself should leave them, and to enlighten their minds as occasion should present itself in the perfecting of the new dispensation. Accordingly, at the proper time, the Holy Spirit was bestowed upon the disciples of Jesus, and they spontaneously formed themselves into a new community. Ever since that occasion Church history has been the history of this new or Christian community.

While the above is a very broad and in many respects logical idea of Church history, usage has settled down to a slightly different one. It has been the practice, uniform for a long time past, to speak of Church history as the history, in a loose sense of the Christian Church, leaving out the pre-Christian part of the history of God's people for another rubric under one of several titles, such as History of the Jewish Church, The History of Israel, The History of the Old Testament, etc. Church history, according to this almost universal practice, includes only the second stage of the history of God's people as above described. In the search for a clearer conception of the field of Church history we are thus led to limit ourselves to the inquiry, What is the Christian Church?

The Christian Church is that spiritual society which Jesus Christ founded to participate in the benefits of the kingdom of God and communicate the same to the whole world. This society is essentially a spiritual organization, and its true and inner history transcends the observation of the

History of the
Christian
Church.

The Christian
Church, visible
and invisible.

senses. Its Head is the glorified Jesus Christ himself, and its organizing force the Holy Spirit. Yet it is manifested first, in an outward fellowship, consisting of all those who profess their faith in Jesus, then in clearly defined forms of religious life, and lastly in institutions calculated to promote the spiritual life according to the ideals presented by its great Head. To distinguish between the Church of Jesus Christ strictly conceived of and the outward and institutional manifestations of the same, the adjectives "visible" and "invisible" have been and are sometimes used. While these adjectives express a difference and may serve a good purpose, it is more convenient practically to set aside this distinction. Church history cannot, after all, be the history of the Christian Church either in its invisible or its visible form. The history of the invisible Church, from the nature of the case, cannot be studied scientifically, and as for the visible form of it, it would entail very much research and division of opinion to undertake to determine what the Church is in this sense, besides departing from that usage which has already been appealed to as favoring the idea of Church history as the history of the Christian Church only in a loose sense. More precisely, then, Church history is the history of Christianity. It is only on the basis of this conception of it that we shall see the propriety of beginning, as Church historians uniformly do, with the organization of Christianity in the Apostolic age, and including in our survey all the facts which either directly or indirectly have issued from or centered in Christianity.

The relation of Church history to secular history on the basis of this idea will appear much closer than the terms secular and ecclesiastical strictly construed would lead one to suppose. Christianity is planted in the world with the evident purpose of conveying to the world certain benefits. Whether it endeavor to do this by attracting the world into its own organized society, or diffusing itself through the world of human society in some inexplicable way, as some of its most recent interpreters claim it must do, it stands in the closest relations to the world. The

stream of the world's history cannot run separately and in a parallel channel to its own, but must mingle, and at times be identical with it. To attempt to disentangle Church history from secular history is to shut off much of the light in which the facts of Church history must be seen in order to be correctly interpreted.

The advantages of the study of Church history to ministers and theologians are very apparent. The same advantages exist in this study for others than ministers and theologians. Some of these may be specially mentioned.

Advantages
of the Study.

First, the subject is full of interest in itself. There is in this field enough to arrest the attention, to stimulate thought and gratify the thirst for information which exists, and should exist, in every healthy human soul.

Secondly, for the Christian this natural interest is enhanced by the consciousness that he is here face to face with his spiritual pedigree. The Church of the past is his ancestry. If he feel his vital connection with the people of God, he appropriates to himself some share in the best deeds of the best men the world has produced. If he lack this feeling, no means will be found more effectual in arousing it in him than the actual contact with these men and deeds.

Thirdly, Church history, as dealing with the course of the kingdom of God on earth, appeals to the interest of the Christian in the divine purpose. Even if one were to be indifferent to its attractions as a field in which he might learn of his own spiritual ancestry, as a field where he has an opportunity to trace the fortunes of a divine institution and a divine purpose, it should not fail to attract the Christian.

Fourthly, the study is full of instruction. History is said to repeat itself. This is not only true but practically an extremely valuable truth to bear in mind. The past is full of parallels to the present. One who has familiarized himself with these will not find himself at a loss as to how to meet difficulties. The successes of those who in the past met the situations that confront him will guide him also to success if he imitate their course; and their

failures will warn him to avoid their mistakes. Many apparently new ideas he will recognize as old errors exploded long ago, and avoid the snare thus spread before him.

Fifthly, the student of history is bound to grow more and more broad and catholic as he understands the secrets of his science. He will learn to love men of other names and persuasions than his own. He will see the breadth of the true Church of God. He will enter into the controversies of past ages with a calm mind and see much good in the side which was perhaps mainly wrong. He will see, on the other hand, much wrong in the side which was in the main right. He will learn thus to distrust mere partisan feeling and acquire the habit of entering into present-day debates with earnestness, and yet with consideration for those who may differ from him.

Finally, the student of Church history cannot but be inspired and stimulated by the noble lives and great thoughts of the saints of God. As he comes in contact with those who sacrificed their lives in testimony of the truth in which they believed and for the love of their Master, he will feel himself rebuked for every impulse to refuse to sacrifice; he will be stimulated to earnestness and enthusiasm in the Christian life.

The divisions of Church history must be based on pivotal events in the life of the Church. While history in general, and ecclesiastical history in particular, is continuous, yet certain critical moments in it furnish logical and convenient points of partition into periods. Different views have been put forth as to which are the epoch-making events of Church history and consequently different schemes of periodology have been proposed. Perhaps the one which combines the largest number of considerations in its favor is that which has gained in acceptance in recent years. According to this scheme there are to be distinguished three main periods in the history of the Christian Church as follows:

Divisions of
Church His-
tory.

I. The Ancient Period beginning with the Advent of

Jesus Christ 4 B. C. and extending to the accession of Gregory I. (the Great), A. D. 590.

II. The Mediæval Period beginning with the accession of Gregory I., A. D. 590, and extending to the opening of the Reformation A. D. 1517.

III. The Modern Period beginning with the Reformation and extending to the present time, A. D. 1517-1896.

These large periods may be further subdivided into epochs or ages as follows :

I. The Ancient Period into :

1. The Apostolic Age, to the death of the last of the Apostles, or about A. D. 100.

2. The Sub-Apostolic Age, to the Rise of the Catholic Church, or about A. D. 170.

3. The Ante-Nicene Epoch, to the Council of Nicæa, A. D. 325.

4. The Post-Nicene Epoch, to the end of the Ancient Period, A. D. 590.

II. The Mediæval Period :

1. The Development of the Papacy, to the foundation of the Holy Roman Empire, A. D. 800.

2. The Papacy and the Holy Roman Empire, to the accession of Hildebrand, A. D. 1073.

3. The Ascendancy of the Papacy, to A. D. 1294.

4. The Decline of the Papacy, to the end of the Mediæval Period, A. D. 1517.

III. The Modern Period :

1. The Reformation Generation, to A. D. 1555.

2. The Consolidation of the Reformation, to the Treaty of Westphalia, A. D. 1648.

3. The Post-Reformation Epoch, to the French Revolution, A. D. 1789.

4. The Contemporaneous Age, or the Nineteenth Century, to the Present day.

PART I. THE ANCIENT PERIOD.

(4 B. C.—A. D. 590.)

CHAPTER I.

CONDITION OF THE WORLD.

CHRISTIANITY made its appearance in the world after a thorough preparation. “When the fullness of the time was come, God sent forth his Son.” This preparation was not merely that made in Palestine through God’s chosen people, but throughout the pagan world by means of the religious, philosophical and political ideas and institutions developed in Europe and Asia and the northern coast of Africa.

The world of paganism prepared the way for Christianity through the two successive waves emanating respectively from the predominance of the Greek and the Roman influence. The contribution of the Greek world to this preparation consists in the elaboration of intellectual systems and the cultivation of the æsthetic faculty. Philosophy and Art, though perhaps not directly entering into the first forms in which the gospel was preached, opened the way for the better understanding and appreciation of its depths and refinements. Philosophy, especially after having run a full cycle of thought under the earlier philosophers, and again under Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, had despaired of attaining its object, that is, the ultimate unity and explanation of all things. It was at the time of the appear-

ance of Christianity pointing to a certain philosophic monotheism as the only residue from the thoughts and labors of centuries. This was naturally combined in the Stoic system with a certain appreciation of rigid, disinterested morality. The value of these Greek elements was enhanced by their spread through the conquests of Alexander and the domination of his successors in Syria and Egypt. The Macedonian armies, like the inundation of a great river, carried Greek philosophy, and especially the Greek language, into the immediate region in which the gospel was to be preached. These, therefore, presented ready forms and a suitable vehicle for the dissemination of the gospel.

The contribution of the Roman world to the preparation of the world for the gospel was similar to that of the Greek world and yet different. It consisted mainly in the unification of the whole civilized world by means of Roman arms and of Roman law and government, which served also as a model and a mould in many particulars for the Christian Church when it came to be organized more fully than its first founders had left it. At the time of the appearance of our Lord on earth the Roman Empire extended from the Euphrates to the Atlantic Ocean and from the Rhine to the African desert. Though perhaps not equally throughout this vast territory, yet over a large portion of it, the authority of the powerful government of Rome had made travel, commerce and intercourse safe and easy. The missionary journeys of the apostles were thus made possible or at any rate facilitated.

Alongside of these positive elements, which may be regarded as, in general, helpful to the cause of the gospel, the heathen world, both in its Greek and Roman branches developed the negative features of a corrupt religious life and a degraded morality. Polytheism, such as prevailed with the masses among the Greeks and Romans, had had its full and legitimate effect. Superstition and empty formalism were the only manifestations of the religious feeling. The religion of Rome came to be officially called

Contribution
of Rome.

Corrupt Re-
ligion and
Morals.

“the Roman ceremonies.” And as for morals, the pages of the most popular writers of the day, together with the portraiture on the walls of the houses excavated at Pompeii, unite with the apostle’s terrible arraignment of the foul practices openly indulged in at the time (Rom. 1 : 19-32). Thus while paganism was paving the way for Christ through the good it was developing within itself in the form of Greek philosophy and art and Roman law and government, it was also leading men, through the back way of revulsion, disgust, and despair, to entertain in a friendly spirit any system that might arouse hope and appeal to the better instincts and impulses of their nature.

Meantime Judaism developed some specific features during the generations immediately preceding the advent of Jesus Christ. The Babylonian Captivity seems to have permanently cured the Jews of that tendency to assimilate with the surrounding nations, against which their lawgivers, priests and prophets had preached almost in vain during the previous ages. From 445 B. C., when the Restoration from the Exile was completed under Nehemiah, to about 170 B. C., when Antiochus Epiphanes began his efforts to Hellenize them (convert them to paganism), they became more and more firmly intrenched in their belief in Jehovah as the true God, in the law as contained in the Pentateuch, in the prophetic utterances and in “the other Scriptures,” as containing God’s will, and in the coming of the Messiah, as the one great future event.

The law thus came to be the center of the public religious life of the Jewish nation. Within the Holy Land the interpretation of the national religion gave rise to two parties or sects. The first of these was the party of the Pharisees. They appear as a party as early as the age of the Maccabees. They stood for the broad and inclusive view of the national religion. The law to them involved a certain body of tradition. They saw a connection between the national history and the national law. The ideas of a world of spiritual beings, of a resurrection and a future life, of a Messianic kingdom and a radical distinction between Jew and Gentile, between

perfect observance of the provisions of the ceremonial part of the law and the neglect of it, were to them essentials of Judaism. They were the orthodox or religious party, and did much to keep alive in the mind of the people some of the ideas which were to be most useful to Christianity.

The Sadducees stood for the narrower construction of the old law. They rejected all tradition. They took a materialistic view of the world, denying the reality of spiritual existences and of immortality to man. They interpreted the Old Testament Scriptures consistently with these views. They were, however, a powerful party, because their ranks were filled mainly from the men of wealth and dignity, and they were often in places of influence and authority.

Along with the Pharisees and Sadducees it is customary to name the Essenes as a party. These, however, were not so much a party or sect as a community or order. Their principles were partly Sadducean and partly Pharisaic. With the Pharisees they held to the virtue of observing the law in its details. In fact they went beyond the Pharisees in making it a condition and a rule of membership in their community to observe a prescribed form of ceremonial for purification, and to practice a rather rigid asceticism. With the Sadducees they rejected the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, though perhaps not on the ground of disbelief in the reality of spirit, but because of a certain sense of the inherent unworthiness of the body to be raised from the dead. Their view on this point was allied to that which later grew to be Gnostic and Manichæan.

In the practical carrying out of the idea of the law as the central feature of the national religion, two new features appeared, viz. the scribes, or lawyers, as a class or profession whose chief aim and employment it was to study, explain and teach the law to others; and the synagogue, which began as a voluntary association or club for the purpose of better acquaintance with the law, and developed into a sort of secondary or auxiliary worship. The meetings held at

Scribes. Synagogue.

first for the study of the Scriptures were enlarged in scope by the addition of prayer and the singing of psalms to the order of exercises.

Outside of Palestine Judaism assumed a slightly variant character in the so-called Dispersion (Diaspora). The geographical field of the Dispersion was very large. It included, first of all, the Mesopotamian valley, where a large number of Jews remained after the Exile. Upon the founding of Alexandria a Jewish colony found its way into the new city, and thence overspread into other portions of Egypt and Africa, being reinforced subsequently by large numbers of men who were attracted by the success and prosperity of their fellow-countrymen in these regions. Thus many Jews came to dwell in Libya and Cyrene. There were also Jews in smaller numbers in other parts of the Roman Empire, especially in Asia Minor and in Arabia. These all looked on Jerusalem as the center of their national life and on the temple as the unifying institution. In a single instance this sentiment was violated; that was the case of the Jews of Leontopolis who under Onias built a temple in that city, on the ground that the high priest at Jerusalem was not the rightful occupant of the office.

The contact of the Jews of the Dispersion with the Gentiles produced its most marked effects in Alexandria.

Here the Old Testament Scriptures were translated into Greek and circulated among Jews and Gentiles. This translation, which tradition ascribes as a whole to the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus (283 B. C.), was no doubt made little by little for several generations. The old Testament Apocrypha were attached to it as a supplement bringing Jewish history down to a later date. The effect of the Septuagint on the Jews especially was to lead them to compare the writings of their own prophets with those of the Greek philosophers, with whose works they had meanwhile become familiar. Thus there arose the tendency to identify the thoughts of the Hebrew writers with those of the Greeks. The attempt was made to find an agreement between Moses and Plato. To ac-

Alexandrian
Influence.

comply with this end, however, it was necessary to interpret away a great portion of the Old Testament. A school of allegorists, of whom Philo was the chief, arose, and the allegorical method of interpretation was elaborated.

The Gentiles who were attracted by Judaism, either through the influence of the Septuagint or by contact with the Jews, and accepted their monotheistic faith, taking part also in some of the religious observances and acknowledging the moral law, were designated "proselytes of the gate" ("devout" Acts ii. 5; xvii. 4, 17). Others who went further and sought and obtained formal admittance into the commonwealth of Israel by submitting to circumcision (women simply by baptism), were known as "proselytes of righteousness" (Acts ii. 10; vi. 5; xiii. 43).

Besides the Jews and the Gentiles another element must be taken into account in a survey of the condition of affairs at the time of the first appearance of Christianity in the world. This is the Samaritans. The Samaritans occupied an intermediate place between the Jews and Gentiles in every way. Historically they were partly of Hebrew and partly of heathen origin. When Sargon led the inhabitants of the Northern kingdom captive, he colonized their territories by sending into them certain Babylonians (2 Kings xvii. 24). These colonists mingled with the remnant of Israelites left at the time of the deportation, and the race resulting from the intermarriages was the Samaritan. In religious belief the Samaritans occupied the same middle ground. They accepted the Pentateuch as Scripture, but not the rest of the Old Testament. Geographically they were on the borders of Judaism. They were hated and shunned by the Jews and reciprocated these sentiments.

Politically Palestine maintained a sort of semi-independence acquired under the Maccabees during the middle of the second century B. C. About the end of this century, however, it gradually passed into a condition of absolute independence. This was preserved under the princes Hyrcanus, Aristobulus and Alexander Jannæus; but a dispute arose

Proselytes.

Samaritans.

Political
History.

between Aristobulus II., and Hyrcanus II., and gave occasion to the Romans to interfere. Judæa was subjugated; Hyrcanus II. was given the title of king and high priest, but Antipater, an Idumean general, who had won the favor of the Romans, became the real master of Judæa. Through a series of machinations and deeds of violence, the son of Antipater, Herod the Great, usurped the throne and established the Idumean dynasty (39 B. C.).

CHAPTER II.

THE APOSTOLIC AGE (4 B. C.—A. D. 100).

The Founding of the Church.

JESUS CHRIST was born, according to the most trustworthy calculations, during the last year of Herod's reign (four years before the traditional date) at Bethlehem of Judæa. He was, in accordance with the prophecies concerning him, descended from the royal line of David, "conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary." His public appearance and work were announced by John the Baptist, son of Zacharias, in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, emperor of Rome. At this time Christ, being about thirty years of age, was baptized by John and received a double sign of the approval of his ministry in the descent of the Holy Spirit upon him "in the form of a dove" and in the voice from heaven which declared: "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased."

After a sojourn of forty days in the wilderness, and a temptation, Jesus began his public ministry. He spent one year at Jerusalem announcing himself to the rulers of the people as the Messiah that had been predicted and was expected. On being rejected or ignored as such at this time, he withdrew to Galilee with his disciples, and there taught the multitudes proclaiming the kingdom of God and performing many miracles of healing, having called to his side twelve men to be his pupils, assistants, and witnesses. When his preaching seemed to have met with the largest success at this place, he withdrew again with his disciples into Northern Galilee, and there spent some time instructing them as to

Birth of Je-
sus Christ.

Ministry and
Death.

his own death and resurrection. Having completed this instruction he went to Jerusalem during the season of the Passover feast. Here, where his popularity in Galilee had meantime excited the fears of the rulers, he was seized and delivered into the hands of the Roman procurator of Judæa, Pontius Pilate, and by him, though without sufficient cause, ordered to be crucified. He was buried, but on the third day, according to his own prediction, he rose again, and showed himself to his disciples. He then passed forty days, meeting with them at different times, and at the end of that period ascended into heaven. But just before his ascension at the Mount of Olives he bade his disciples stay at Jerusalem until they should receive the Holy Spirit whom he promised to send them from the Father.

In obedience to the Master's request the apostles remained in Jerusalem awaiting the realization of his promise to send the Holy Spirit. This expectation was fulfilled on the day of Pentecost, when the Spirit came upon them. His descent was externally symbolized by the appearance of tongues of flame which fell upon each apostle. At the same time other extraordinary manifestations called the attention of many residents of the city and strangers from all parts of the world, who were gathered in it, to the place where the disciples were assembled. The apostle Peter, acting as the spokesman of these in explanation of the strange things that had happened, preached Jesus Christ as the Messiah. Three thousand immediately believed on Jesus and were baptized. Encouraged by this success and enlightened as well as emboldened by the Holy Spirit, the disciples now preached Jesus as the Messiah in the temple and elsewhere, and, although opposed by the Pharisees and Sadducees, their message met with favor and acceptance among the common people. A community of about five thousand believers grew around the apostles, all of whom were characterized by religious fervor, manifesting itself in a joyful and devotional disposition and in an exceptional development of fraternal love, leading them to have and enjoy all things in common.

The harmony which prevailed in the Christian community was interrupted, but very slightly, by the complaints of some who had been neglected in the distribution of the necessities of life held, as has been said, and used in common. These were Hellenists—Grecians,—including perhaps Jews, who had through residence in Greek-speaking communities, adopted the Greek language and Greek customs, and proselytes to Judaism from among Greek-speaking heathen. Accordingly, seven men were chosen, and the name of “deacon” was given them, in order that they might superintend the distribution at the table. Thus with the increasing need for organization as brought to light upon occasion, the community organized itself by appointing suitable officers.

Thus far the Church was, as far as we know, limited to Jerusalem and consisted of Jews and Hellenists. The occasion which served as the first impulse towards the carrying of the gospel beyond these limits was furnished by the conduct and experiences of one of these newly appointed deacons. The zeal of Stephen in disseminating the knowledge of Jesus Christ and urging men to accept him, led to his being arrested and brought before the Sanhedrin. As he boldly preached the new dispensation even in this presence, he was stoned to death and at the same time a severe persecution arose, scattering the disciples into adjacent regions.

Wherever they went, however, the disciples made known the new “way” and gained adherents to it. Philip preached at Samaria. Peter and John recognized and extended his work, and thus Christianity passed out of strict Judaism. For the admission of Samaritans into the brotherhood was a radical departure from the narrow views of the strict Jews, who hated the Samaritans even worse than the heathen. At Samaria the apostles were called upon to contend with a peculiar danger—that from selfish impostors. Simon, called the magician, externally embraced Christianity, but when it was found that his motive and intention were

Original Com-
munity. Ap-
pointment of
Deacons.

Martyrdom of
Stephen.

Preaching in
Samaria.

to gain glory and wealth for himself by so doing, he was reprimanded and cast out of the Church.

Besides the Samaritans, other semi-Jewish elements were admitted into the Church during this transitional period (A. D. 30-37). Philip was directed to preach Christ to the eunuch of Queen Candace, an Ethiopian, and eventually baptized him. Peter was similarly directed to lead the Roman centurion Cornelius into the Church through the preaching of the grace of God and baptism. Both of these conversions were conversions not from Judaism, but from that class of heathen who had been attracted by Judaism and attached themselves more or less intimately with it as proselytes.

But the broadening effect of the persecution accompanying the martyrdom of Stephen did not rest with the admission of the intermediate classes (Samaritans and proselytes) into the Church. Certain "men of Cyprus and Cyrene" who perhaps had heard Peter himself report the conversion of Cornelius to the disciples at Jerusalem, undertook at Antioch to preach the gospel to pure Gentiles. Their labors met with large success. "A great number that believed turned unto the Lord." The church at Jerusalem, on hearing of this, sent Barnabas to inquire into the matter. Barnabas found all the marks of the work of the Holy Spirit in this new movement, and gladly recognized it. It was these disciples at Antioch who first had the name of "Christian" applied to them.

Meantime the man who was to lead this new departure in the Church was being prepared by a series of providences. This was Saul of Tarsus. At the martyrdom of Stephen, Saul is reported as present and taking care of the garments of those who stoned the martyr, as well as "consenting to his death." His parentage and previous education both tended to make him a zealous persecutor of Christians. He was a Jew of pure lineage, a strict Pharisee, trained at the feet of the celebrated rabbi Gamaliel at Jerusalem, though a native of the great commercial city of Tarsus

Preaching to
Proselytes.

Preaching to
Gentiles.

Conversion of
Paul.

and a Roman citizen. During the persecution which followed the death of Stephen he took an active part. While on a journey to Damascus to search for Christians, in order to bring them captive to Jerusalem, he was struck blind by a vision of the Lord Jesus Christ. His conversion followed and was complete. After a brief intercourse with Ananias and other Christians at Damascus, he spent several years in meditation and subordinate labors as a preacher of the gospel of Jesus Christ. It was during this period of his life that Barnabas sought for him and brought him to Antioch and associated him with himself in building up the church at Antioch.

The church at Antioch soon grew to be aggressive in communicating the gospel to others. In connection with one of the services of worship held by the church and, under the special guiding influence of the Holy Spirit, Saul and Barnabas were set apart to the work of taking the gospel to the adjacent regions. Accordingly they undertook what has been called Paul's "First Missionary Journey." Starting from Antioch they went to the island of Cyprus, and thence through Pamphylia, Pisidia, and Lycaonia, returning to Antioch to report of their work. Their method of procedure was at first to preach to the Jews in connection with the synagogue service; but as many proselytes of the gate, both men and women, were converted under this preaching, and the Jews broke out in violent opposition, especially at Antioch in Pisidia, the missionaries began to preach directly to the Gentiles. It was during the early part of this journey that Saul appears as Paul.

The continued growth of the church at Antioch and the accession of a large number of Gentiles raised the question of the relation of these Gentile Christians to the Mosaic law. Some held that converts from paganism should be admitted into the Christian Church upon profession of their faith, and baptism. Others insisted that they should be circumcised and held subject to the whole law. In other words the Judaistic party considered Christianity as a mere continuation of Judaism, and would require converts

First Missionary Journey.

Question concerning Gentile Christians.

from heathenism to become first "proselytes of righteousness" before admitting them to the Church, while the Pauline party looked upon the gospel as the fulfillment, and therefore the substitute, of the old law, and would admit such converts into the Church directly. The controversy assumed large proportions, and appears to have been mooted wherever the gospel was accepted by Gentiles.

The question as it affected the church at Antioch was referred to an Assembly of representative Christians at Jerusalem, held perhaps in A. D. 50. Paul and Barnabas with "certain others" were commissioned to represent the church at Antioch.

Assembly at
Jerusalem.

The Assembly having heard the reports of these representatives from Antioch and the views of the chief apostles, Peter and James the brother of the Lord, decreed that the Gentiles should not be compelled to observe the ritual law, and recommended that they should abstain from certain idolatrous customs offensive to their Jewish brethren. This decision was communicated to the Antiochene church by delegates of the Assembly at Jerusalem.

Soon after the communication of the decision of the Assembly at Antioch, Paul undertook to visit the Christian communities established on his first missionary journey, but instead of returning to Antioch when he had accomplished this work,

Second Mis-
sionary Journey.

he turned his face northward and went through Syria into Asia Minor, preaching in Cilicia, Phrygia and Galatia. He then crossed into Europe, establishing the first European Christian community at Philippi, and thence went southward into Greece as far as Corinth. Here he spent more time than at other places, attempting to overcome the natural obstacles in the way of the gospel. Having succeeded in founding a church on a solid basis, he went to Ephesus, and thence to Jerusalem, thus closing his second missionary journey.

On a third missionary tour Paul again visited Galatia and Phrygia, proceeding thence to Ephesus, which he made the scene of an energetic missionary effort; thence he went to Macedonia and Greece, returning by way of Troas, Miletus

Third Mis-
sionary Journey.

and Tyre, Ptolemais and Cæsarea, to Jerusalem in time for the Passover of the year 58 A. D. Here his presence in the temple irritated the Jews and occasioned a violent disturbance, which was quelled only by the arrival on the scene of a company of Roman soldiers. By these he was carried as a prisoner to the garrison. Making known his Roman citizenship, he escaped violence, but was detained for two years by Felix, and under Festus, the successor of Felix, he appealed to Cæsar and was taken to Rome in A. D. 60 or 61. At Rome he was kept in custody, but allowed a considerable amount of freedom; so that he continued to preach the gospel to those who came to his "lodging." Thus were passed the years 61-63 A. D. He was then set free and engaged in other missionary labors of which only traditional accounts are left. Finally he was arrested a second time in A. D. 67 and put to death, as tradition has it, on the same occasion as Peter, though being a Roman citizen, the form of his martyrdom was through the sword.

Of the labors of the other apostles there are but scanty items of information, and most of these are based on traditions. It appears quite clear that the apostle Peter was not for twenty-five years the bishop of the Roman Church; but there is no reason to doubt the truth of the tradition that he spent his last days there, and that he was put to death by crucifixion on the same day as Paul. It has been alleged on the basis of a mystical allusion in one of his epistles that his ministry was passed in the Mesopotamian Babylon (1 Peter v. 13). But this is perhaps a name used by Christians at this period to designate Rome.

James the son of Zebedee was early beheaded by command of Herod Agrippa (Acts xii. 2) before the year 44 A. D. James, the brother of the Lord, became the leader of the church at Jerusalem and was distinguished for uprightness of character, for which reason he was surnamed the Just. He labored in Jerusalem and suffered martyrdom, being for his faith in Jesus thrown down by the people from the pinnacle of the temple and stoned.

Andrew is said to have preached in Scythia and to have suffered martyrdom by being bound to a cross with cords. Philip also preached in Scythia (according to tradition) and was crucified and stoned at Hierapolis in Phrygia. Jude was bishop of Edessa in Syria and was put to death by the thrust of a lance. Thomas, Bartholomew, Matthew and Simon Zelotes visited and preached in distant regions, such as Parthia, India, Ethiopia, Egypt, and Cyrene.

John, the beloved disciple, undoubtedly took charge of the church at Ephesus after the departure of Paul.

Here he lived to an extreme old age, and hence he exerted a large influence throughout the whole of Asia Minor, breaking the force of false teachings, both Jewish and heathen. In his later years he is said to have been carried into the meetings of the Christians, and to have been in the habit of repeating the single exhortation, "Little children, love one another;" and when asked whether he had no other message, he replied "No; because to love one another is to fulfill all the law." He was undoubtedly exiled to Patmos where he wrote the Apocalypse, whether before or after his settlement in Ephesus, under the reign of Nero or of Domitian, is a disputed question among Biblical critics. He died under Trajan, or about the year 100 A. D., and thus his death constitutes the natural end of the Apostolic age of the Church.

The relations of the Christian Church to the world during this period must be viewed from the standpoint of its origin. It appeared to be at first nothing but a form of Judaism. The heathen at the outset saw in it nothing more than a sect of Jews. The Jews themselves saw the gulf between them and the Christians: they repudiated and harassed the heretics, as they regarded them, to the extent of their opportunities. But before the Roman authorities, as a form of Judaism Christianity was recognized as a legal religion and protected. Accordingly, it was also protected from the molestations of fanatical Jews. As soon, however, as the difference between the

The Christian Church and the World.

Jewish religion and Christianity became apparent, its legitimacy in the Roman world vanished. Moreover the laws of Rome were set against the holding of unlicensed meetings, the organization of fraternities and proselytism. Officially the Church might at any time have been viewed as a violation of these laws. As a matter of fact the authorities were slow to take cognizance of the existence of the Church. It was rather the common people whose animosity was roused against the Christians, mainly on account of their insisting on spiritual, that is to say, imageless worship, which was regarded as atheism, and their rigid morality and opposition to prevalent vices, which were regarded as innocent. The persecutions endured by Christians during this age were therefore of a private and limited nature.

The persecution under Nero (A. D. 64) though public, owed its origin not to a political but to a personal motive.

Persecutions under Nero and Domitian. A great fire had broken out in the city and had destroyed a large part of it. The people suspected the emperor of being the incendiary, or, at any rate, of rejoicing in the event. To turn away suspicion from himself, Nero accused the Christians of the crime, and a large number of them were arrested, convicted and, according to the testimony of Tacitus (Annal. xv. 44), punished. Some were covered with the skins of wild beasts and worried to death by dogs. Others were nailed to crosses. Others were clothed in garments covered with tar and set on fire and their burning bodies used as torches at nightfall. A similar outbreak of hostility towards the Christians for unknown reasons took place under Domitian (A. D. 81-96).

An event which was destined to exercise great influence over the fortunes of the Church took place the year after the death of Nero. This was the

Fall of Jerusalem

fall of Jerusalem. A rebellion headed by Galilean zealots broke out in Palestine. Vespasian, while engaged in putting down this rebellion, was raised to the throne by the Roman legions. He committed to his son Titus the task of subduing the Jews and

assumed the imperial authority. Titus laid siege to Jerusalem, and after a fierce and cruel struggle he captured the city. The temple was burned either intentionally or by accident. The mother church also perished in this calamity. But from another point of view the fall of Jerusalem proved a benefit to Christianity. Many Jewish Christians were weaned over from their love for the old forms, and the break between Christianity and Judaism was rendered final and absolute.

The form of government of the apostolic Church was extremely simple. Christ appointed a "ministry."

Polity of the Church.

He used no names to designate the different classes or kinds of ministers that were to serve his Church; but as the work of the Church became more and more diversified in the hands

of the disciples, and the outward needs of the Church became large enough to call for special forms of work and office, such offices were created. In this process of division of labor the Church probably used as its models other organizations already in existence. In Palestine and wherever the Christian community was an offshoot of Judaism, no doubt the synagogue furnished an example of organization. Among the Gentiles, especially where Roman institutions prevailed, the *sodalitia* or *collegia* (clubs for the purpose of mutual help, and especially for the burial of the dead) must have been of use in suggesting forms of organization. At any rate the offices found in the churches of the apostolic age are in general (1) that of the Presbyter ("elder") or bishop ("overseer"). That these titles were used interchangeably, as indicative of one and the same office, is manifest from a comparison of verses 17 and 28 of Acts XX. The former is the Greek equivalent of the Hebrew *zakan* (elder) and was adopted from the synagogue; it was indicative of dignity and rule. The latter title was of Greek origin, indicative merely of oversight and government. It was the duty of the officer bearing this double title to watch over the flock, to "feed" and govern it. (2) To this was added the office of deacon, commissioned with the task of administering temporal affairs. Many other special func-

tions and labors are mentioned, particularly in the earlier portion of the period, but these were evidently meant for specific ends, which they accomplished and thus put an end to their own reason for existence.

The form of worship of the primitive Church was also exceedingly simple. Meetings were held commonly on the first day of the week in private houses or in some public building appropriated to that purpose. At these meetings prayer was offered, portions of the Old Testament and letters from apostles were read, psalms and perhaps hymns were sung, and words "of exhortation" were spoken freely by any one who might feel moved to do this.

Whether on special occasions, or in connection with each weekly service of worship it is not possible to tell, the Lord's Supper was celebrated. This was in the earliest times associated with a regular meal, as at its first institution. This meal, called a love feast (Agape), was liable to abuse, as we learn from Paul's rebuking such abuse in the Corinthian Church (1 Cor. xi. 17 seq.). The fraternal relation of all Christians was signified at such love feasts by the "holy kiss" or "kiss of love."

Baptism was administered upon admission to the Christian community as the symbol of the cleansing of the soul in regeneration. It was "into Christ" or "into the name of Christ" and not only adults, but households were its subjects. As it was a mere symbol of cleansing, sometimes sprinkling, sometimes effusion of water, and sometimes, perhaps, immersion in water were employed, each mode being regarded as sufficient and valid.

Other practices of a temporary or local nature in the earliest Church were the "laying on of hands," which followed baptism and signified the impartation of the Holy Spirit; and anointing with oil, which was accompanied by prayer for the sick. The only form of discipline was the exclusion of the guilty person from the Lord's Supper, or disfellowship.

Worship.

The Lord's
Supper.

Baptism.

Other Ordina-
nces.

Literary activity in the Christian Church during the apostolic age was not extraordinarily prolific, but the products of it bear the marks of special divine inspiration and are distinguished from all other writings by a vast impassable gulf. Although it is not at all certain in what order the books of the New Testament were produced, yet it is likely that the first to see the light was the Epistle of James, being written before the difference between Judaism and Christianity became definite and sharp. This was probably between A. D. 44 and 48. Next came the earlier epistles of the apostle Paul. 1. and 2 Thessalonians were written from Cornith in A. D. 52 or 53 upon the arrival of news from the church at Thessalonica. Then came the Epistle to the Galatians from Ephesus about A. D. 57 followed in rather quick succession by the two letters to the Corinthians and that to the Romans, perhaps during the course of the next year. The Epistles to the Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians and to Philemon were written from Rome during Paul's first imprisonment in that city. And the Pastoral epistles (1 and 2 Timothy and Titus) during the apostle's second imprisonment or about A. D. 67. Somewhat earlier than the last letters of Paul appeared the book of Acts (A. D. 63) giving an account of the spread of Christianity from Jerusalem through Samaria and "unto the uttermost parts of the earth." The First Epistle of Peter could not have been much later than A. D. 64 or 65 or the era of the Neronian persecution, as it alludes to the sufferings of Christians for the "name," but the second bears in itself signs of a later date and has been sometimes attributed to some other author than the apostle, perhaps his companion and secretary. It was written not much earlier than A. D. 70. The date of the Epistle of Jude may be only approximately given as A. D. 65-68, and the object of it was evidently to correct errors in life, into which Christians found themselves tempted to fall. The Epistle to the Hebrews was written before the destruction of the temple at Jerusalem but while serious temptations and troubles were threatening the Christians to whom it is addressed. It must have been produced therefore about

Literary Activ-
ity. Writing of
the New Testa-
ment.

A. D. 69. The first three Gospels, commonly called "the Synoptics" were undoubtedly based on earlier sources in which there was very much of the material now forming the common stock of the synoptic accounts. But whether these sources were one or more, or whether they were oral or written down, cannot as yet be definitely asserted. They were probably composed between A. D. 60 and 70. Of the writings bearing the name of the apostle John, the book of The Revelation was, as some expositors maintain, the first to appear (about A. D. 67); the Gospel and the Catholic epistles were composed about the close of the apostle's life or between A. D. 95 and 100. Many Biblical scholars assign a later date to the book of The Revelation, and give weighty reasons for the belief that it also was written between A. D. 95 and 100.

As long as the Church was under the direct supervision of the apostles errors and heresies were not very common. Still there were tendencies which readily developed into dangerous departures from the faith. The causes of these were the insistence of some who had come over from Judaism, on more of the Jewish elements than were consistent with the development of Christianity. This tendency led into Ebionism. On the other hand, heathen philosophy and morals were mingled with Christian belief and practice by some, and the result was the rise of incipient Gnosticism and corrupt or immoral sects, like the Nicolaitans. Finally certain persons claiming to be Christ appeared leading away many. Of these Dositheus in Samaria and Menander who claimed divinity and promised to impart physical immortality are especially named.

Heresies.

CHAPTER III.

THE SUB-APOSTOLIC AGE (A. D. 100-170).

AT the end of the apostolic age Christianity appears on a surprisingly large area of territory. In addition to the regions in which it had taken root firmly during the preceding era, it is found also in other and remoter places. Palestine in spite of the fall of Jerusalem still continues to be a center and source of Christian influence; but the Christianity which now emanates from this region is no longer characterized by those peculiarities which made the name Judaistic Christianity appropriate to it. Antioch also served as a center of missionary effort, as during the days of Paul and Barnabas. Edessa, the chief town of Osrhoene must have begun at this time to assume some importance as a Christian center. A number of traditions and legends are associated with the origin of Edessene Christianity and a local type of church-life and literature emanates from it fitly called Syrian. In Asia Minor, besides Ephesus, Smyrna appears as a large center of Christian influence. In Greece the place of priority belongs still to Corinth. In Western Europe, passing by Rome, as already well known as a flourishing Christian center, we find Gaul occupied in two at least of its important cities, Lyons and Vienne. In Africa, Alexandria naturally served as a basis of operations. From here no doubt went forth those who planted the Coptic church as well as the Greek-speaking churches of the Nile Delta. Traditions which cannot be readily verified make this the period of the founding of churches in the British Islands also.

This wide-spread diffusion of the Christian Church led

to its being noticed with greater care by the surrounding world. The first and most noticeable result of this scrutiny was that the distinction between Judaism and Christianity was clearly seen.

The Jews themselves did not submit to the result of the war which terminated with the capture of Jerusalem in A. D. 70. They broke out in rebellion at intervals. The most serious of their rebellions was that under Bar Cochba, an impostor claiming to be the "Son of the Star" prophesied in Num. xxiv. 17. With his fall in A. D. 135, Jerusalem was reduced to a pagan city and renamed as *Ælia Capitolina*. Jews were forbidden to enter it and the observance of the Jewish law was prohibited. This prohibition was not removed until after the death of Hadrian (A. D. 138).

With the extinction of the political independence of Judaism came its subjection to schools of rabbinical learning. The instinct of national preservation turned to the teachers of the law and made the people without formal action submit to them as the leaders of the nation. The school of rabbis at Jabneh (Jamnia between Ashdod and Joppa) became the first center of rabbinical learning and power. The president of the school (Nasi) was recognized as the spiritual head of the nation. Later the school at Tiberias assumed this importance. In these schools was begun that consolidation and reduction to writing of the traditions which appear to-day as the Talmud.

By the Jews the Christians were regarded as apostates and heretics, and a peculiar prayer, or rather imprecation, was formulated and used against them. The pagans looked upon the Church partly through the medium of misunderstanding and calumny, and partly through the medium of its status before the civil law, with respect to which its position was in many points antagonistic. Popular misunderstanding may be assigned as the cause of the accusation of atheism brought, at this time, against Christians. To the eyes of those accustomed to worship visible objects it was no doubt a

Christianity distinguished from Judaism.

The Jews after the Fall of Jerusalem.

Rabbinical Schools.

Christianity and the World.

clear evidence of disbelief in any God for one to abandon the worship of the temples and substitute no other visible object of worship in their place. But charges of incest and Thyestian banquets were also made against the Christians, being no doubt slanderous distortions of the observance of the Lord's Supper and the "holy kiss." And the charge of worshipping a monster with an ass's head can only be the jest of some wag turned into a sober charge in the absence of general information. All these charges were also readily believed because of the desire to find something objectionable in a community so much hated.

The status of the Church before the Roman law was affected by several standing laws of the State. (1) The statute against the worship of foreign gods not adopted by the State always remained a recognized principle in the Roman law, although the religions and gods of conquered nations were constructively recognized as "adopted by the State." This allowed Christianity as a legitimate religion so long as it was supposed to be a sect of Judaism. But when its distinctness from Judaism was perceived, and when Judaism itself was put under the ban because of the insubordination of the people during Hadrian's reign, Christianity came into conflict with this law. (2) The law against the formation of societies stood in the way of the organization of churches. There were indeed exceptions to this law, but they were based upon conditions with which the Christians could not comply. They must evidently appear to violate it. (3) The law against magic, though not violated by the Christians might appear to be; their miracles of healing and expulsion of demons were construed as acts of magic. For the violation of these laws the Christians incurred liability to two charges: (1) Sacrilege, and (2) "*Lesa majestas*," or defiance of the authority of the government.

Under such circumstances it was natural for the Roman government to take a definite legal stand in the matter. It was during the reign of Trajan (A. D. 98-117) that we find such a definite policy suggested and outlined in a letter of Pliny the Younger,

Pliny's Letter
to Trajan.

procurator of Bithynia. Pliny, perplexed as to what he should do with the numerous Christians in the province over which he was appointed to preside, refers the question to the emperor himself. He asks whether all Christians should be treated alike or some distinction made between the weaker and the stronger; whether they should be punished for the mere fact of being Christians. He then states his practice up to the time of writing. He had been in the habit of asking of them whether they were Christians. If they confessed that they were, he commanded them to recant. If they refused as many as three times, he punished them for obstinacy. The emperor in his answer (rescript) approves this course, and adds that Christians need not be sought out, but only dealt with when brought before the government by responsible accusers. Anonymous charges should be disregarded. As this course should apply in Bithynia only. But the principle involved could hardly fail to spread throughout the empire. As a matter of fact a persecution arose at this time in which some eminent Christians suffered martyrdom. Of this number were Simeon, an aged bishop of Jerusalem, reputed to be a "relative of the Lord" and of the line of David, crucified in A. D. 98 and Ignatius who was cast to the lions in Rome in A. D. 115.

The policy of Hadrian (A. D. 117-138) towards the Christians was not essentially different from that of Trajan. He continued the persecutions against them. But to avoid the tumults which accompanied the execution of the laws against them he ordered that they should in all cases be tried in due form.

The son and successor of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius (A. D. 138-161) is not known to have instituted any change in the attitude of the government towards Christians. Authentic accounts of persecutions are, however, lacking during his reign. His successor, Marcus Aurelius (A. D. 161-180) was a Stoic philosopher and a man of upright conduct. But he despised excitement, especially religious enthusiasm, and had no

Hadrian.

Antoninus Pius.
Marcus Aurelius.

sympathy with the belief in immortality held so tenaciously by the Christians. Accordingly he allowed persecutions against them to revive and increase in rigor. A fresh wave of hostility swept over the Church during his reign, which counted among its victims the Christian apologist, Justin Martyr, put to death probably at Rome in A.D. 166, and Polycarp, the bishop of Smyrna, who suffered martyrdom in Smyrna, besides a large number of Christians, members of the churches of Lyons and Vienne in Gaul. It was here that some remarkable martyrdoms were endured especially by the slave Blandina and by Ponticus and Pothinus, the aged bishop. It is not quite certain whether Marcus Aurelius went further than his predecessors in persecuting by ordering that Christians should be sought out and punished. Towards the latter part of his reign, while on an expedition against the Marcomanni, the emperor is said to have relaxed his enmity towards the Church, being led thereto by a remarkable answer to the prayers of Christian soldiers. His army was in great suffering and some danger on account of the lack of water when the "Thundering Legion," consisting for the most part of Christians, prayed for rain and rain fell forthwith accompanied by a thunder-storm. At any rate the severity of persecution was after this date softened.

The literary activity of Christians during this age was shaped first by the ordinary need of instruction in the new order of things, and second by the need of explanation and defence before the pagan empire and the world in general. The first of these needs gave birth to the class of writers called apostolic fathers; the second to the apologists. Of the apostolic fathers the earliest is Clement of Rome, reputed to have suffered martyrdom under Domitian. Two epistles are ascribed to him, of which only the first is genuine, written either in A. D. 95 or 96. It is addressed to the church at Corinth and urges harmony and patient submission to authority. It also alludes to the subject of the resurrection of the body, concerning which the apostle Paul himself had written to the same church. The so-called

Apostolic
Fathers.
Clement.

Second Epistle of Clement was probably composed as a homily about A. D. 135-145. It contains exhortations to repentance and good works, and holds up future rewards and punishments as incentives to a moral life.

The Epistle of Barnabas placed by some, but without sufficient grounds, even earlier than Clement, was perhaps written by another Barnabas than the one mentioned in the Acts as the fellow-missionary of Paul. It is intended to show that the meaning and importance of the Old Testament depend on their reference to the redemption by Christ. It is probably a product of the last years of the first century.

Ignatius of Antioch was the author of several epistles to churches mainly in Asia Minor (A. D. 115). The number of these and the exact form have been made the subjects of discussion and difference of opinion. They exist in a longer recension of seven and in a shorter one of three. The latter is now regarded as the authentic form. Ignatius is of importance as a witness to the form of Christianity at this time, because he was the disciple of the apostle John, and even said by tradition to be the child set by Jesus in the midst of his disciples (Matt. xviii. 2). He wrote his epistles while on the way to Rome to suffer for the faith, and they are therefore full of exhortations to obey the officers of the Church.

Hermas, brother of Pius bishop of Rome (A. D. 142-157), wrote an unique treatise in the form of visions, dreams and similitudes intended to stimulate a consistent Christian life and, therefore, abounding in exhortations, warnings against the love of pleasure, against an earthly mind, and against apostacy in persecutions. The doctrinal element is lacking in this work.

Closely connected with the epistles of Ignatius is that of Polycarp of Smyrna (about A. D. 150) to the Philippians, principally consisting "of exhortations to sobriety of life and doctrine in the midst of the trials which encompassed them." Contemporary with Polycarp was Papias of Hierapolis, whose writings would

be interesting and valuable were they extant. He made it his business to go about and collect from the lips of those who had conversed with the apostles all that they had to report regarding the Lord and his sayings. Thus he put together five books principally consisting of anecdotes. Of these only extracts are preserved at second hand in later writers.

In the same group of writings as the apostolic fathers must be put the recently discovered *Teaching of the Twelve* (about A. D. 100), a sort of manual summing up in its first part Christian doctrine under "The two Ways" and giving some instructions regarding the conduct of worship and the administration of the affairs of the Church.

Teaching of
the Twelve.

The apologists began to write as soon as Christianity became the object of popular and imperial persecution.

They addressed their defences of their faith to the emperor and to the people. The first of these writings is an anonymous letter addressed to *Diognetus* in which Christianity is set over against heathenism and Judaism, and shown to be superior. The first apologists whose names are known are Quadratus and Aristides (A. D. 125). They endeavored to defend Christianity before Hadrian by addressing their treatises to him. Later came Claudius Apollinaris and Miltiades, who attempted the same thing with Marcus Aurelius. But the ablest and most important of this class of writers is Justin Martyr (166). Justin was originally a

Justin.

Platonic philosopher; but finding no satisfaction for his religious nature in philosophic systems, he was attracted by Christianity, and being converted, devoted his life to the dissemination of its teachings, which he did as a traveling sophist (teacher of philosophy). Coming to Rome he addressed two *Apologies* to the emperor. These are known as the *Longer* and the *Shorter*. Besides these he also composed a *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew*, being a defence of Christianity as against Judaism.

A pupil of Justin's, Tatian the Assyrian, undertook the task of undeceiving the people of their misapprehension

of Christianity. He was educated in Greek learning and wrote a *Discourse to the Greeks* (the heathen), in which he compares the Christian faith with paganism and vindicates it by the comparison. He also drew up the *Diatessaron*. This was a unification of the accounts of the four Gospels in one narrative. Tatian, however, joined the sect of ascetics who rejected marriage and the use of flesh and wine. Another important apologist was Athenagoras, who addressed to Marcus Aurelius a *Supplication* in behalf of the Christians and wrote besides a treatise in defence of the Christian doctrine of the resurrection. Finally Melito of Sardis also wrote an *Apology* setting forth the Christian faith as the true philosophy; but this work is not extant.

The two tendencies away from the pure gospel as preached by Christ and the apostles, as already indicated, were towards Judaism on one side, and on the other, towards the admixture in the Christian system of pagan elements. In the sub-apostolic age the first of these developed into the sects of the Nazarenes, the Ebionites and the Elkesaites.

The Nazarenes were a small body dwelling in Pella and neighborhood. They held to the Mosaic law and did not refuse to fellowship with Gentile Christians. The Ebionites were much more numerous and widespread. Their name is derived either from the founder of the sect, of whom, however, nothing further is known; or more probably from the word "*ebion*" meaning poor, humble, oppressed. They traced their pedigree (if the latter derivation of the name be correct) to the original disciples, who gave up all into the common treasury of the Church and made themselves poor. They were zealous for the law, refused to fellowship with Gentile Christians, and denied the divinity of Jesus Christ. The Elkesaites derived their name from a book supposed to have fallen from heaven. In addition to the Judaic features of Ebionism their creed was characterized by ascetic elements, which they probably borrowed from the Essenes.

The Ebionites, especially those who affiliated with the Essenes, were very eager to disseminate their views as widely as possible. To this end they resorted to literary labors whose results are partly preserved in the so-called Clementine literature, consisting of certain Homilies and Recognitions falsely ascribed to Clement of Rome. These writings emanate from the latter part of the second century, and are intended to exalt the views of the Judaistic Christians by putting them into the mouth of the apostle Peter, and to cast suspicion on the apostle Paul by representing him under the repugnant figure of Simon Magus.

The anti-Judaistic tendency in Christianity developed into the large and complicated system of heresies known as Gnosticism. The name is derived from gnosis ($\gamma\upsilon\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$), knowledge, and indicates in general the basis of the whole system of Gnosticism. It was the effort after and the pretence of a deeper inner knowledge of the mystery of existence, not possessed by the common people. This alleged knowledge was nothing but the expansion of heathen ideas of the world. It is not always possible to trace these ideas to their respective sources. There were elements in them contributed by Zoroastrianism, by Alexandrian Platonism, and by the Hebrew Qabbala. But they are so transformed that they can scarcely be recognized. Gnosticism is therefore best considered as a system of Christian-pagan thought. As such its fundamental and common features are: (1) The dualistic opposition of the principles of good and evil. Evil is coeternal with good. The latter is spirit, the former is matter. (2) Emanations. Sometimes these are conceived as proceeding from the two primitive and original centers (good and evil), and sometimes from the good as the more active of the two. These emanations are called *Æons* individually. When they are looked at as a whole they constitute the *Pleroma*. (3) The *Demiurgus*. This is the lowest of the *æons* emanating from the good and standing on the boundary line between the worlds of spirit and of matter. He fashions out of the elements nearest him

Clementine
Literature.

Gnosticism in
general.

the actual universe. (4) Sin, though not distinctly defined or held, is implied as inhering in the present system of created things, from the very nature of its origin, viz., the mixture of elements from the worlds of spirit and matter. The Fall is simply the incorporation of material substance in the universe. (5) Redemption is the liberation of the spiritual elements from the association of the material. It is effected by Christ, who is the highest and most perfect æon. As matter is inherently evil, Christ could not have had a real material body. That which he appeared to have was not a real, but a phantom body. This feature of Gnosticism is called Docetism. (6) The ethics of Gnosticism was naturally ascetic. It consisted in denying the body lawful desires on the ground of the evil of matter.

These general features appeared in different combinations and with a variety of details in a large number of subordinate systems. These may be grouped conveniently according to their geographical distribution. In fact they present distinctive characteristics in different regions. (1) The Samaritan form of Gnosticism goes back into the apostolic age: but does not appear fully developed into a separate type. Its representatives Simon Magus, Dositheus and Menander have been named as teachers of error in that age. (2) The Syrian forms are characterized by the effort to associate the Gnostic system with some Biblical character or event. The Ophites revered the serpent as the benefactor of mankind and the leader into true knowledge. But they complicated their system by attaching to it an elaborate cosmogony. The Cainites, Sethites and Peratæ connected their teachings with the Old Testament. Saturninus mingled astrological elements with his Gnosticism. Corpocrates taught "communistic antinomianism." (3) The Hellenic forms of Gnosticism were fully developed in Basilides and Valentinus. The former of these accounts for the origin of the world by a principle of evolution from a world-seed and the latter introduces into the evolution the idea of sex, attributing sexual character to a series of æons. (4) The

Special Gnostic
Systems.

last form of Gnosticism to be mentioned here we may call the Roman because its originator Marcion, although a native of Sinope in Asia, came to Rome and labored there. Marcion's system is perhaps the least speculative of the Gnostic theories. Its central principle is that there is an antagonism between the Old Testament, and Christianity. The God of the Old Testament of creation and the law is the evil principle. He is cruel, jealous and destructive. Above this God of the Jews there is a good God who is revealed in his Son Christ. Christ assumed an apparent body and only in appearance suffered the things recorded in the gospel. To avoid the recognition of the authority of the Old Testament, Marcion constructed a canon for himself consisting of those New Testament writings only which laid the least possible emphasis on Old Testament teaching, viz., the epistles of Paul with the exception of those to Timothy and Titus, and the Gospel of Luke modified by the excision of those passages which might be interpreted as accepting the Old Testament.

Distinctly opposed to Marcion and yet inclining towards Gnosticism was Bardesanes, who flourished at Edessa about the end of the second and the beginning of the third centuries. The Gnosticism of Bardesanes is, however, of such a vague nondescript character that it is not to be classified with any other; nor did it prevent his exerting a strong influence over the Church. His hymns certainly found great favor in the early Church, and his missionary preaching in Armenia is recognized as distinctly Christian.

When Christian churches became numerous throughout the empire the question of the outward relations of these churches began to receive some attention. Each church as far as its own internal organization was concerned remained in the same condition as during the preceding period. The inner unity of different churches within the same general region (whether it were city, or city and adjoining suburban districts) was recognized in the commitment of the government of the whole region to the presbytery. One

member of the presbytery was singled out and given the oversight or presidency of the whole district and probably the name bishop was applied to such a one in a pre-eminent sense. Naturally such a bishop was in each case the chief presbyter or pastor of the most important church in the region, and when this was a city he received the name of metropolitan (bishop). This system necessitated the holding of meetings of presbytery at stated times and led to the holding also of synods or councils after the pattern of the council at Jerusalem (A. D. 50). But no accounts of any synod during the sub-apostolic age are extant. But with the affiliation of churches with one another and the growth of the sense of inner unity arose at the end of this age the idea of one outward universal or Catholic Church. This idea was no doubt promoted by the fact that the Gnostics and Judaizers were seen to have departed from a norm existing in the consciousness of the mass of Christians, and were treated as heretics. Thus Catholicism became sharply distinguished from heresy.

From the representations of Justin Martyr (*Apol.* A. D. 85-86), Pliny (*Epist.* ii. to Trajan) and the *Didache* (Teaching of the Twelve) we gather that the worship of this period was not different in an essential respect from that of the apostolic age. Christians met on the first day of the week "sang a hymn to Christ as to a god" (Pliny) and offered prayers; the presiding presbyter exhorted the congregation, perhaps reading a written homily after the pattern of II. Clement; they celebrated the eucharist in connection with the social meal known as the "agape" and the wealthy among them contributed money, which was applied to the needs of widows and orphans. Baptism was administered to those who were to be admitted to the church, in the same manner as before.

At what time precisely the extraordinary spiritual gifts of miracle working and prophecy exercised by the apostolic Church ceased it is not possible to determine. It is certain, however, that soon after the middle of the second century there arose a party which made the possession of such gifts of the

Spirit the test of the true Church of Christ, and their absence as a deplorable sign of falling away on the part of the Catholic Church. The leader of this party was a certain Montanus of Pepuza in Phrygia. He flourished in about A. D. 170 and taught that the promise of the Paraclete was to be taken as meaning that the gift of prophecy was to be perpetual in the Church. He claimed accordingly that he was himself an authoritative prophet and preached a purer morality than was being practiced by Christians in general. He gained many adherents, among them two women—Maximilla and Priscilla—who also claimed prophetic authority. A sect was thus formed characterized by great religious fervor and ascetic morality. The most eminent of the Montanists was the Latin Father Tertullian who defended and enforced their peculiar tenets.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ANTE-NICENE CHURCH.

(A. D. 170-325.)

THIS is the period of the Church's struggle with the combined forces of the pagan state, pagan philosophy and culture and the inherent opposition of the sinful human heart to the call unto repentance and a holy life. Nevertheless at the very opening of it great progress is noticeable in the spread of the gospel in every direction. Christian churches were planted in Armenia before the end of the second century. At the same time approximately, the gospel was carried into Arabia by Pantænus of Alexandria; somewhat later Bostra appears as the seat of a bishop. In Persia Christianity exists not simply in traces or individual churches, but broadly spread in numbers of communities as early as the time when the Sassanid dynasty supplanted the Parthian (A. D. 227). In Africa a new center is formed (besides that in Alexandria) at Carthage. Here for the first time the Latin language appears to be used in the Christian Church. Here too Agrippinus, bishop of Carthage, holds one of the earliest known provincial synods consisting of the bishops of Churches in Numidia (A. D. 200-220). Crossing over to Europe, we find Spain overspread with Christian churches and at a council at Elvira, towards the end of the period mustering together nineteen bishops (A. D. 306). In Gaul to the older churches of Lyons and Vienne, there are added a large number of others, especially those at Paris, Rheims, Rouen, Bordeaux, Orange and Toulouse; and in fact, the Christian Church in Gaul, like that in Spain, assumes large

enough proportions during the latter part of the age to hold one of the most memorable provincial councils, that at Arles (A. D. 314). In Britain, though the extent of the progress of Christianity is not known, its having found a foothold cannot be doubted. The British Church sent its representatives to the council at Arles and later to that of Nicæa. The German cities of Metz, Treves and Cologne had Christian Churches very early. As early as A. D. 302 Afra is said to have suffered martyrdom at Augsburg, showing that there were at that date Christians in that town. The missionaries of the gospel seem to have generally followed the courses of the rivers, especially the Rhine and Danube and planted the banner of the cross in the provinces adjoining these rivers. Thus at the end of the period we find that Christianity had penetrated to the remotest parts of the empire and in some cases had passed beyond its boundaries.

The importance and dignity which Christianity assumed on account of its diffusion and the appearance within it of able men who undertook to defend it, led the representatives of pagan philosophy and culture to attack it with vigor. Fronto, an orator of the days of Marcus Aurelius, is said to have composed an oration in defense on legal grounds of that emperor's persecution of Christians. Celsus (A. D. 170), a man of wide learning, according to the standards of the day, and acquainted with the teachings of Christianity as well as Judaism, wrote *The True Word* as a refutation of the Christian system. In it he sums up all the objections, historical and philosophical, that can be brought up against the faith of the Church. Later philosophical attacks have done no more than restate the objections of Celsus. He holds the Gospel history incredible, assails the doctrines of the Atonement, of the Incarnation, and of a special revelation, and exalts philosophy and a rationalized philosophical heathenism over against what he believes to be the superstition of the Christians. Lucian (A. D. 180) approached Christianity from the point of view of the universal skeptic. As he had ridiculed the pagan mythology, he attempted to ridicule Christian

Attacks of
Pagan Phi-
losophers.

belief also. In his *History of Peregrinus Proteus* he represents the Christians as the easy dupes of a not very skillful schemer. He was evidently familiar with some of the distinctive features of Christian life and thought, such as the belief in immortality, courage in meeting death for the faith, and brotherly love.

As distinguished from these negative and destructive attacks paganism produced first a positive rival to the person of the Founder of Christianity, and second a system of philosophical religion or religious philosophy. The first of these was the work of Philostratus entitled *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*. Apollonius was reputed to be a miracle-worker and teacher who lived at the end of the first century. Philostratus wrote his life during the first quarter of the third century as a specimen of ideal manhood and supernatural power produced by Pythagoreanism. Hence Christianity is not only unnecessary, but is excelled in practical religious force.

The religious philosophy set up as a rival to Christianity was Neo-Platonism. This system was founded in Alexandria by Ammonius Saccas (A. D. 241) and elaborated by Plotinus (A. D. 270), but taken up and offered, as a substitute for Christianity by Porphyry (A. D. 233-304). It assumed the existence of a divine substance pervading all things and animating all objects worshiped in the various national religions. Christianity as not fraternizing, but rather denying the reality of other religions is not a participant in this divine afflatus. Besides setting up Neo-Platonism as a rival to it Porphyry also attacked Christianity positively. He alleged that the Old and New Testaments were mutually contradictory. He applied principles of criticism to the Book of Daniel and denied that that book contains true predictions, but ascribed its origin to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. He pointed to the dispute between Paul and Peter, and alleged that the followers of Jesus had distorted his teachings and deified him, though he was himself a noble and good man, and had performed miracles by the aid of the

gods. Porphyry also sets up Pythagoras as the ideal of the man filled with divinity. Finally with far less strength and originality, Hierocles directed an attack on Christianity in a work entitled *Truth-Loving Discourse*.*

The political attack on the Church during this age is the continuation and outcome of the persecuting policy of the preceding. The persecution which raged while

Persecutions. Marcus Aurelius reigned subsided under his
Alexander son and successor Commodus (A. D. 180-192).
Severus.

This ruler, although personally one of the least attractive of the Roman emperors was influenced in favor of Christianity by his mistress. The policy of leniency continued during the reigns of Septimius Severus (A. D. 193-211), Caracalla (A. D. 211-218), Heliogabalus (A. D. 219-222) and Alexander Severus (A. D. 222-225). A sort of Oriental or African dynasty was constituted by these emperors, none of whom was a strenuous champion of the Italian state religious ideas. Septimius, however, restricted Christianity by forbidding its extension. And in the provinces the laws and edicts against the Christians continued to be enforced. Thus in Alexandria Leonidas and Potamiæna, the father and mother of Origen perished for their faith, and in Carthage, Perpetua and Felicitas were wrapped in a net and thrown to a mad cow. Alexander Severus befriended Christianity in a more positive manner. Being of a religious caste of mind and seeking for the satisfaction of his religious nature, he constructed a pantheon of his own, in which he gave places among others to Orpheus, Abraham, Apollonius of Tyana, and Christ. He even seriously thought of adopting Christ among the gods of Rome and building him a temple. Meanwhile the laws against the Christians were not repealed, as the emperor evidently depended on his own good will and disposition to protect the Christians. His successor, however, Maximin the Thracian (A. D. 235-238) who also put him to death, out of hatred to Maximin. him, from the very beginning declared against the policy of his predecessor. Assuming that

* *Λόγος Φιλαλήθης* or *Λόγοι Φιλαλήθεις πρὸς χριστιανούς.*

the most aggressive promoters of the gospel were the officers of the churches, he directed his edict against them. His reign, however, was brief; he was succeeded by Gordian (A. D. 238-244). Under this emperor and the one who followed him, Philip the Arabian (A. D. 244-249), the Christians were allowed to go unmolested. Philip is even said to have secretly embraced Christianity. However this may have been, Christianity was by no means as yet beyond the danger of further persecution. On the contrary Decius, who followed Philip on the imperial throne (A. D. 249-351), instituted the severest persecution endured by the Church up to his time. This persecution was characterized first of all by its universality. It was no longer any locality or class of Christians that were attacked, but the whole Church. Decius came to the conclusion that Christianity was radically opposed to the genius of Roman institutions and that the only way to save the Roman empire was to suppress Christianity. He issued his edict in A. D. 250. According to its terms, which the prefects were required to execute, the Christians were to be summoned back to the state religion. Those that refused were to be threatened, and if they persisted, to be actually visited with confiscation of goods, torture and death. Many of the Christians, accustomed to the immunity enjoyed under the immediately preceding emperors, yielded under the application of the first penalties. These were called *lapsi* (fallen); if they signified their return to heathenism by sacrificing to the pagan gods they were specially designated *sacrificati*; if by strewing incense they were called *thurificati*: if by signing a certificate of their having done so, they were named *libellatici* and *acta facientes*. On the other hand those who persisted in their adherence to the faith were called *confessores*, if they endured torture but survived, and *martyres* if they suffered unto death. Thus under Decius, Gallus (A. D. 251-253) and Valerian (A. D. 253-259) the Church was subjected to the purifying influence of tribulation. Many eminent men, including in the number bishops Fabian and Cornelius of Rome, Babylas of Antioch and Alexander of Jerusalem suffered martyrdom, while others like Origen, Dionysius

of Alexandria, and Cyprian, were subjected to other sufferings.

The persecution was arrested abruptly and formally by the son of Valerian, Gallienus (A. D. 260-268). This emperor issued an edict of toleration without, however, recognizing Christianity as a legitimate religion, as is often alleged. This toleration was continued by Claudius II. (A. D. 268-270) and Aurelian (A. D. 270-275), and through the nine years of practical interregnum (A. D. 275-284) preceding the accession of Diocletian.

Diocletian (A. D. 284-305) was a clear-sighted statesman, dominated by the supreme desire to bring the empire out of the confusion into which it had been plunged by his immediate predecessors. He organized the government in a systematic way by associating with himself Maximian as co-reigning Augustus and appointing two subordinate rulers entitled Cæsar. For eighteen years the natural benevolence and statesmanship of the emperor prevailed over many urgent demands for the suppression of Christianity. In A. D. 303 he seems to have been persuaded that his ambitions and plans for the empire as organized by himself were imperiled by the toleration of the Christians. Accordingly he issued an edict ordering the destruction of Christian church buildings, followed by another imprisoning all bishops and presbyters, and by a third subjecting them to torture. These edicts were the signal for the outburst of popular fury on the part of the pagans. The atrocities that were perpetrated were numerous. A fourth edict in A. D. 304 brought matters to a crisis by offering Christians the simple alternative of apostasy or death. The persecution assumed the proportions of a systematic and determined effort to exterminate Christianity. A few Christians broke down under the bloody violence which ensued and were designated *traditores* from giving up their sacred books; but the majority endured intense sufferings and vast numbers met horrible death. In A. D. 305 Diocletian abdicated with Maximian, his associate. They were succeeded by Severus and Maximin Daza. The per-

secution was continued, but its futility became apparent and in A. D. 311 an edict of toleration was issued, renewed in A. D. 313 at Milan by Constantine and Licinius, who meanwhile after civil dissension and wars had come to the throne jointly.

CHAPTER V.

ANTE-NICENE CHRISTIAN THOUGHT.

THE different branches of the Christian Church located in different geographical parts naturally developed different types of literary productions. There are to be distinguished of these in the Ante-Nicene age :

Christian
Writers.

I. The Asiatic-Western. The churches in Gaul were offshoots from the churches of Asia Minor. The greatest of the writers belonging to this region, Irenæus (A. D. 202) was a native of Asia Minor and was fond of telling how through his teacher Polycarp he had been brought into contact with the apostolic traditions. He was interested in Gnosticism, seeing in it a grievous departure from the simplicity of the faith delivered by the apostles, and wrote a treatise directed against it under the title *Refutation and Overthrow of Knowledge (gnosis) falsely so called*.

Irenæus no doubt stimulated his pupil Hippolytus (fl. A. D. 200-235) to continue in a literary way the battle against Gnosticism. Hippolytus, however, lived in Rome. He wrote several works; the most important is that entitled *Against all Heresies*, dealing not only with the errors of Gnosticism, but with other forms of departure from the gospel as well. It is to be noted that he charges these heresies with seeking their support not in Scripture, but in astrology and pagan philosophy. He also compiled a chronology.

Another writer of this type, also a resident of Rome, was Gaius, who opposed Montanism. Further Hegesippus, (A. D. 180) the author of *Memoirs* also lived in Rome. His work was perhaps a valuable collection of historical data regarding the early

Gaius and He-
gesippus.

career of the Church, but was unfortunately lost in the troublous times of the persecution of the Church.

Of purely Asiatic origin and residence was Julius Africanus (fl. A. D. 232) the author of a *Chronographia* or chronological arrangement of sacred history.

Julius Afri- In a letter to Origen on the authorship of the
canus. *History of Susanna* he shows some aptitude for critical work. Criticism and interpretation, however, were first cultivated at Antioch, and Dorotheus (A. D. 290) and Lucian (A. D. 311) are the earliest who gave themselves to this branch of labor.

II. The Latin-African. The first Christian to use the Latin language in his writings was Tertullian (A. D. 160–220). He was born at Carthage, his father being a Roman centurion. He was a man evidently of enthusiastic and rugged temperament, who had lived somewhat irregularly in early youth, had qualified himself for a teacher of rhetoric and was converted to Christianity about the age of forty. He threw himself into the life and thought of Christianity with characteristic vehemence and became an uncompromising enemy of worldly wisdom. In his later life he joined the Montanists and manifested in the exposition and defence of his new position the same vigor that characterized him as a member of the catholic body. He wrote a large number of works which may be classified in general into (a) Apologetical treatises directed against the opponents of Christianity, both Jews and Pagans. Of these the *Adversos Gentes* and the *Adversos Judæos* are the most important. (b) Controversial treatises directed against heretics. These included such works as *De Baptismo*, *Adv. Valentinianos*, *Adv. Marcionem* and *Adv. Praxeam*. (c) Practical treatises, being exhortations to asceticism. Of these the *De Poenitentia*, *De Baptismo*, *Ad Martyres*, *De Spectaculis*, *De Cultu Feminarum*, are the most noteworthy among many others. After his conversion to Montanism, Tertullian became even more devoted to asceticism and wrote more fervently for it.

Tertullian was closely followed by Cyprian (Thascius Cæcilianus Cyprianus). (A. D. 195–258.) Cyprian was the

scion of a wealthy family in Carthage and appears first as a teacher of rhetoric, and after his conversion in A. D. 245, as a presbyter. Shortly after this he reluctantly accepted the office of bishop being urged thereto by the people. When the persecution under Decius broke out he was persuaded to conceal himself for a time, but returned to find his path beset by difficulties arising from questions as to the treatment of the *lapsi* and the authority of the bishop in the Church. When Valerian revived the Decian persecution Cyprian was apprehended and beheaded in A. D. 258. He was not as original nor as vigorous a writer as Tertullian; but more fluent and graceful. He was distinguished less as a theological thinker than as an ecclesiastic. Of his numerous writings the *De Unitate Ecclesiæ* and *De Lapsis* deserve mention.

Of the other ecclesiastical writers who used Latin, the best known are: Minucius Felix who composed an apology entitled *Octavius*, Commodian, an African, Victorinus of Petavium, Arnobius and Lactantius.

III. The Alexandrian School. Alexandria maintained for many centuries its primacy as the seat of Greek learning. It was natural, therefore, that when the Church was ready to establish a school for the education of its clergy it should choose this city as the place for it. This school was primarily intended for the instruction of such pagan converts to Christianity as had some philosophical education and desired to be more fully informed regarding the mysteries of the faith. Its scope was, however, either enlarged or changed so as to make it the instrument for the training of Christian teachers.

The first of the teachers in this school was Pantænus, a converted Stoic philosopher (A. D. 190). He made use of Greek scientific and philosophical thought in formulating the truths of the Christian faith. He was followed by Clement (Titus Flavius Clemens, A. D. 220). Clement was also a convert from paganism. During the persecution under Septimius Séverus (A. D. 202) he fled to escape the rage of the heathens,

Cyprian.

Alexandrian School.

Pantænus.
Clement.

but persisted in his literary and other labors until his death. His standpoint is that of the mediator between Christian doctrine and pagan philosophy. Many of his positions are the result of the putting of Platonism as a foundation under Christian teaching. His known works were the *Address to the Greeks*, the *Pedagogue*, the *Stromata* (Patchwork) and the lost *Hypotyposes*.

The greatest of the Alexandrian teachers, in fact the greatest of the ante-Nicene fathers, was Origen (Adamantius Origenes, A. D. 185-254). Origen was born of Christian parents and given all the advantages that a Christian could afford. His father and mother died the martyr's death in A. D. 202. But Origen, unterrified by their fate, continued in the profession of his faith and was early employed as a teacher in the catechetical school at Alexandria. He became a pupil of Ammonius Saccas in order to qualify himself for the task of giving philosophical instruction. He also perpetrated self-mutilation, in mistaken obedience to Matt. xix. 12. He later visited Rome, Arabia, where he engaged in missionary labors, Greece, Antioch and Palestine. The bishop of Alexandria, jealous of his growing fame, summoned him to that city, arraigned him before two councils and excommunicated him on the ground of heresy, self-mutilation and contumacy. Origen withdrew to Cæsarea and under the protection of the emperor Philip opened a theological school there. Here during the Decian persecution he was seized, tortured, and in consequence of the injuries received in this way died in A. D. 254.

He was an industrious worker and the results of his literary activity are voluminous. They consist in contributions to all the then cultivated branches of Origen's Works. theological learning. They may be grouped roughly as : (a) Critical. Here belongs the monumental work to which the author devoted twenty-seven years of research, entitled *Hexapla*. This was a critical edition of the current version of the Old Testament Scriptures, the Septuagint. It exhibited, in six parallel columns for the purpose of comparison, the

Hebrew text, a transliteration of this in Greek letters, the text of the LXX, the version of Aquila, that of Symmachus and that of Theodotion. By a system of signs the variations of these versions were pointed out to the user. The enormous bulk of this work prevented its multiplication in many copies, and it was consequently lost with the exception of a few fragments. (b) Exegetical. The works of this group were either short notes (Scholia), expository discourses (Homilies), or commentaries on whole books. His method of interpretation has been called allegorical. In fact its fundamental assumption was that there are to be distinguished in Scripture three senses co-existing: the literal, the moral, and the mystical. The last of these Origen sought for more eagerly than the others; hence his reputation for allegorism. (c) Theological. In this group is to be placed another great work entitled *First Principles* (*De Principiis*, $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\ \alpha\rho\chi\omega\upsilon$) building up a system of Christian truth out of the Biblical materials through the use of Greek philosophy. Here also belongs the lost treatise on the *Resurrection*. (d) Apologetical. The treatise *Against Celsus* is the reply of Origen to the attacks of the ablest representative of paganism on Christianity. (e) Practical. This group consists of writings intended to promote personal piety and consecration. Such are the discourse on *Prayer* and the *Exhortation to Martyrdom*.

Origen was a pioneer in the field of theology. His previous training led him to see the vast breadth and diffusion of truth and to seek for it not by way of exclusion but by comprehension. It was his habit in controversy with heretics to try to persuade his opponents of the narrowness and fragmentary nature of their views and the breadth and completeness of the catholic view. In this way he prevailed on Beryl of Bostra to abandon his error. But this characteristic led him to introduce into his system a number of elements which were disavowed by the Church later as heresies. Such were the teachings of the eternity of all souls, of transmigration, of spiritual bodies, of the efficacy of the atonement for other intelligent but

Origen's Theology.

fallen beings besides man, of the subordination of the essence of the Son to that of the Father, and of the final restoration of all fallen beings.

The most important successor of Origen in the School of Alexandria was Dionysius (the Great, A. D. 265). He was evidently a man of tact as well as of zeal. Dionysius. He opposed the Chiliasts of his day and vicinage, but in such a manner as not to occasion a violent controversy and lead to a schism. His writings are much praised by the ancients, but only fragments of them are extant.

Among the disciples of Origen in Cæsarea Gregory Thaumaturgus (the Wonder-worker, A. D. 270) was one of the most eminent as well as devoted to his teacher. Gregory Thaumaturgus. He composed a *Confession of Faith* (ἔκθροσις πίστεως) and a *Panegyric on Origen*. Another adherent of Origen's in Cæsarea was Pamphilus, bishop of Cæsarea, who wrote commentaries on the Old Testament.

Origen made not only disciples but also opponents. The most important of these was Methodius, bishop of Olympus (A. D. 311). Although himself a philosophical theologian, Methodius assailed some of Origen's special views, such as the preëxistence of the soul and its fall before entrance into this life. Methodius. He wrote on the *Resurrection* and in praise of abstinence from marriage.

It was through the labors of such men that the Church during this age gradually came to the consciousness of its possession of a rule of faith and a system of doctrine. As appeal was made to the apostolic writings to decide disputes as to the truth of beliefs held and propounded, the fact that their writers had the special guidance of the Holy Spirit was brought to the surface. This belief in the inspiration of the New Testament and the coördination of its books with the Old Testament Scriptures was not the consequence or outgrowth of the theological thinking of this age, but an underlying factor simply made known now. Unless this belief were thus underlying it would be hard to explain the appeal to these books as final authority in de-

Emergence of the Canon of the New Testament.

bate. But if these writings are binding in a manner different from other writings they must be carefully distinguished from spurious and counterfeit productions. Thus the collection and separation of the New Testament books takes place and the canon emerges.

The exigencies of church life further led to the use of a short summary of belief contained in a few lucid sentences. This was probably the nucleus of the Apostles' Creed and was used first in its briefest and simplest form in the baptism of converts. Hence the terms "Church Rule," "Rule of Truth" and "Rule of Faith" applied to it. The early formation of this Rule is proved by its diffusion throughout the whole Church. Irenæus in Gaul, Tertullian in North Africa and Origen in Alexandria, all give in substance, at least, the same contents for this earliest creed.

One of the first questions suggested by the studies of the Christians at this time was as to the relations of the Father and the Son in the Godhead. The Catholic Church emphasized the unity of God as against pagan polytheism, but insisted, both in the Rule of Faith and in practice (in worship), on the distinction of the Father, the Logos, and the Holy Spirit. As against this position arose various departures. First the Alogi denied and rejected the whole doctrine of the Logos and with it its Biblical sources, the *Fourth Gospel* and the *Book of Revelation*. They did not, however, at any time find any considerable number of adherents. The tendency then arose to dissolve the mystery which necessarily accompanies the doctrine of the Trinity.

The different attempts to accomplish this end have been summed up under one single designation applied to them at the time, that of Monarchianism. Monarchianism is the reduction of the Trinity into a Unity. It is the assertion that there is but one "principle in the Godhead." It attempts to eliminate the mystery of the Trinity in one of two ways. (1) It either denies the essential divinity of Jesus Christ and ascribes to him a certain divine presence or power as

The Rule of Faith.

Heresies—the Alogi.

supernatural endowment. In this form it is Dynamic Monarchianism. Or (2) it makes Christ and the Holy Spirit mere manifestations of God, and in that case it is Modal Monarchianism.

The first teacher of Dynamic Monarchianism was Theodotus, a tanner. He held that Jesus was the most pious and most righteous of men, conceived according to the counsel of God by the power of the Holy Spirit, and born of the Virgin Mary; that at his baptism the Holy Spirit descended on him and endowed him with the power of performing miracles; but that otherwise he was not the Incarnate God, nor entitled to honor and worship as such. Victor, bishop of Rome, excommunicated Theodotus. Nevertheless he made some followers. Artemon seems to have held similar views independently. Another Theodotus, a money-changer, is classified with these Monarchians because he represented Jesus as the reincarnation in an inferior form of Melchizedek. His followers were sometimes called Melchizedekians.

The most distinguished Dynamic Monarchian was Paul of Samosata. (fl. A. D. 260-272). He was bishop of Antioch and is represented as a man fond of pomp and riches and even immoral. He taught that the Logos was not a distinct person. That Jesus Christ was a mere man on whom the impersonal Logos rested and in whom it dwelt through his ministry. Paul was deposed by a council at Antioch in A. D. 269.

The earlier form of Modal Monarchianism was called Patripassianism, because those who held it admitted that according to their doctrine God the Father, the only God, suffered on the cross in the form of Jesus Christ. Praxeas (fl. A. D. 175-189) was the first to teach Patripassianism. According to him God in his spiritual existence is the Father and in the material existence the Son. Tertullian appeared as the champion of the catholic view against Praxeas. Noetus (fl. A. D. 200) taught the Patripassian view at Smyrna. He summed up his system in the one sentence: "The Son

of God is his own Son and not another's." A sect of his followers was organized at Rome by his pupil Epigonus. Hippolytus combated this sect, and bishop Zephyrinus, without pronouncing himself an adherent of their views, protected and defended them. The attitude of this bishop was maintained by his successor Callistus also, and the controversy between Hippolytus and these bishops of Rome was waged with bitterness on both sides.

The most pronounced form of Modal Monarchianism was taught by the Libyan Sabellius at Rome. According to him God is a unity (monad). As resting in himself he is the Silent God; as coming out of himself he is the Speaking God. For the purpose of creation and redemption he assumes three forms. These are not essentially different, but mere modes or manifestations. God thus transforms himself, adapting himself to the nature of what he is to do. In the Old Testament as Creator and Lawgiver he is the Father. In the New as Redeemer he became man as the Son. He descended on the apostles as the Holy Spirit.

Beryl of Bostra is also mentioned as at one time a Monarchian, but nothing is known of his special views. He was won over to the Catholic position by the reasoning of Origen.

From the beginning of the second century a large section of the Christian Church entertained the expectation of the immediate coming of the Lord a second time to reign for a thousand years on earth according to Rev. xx. 2, 3. This belief has been called Chiliasm. It was worked out into portraiture more or less distinct of the state of things during this millenium. Whenever the practical results on the Christian life of such views of the Second Advent were seen to be unwholesome, eminent leaders, like Caius, Origen and Dionysius of Alexandria, appeared against them. On the other hand many cherished the hope of Christ's immediate coming with delight and advantage to their souls. Such were Irenæus, Tertullian and others. The question did not call forth action by the Church either favoring or opposing Chiliasm.

CHAPTER VI.

ECCLESIASTICAL DEVELOPMENT.

SEVERAL important changes, all in the way of multiplication and diversification of parts and functions take place in the period before us in the organization, worship and life of the Church.

In the government of the Church the distinction begins to be drawn sharply between clergy and laity. The clergy is likened to the Old Testament priesthood and so the Christian ministry assumes a sacerdotal character. Further the distinction between the title of bishop and that of presbyter becomes emphasized, until the name bishop is applied exclusively to that one of the presbyters in a church who stands at the head of the body of presbyters.

This differentiation of the episcopate along with the ascription of priestly functions to the ministry reaches its highest point for this age in the ideas of Cyprian. According to this father the bishop is the visible head of the community and the organ of the Holy Spirit. By him uninterrupted connection is maintained with the Lord, and through him spiritual blessings reach the flock. He is the successor of the apostles and the vicar of Christ. Without submission to him there can be no true membership in the Church.

The exaltation of the bishop naturally put presbyters into the position of assistants and counselors, who also assumed complete control and exercised all the bishop's functions in case of a vacancy in the office. The deacons were also attached to the bishop's office, but in a more indirect and subordinate way, preserving the specific function of servants

Clergy and
Laity.

The Bishops.

Presbyters and
Deacons.

in external matters. They were, however, by virtue of their association with the bishop classed with the higher clergy along with presbyters and commissioned to preach and perform other religious services.

Distinct from the higher clergy there appeared a number of subordinate officers grouped together as the lower clergy. These were: (*a*) Readers, charged with the duty of reading the Scriptures in the divine service; (*b*) Exorcists, employed in healing demoniacs, or casting out devils by the offering up of prayers for them; (*c*) Acolytes, who were personal attendants of bishops and rendered such services as might be required of them; (*d*) Doorkeepers, who watched at the doors and prevented suspicious characters from entering at the time of and disturbing service; (*e*) Sub-deacons, who were appointed in localities where the labors of the deacons became too heavy for them; (*f*) Deaconesses, who ministered to women in communities where the seclusion of the female sex made it hard for men to perform services for them. The functions of deaconesses were, however, probably assigned to and performed by a new class called "widows," who bound themselves not to marry, and engaged also in the instruction of female inquirers (catechumens).

The election of bishops was still nominally in the hands of the community over which they were to preside; but the presbyters assumed a deciding voice in the matter, reducing the part of the people to a mere assent to the choice made by them. Bishops were chosen generally from the ranks of presbyters, but occasionally from lower grades of clergy and even directly from the laity. The clergy below the rank of bishop were also nominally appointed by the people, but the voice of the bishop became in such appointments practically supreme. When inducted into office bishops were consecrated by other bishops from neighboring churches. Presbyters and deacons were ordained by the laying on of hands by the bishop.

The support of the clergy came from the offerings

of the people, which as the ministry assumed the character of priesthood became more and more regular. They came to be regarded in the light of tithes according to the provisions of the Mosaic law. Marriage was allowed to all the clergy. But the unmarried were honored as more holy and consecrated. The Oriental idea of the inherent impurity of the body with its passions and appetites found acceptance, and those living in conjugal relations were deemed less worthy to officiate in sacred places and on sacred occasions.

The idea of the unity of the Catholic Church, which was seen emerging in the consciousness of Christendom at the end of the preceding age, was furthered during the Ante-Nicene period by the more compact organization of the local neighborhoods into provincial parishes under metropolitan bishops. Correlated with this movement was the subordination of such bishops as had charge of country districts under the name of rural bishops (*Chorepiscopi χωρηπίσκοποι*) with definitely limited powers and prerogatives. These provinces again were grouped in larger territorial divisions according to the political divisions of the empire—the dioceses.

These divisions and the progress in organization marked by them were further accentuated by diocesan and provincial synods. Important provincial synods began to be held about the end of the second century, first in Asia Minor, and later in North Africa, Gaul, Spain and Rome. At these the bishops had the deciding voice, but presbyters and deacons also sat and took part in the deliberations. Sometimes towards the end of the period the synods began to be drawn from larger areas than were circumscribed by provincial lines. Thus a system of synods was inaugurated which reached its culmination in the Ecumenical Councils. Types of the intermediate synod are those held at Arles (A. D. 314) and at Elvira (A. D. 306).

Owing to their natural, political or historical importance to the Church certain of the episcopal seats acquired

a higher place of honor and influence than the rest, and were in a sense lifted above the rest into archbishoprics, exarchates or patriarchates. Such were the bishoprics of Jerusalem, of Antioch, of Alexandria and of Rome. The last of these as the see of the capital of the empire claimed and was in general accorded larger influence than the other patriarchates. Thus arose the primacy of the see of Rome.

Patriarchates.
Primacy of
Rome.

As the Church grew in numbers and importance it became more and more difficult and at the same time more and more necessary to preserve its purity. A system of discipline became indispensable. This was evolved according to need and occasion. It was embodied in a collection of laws or canons under the name of *Apostolic Constitutions* and *Canons of the Holy Apostles*.

Ecclesiastical
Law.

The chief and only penalty inflicted by the Church was exclusion from the privileges of church membership, or excommunication. The offender was, according to apostolic precept and example, separated from the body of believers. A way was left open, however, for his restoration when he should sincerely repent. This restoration was quite as formal and solemn as excommunication, and followed a long process of confession and humiliation in token of the sincerity and earnestness of the penitent.

Discipline.

Naturally different communities and different generations in the same community varied much in the strictness with which they exercised discipline and the rigor with which they demanded penitence as a condition for the readmission of the excommunicated. A series of controversies arose with respect to this point, beginning with the attack of Hippolytus on Calixtus, bishop of Rome, for laxity in restoring all manner of offenders to the privileges of communion. The discontent in the church of Rome with the looseness of Calixtus led a party in that church to separate themselves from it, choosing Hippolytus as their bishop.

Schism of
Calixtus and
Hippolytus.

Somewhat later, when the bishop Cornelius showed a similar lack of rigor in discipline, Novatian, a presbyter, rose up in opposition to the bishop and was made bishop of a schismatic church, which grew to considerable proportions in consequence of the importance assumed by the question of discipline after the troubles of the Decian persecution. Novatian, however, took extreme ground, contending that it was the duty of the Church to preserve its own purity, and on no condition to readmit those who might once depart from its perfect way.

Another controversy on the same subject arose in Carthage, where Cyprian adopted the rigorous policy of refusing readmission to the fallen (*lapsi*), those who had given up their Scriptures (*traditores*), and those who had obtained certificates of having sacrificed to the heathen gods (*libellatici*). A party of confessors asked for the restoration of these and denounced Cyprian as unworthy to rule over confessors, inasmuch as he had himself fled from persecution. They chose as their leader Felicissimus a deacon without Cyprian's consent and set up a bishop, Fortunatus, for themselves. Upon the assembling of a synod Cyprian so far modified his position as to admit offenders at the point of death and the schism was healed, though only after the lapse of some time.

Still another schism growing out of the question of discipline was the Meletian in Alexandria. Here the bishop Peter, although in prison for being a Christian, declared for the mild treatment of those who had denied Christ under persecution (during the reign of Diocletian). Meletius stood for the more rigid principle. He ordained several presbyters and deacons, and a schism ensued lasting for some time.

In the matter of divine worship, a tendency made its appearance to separate the agape from the Lord's Supper, in consequence of which the agape fell gradually into disuse. The Lord's Supper itself was separated from the ordinary service of worship and a higher degree of sacredness assigned to

it. The service was thus divided into two parts, of which the first, called the *missa catechumenorum*, open to all, consisted of the reading of Scripture, prayer and sermon. The second part under the name of *missa fidelium* included the Eucharist with appropriate services of prayer and sacred song.

In connection with baptism, the compacting of the organization of the Church made it necessary to insist on the admission only of such as were well prepared for membership. To this end a period of instruction was set apart for such as were to present themselves for baptism. During this period candidates were called "Catechumens." At first baptism was administered with simplicity. But at the end of the second and the beginning of the third centuries an elaborate ritual was observed in connection with it. The candidate was required to declare his faith, to renounce the world and the devil, the water was blessed by the bishop and other minor acts symbolical of some aspect of the truth in baptism were performed. A question arose as to the validity of baptism administered by heretics. The North African Church, under the influence of Tertullian, denied the validity of such baptism and rebaptized heretics when they applied for admission into the Catholic Church. The Roman Church, however, followed the opposite practice. They admitted such persons on the imposition of hands, provided they had been baptized already in the name of the Trinity. The point was earnestly contended for by Cyprian in behalf of the strict view, and by Stephen, bishop of Rome, in behalf of the Roman practice. Gradually the latter prevailed and was adopted formally at the council of Arles (A. D. 314).

Divine worship necessarily implies stated times at which it is offered. The Lord's day (Sunday) was uniformly observed as the weekly festival day commemorating the resurrection of Jesus Christ. The Sabbath (Saturday) though not altogether disregarded was less and less observed as the period came to its close. As the resurrection of the Lord formed the basis of the weekly feast day, so it also did of the yearly.

Sacred Seasons.

The Jewish Passover was adopted and Christianized by the putting of Christ and his suffering and triumph over death as the events signified in it. The crucifixion was commemorated by a fast varying in duration, in different localities, from one day to forty (Quadragesima). Resurrection day was celebrated as the great day of the year. It was followed by Ascension day, forty days later, and by Pentecost, which fitly closed the circle of days observed through the year.

Some difference in practice existed through the last part of the second century as to the date of Easter.

Jewish Christians taking Christ as the anti-
Quartodeciman Controversy. type of the paschal lamb, and continuing in other respects the idea and form of observance of the Jewish Passover, always kept the 14th day of Nisan as the day of the crucifixion and the following Sunday as Easter. The Western or Roman Christians insisted on observing Easter on Sunday without reference to the day of the month. They therefore kept the Friday following the 14th day of Nisan as Crucifixion day, and thus brought Easter on Sunday. Those who kept the 14th of Nisan were called "Quartodecimans" (Fourteenth-day observers), and the controversy which ensued was called the Quartodeciman controversy. In the first phase of this controversy Polycarp stood for the Oriental, and Anicetus, bishop of Rome, for the Roman custom. Later, Victor, bishop of Rome, and Polycrates of Ephesus appeared as the contestants. Neither party prevailed formally, but the Western custom became gradually the usage of the whole Church.

Increasing numbers made the older meeting-places of Christians for worship entirely inadequate for the age under consideration. Under the provisions

Church Building.

of the law governing the mutual-help societies the Church acquired land during the early years of the third century with the purpose, no doubt, of erecting churches. If they did this, the buildings were destroyed during the persecutions of the third century. From the few data left concerning the form of these early buildings it is to be inferred that there were several types

of church building. One of these was patterned after the Jewish synagogue, another after the basilica or large hall of a Roman estate, a third was probably modeled after the schola or clubhouse of the mutual-help society.

Following the custom of the Jews, the Christians of the early ages buried their dead in tombs hewn out of the rock. To do this, however, near large cities it was necessary to dig deep and create a kind of labyrinth. Several such subterranean cemeteries called "catacombs" are known. The most extensive catacombs are situated near Rome. They consist of a great number of rooms connected by alleys or corridors. The walls of each chamber are lined with deep niches which served as the depositories for the bodies of the departed. Parts of these catacombs have been supposed to have served as places of meeting for worship during the Decian and Diocletian persecutions.

The only remains of decorative art are those found in the catacombs, and consist mainly of symbolic representations of the Christian life. The most original emblem used here is the fish representing the Saviour.* Other symbols of Christ more obvious in significance are the Shepherd, the Fisherman, the Lamb, the Vine. Life was portrayed under the figure of a ship sailing on a sea. Historical scenes drawn from the Old Testament are also found.

The desire to live a spotless life was naturally generated by the gospel in the hearts of all believers. In some this desire was developed in such an intense degree as to lead to the denial of free vent to the appetites. The feeling that the body as material was the seat of evil in man, a result of Oriental dualistic forms of thought, no doubt, contributed somewhat in fostering this feeling. The result was the growth of asceticism within the Christian Church. Ascetics were distinguished by their abstinence from pleasing food and from marriage. During the latter half of the second cen-

* *Ιχθύς* meaning "fish" was made to yield the five initial letters of the Lord's descriptive name, as follows: *Ι* (*ησους*), *Χ* (*ριστος*), *Θ* (*εου*), *Υ* (*ως*), *Σ* (*ωτηρ*).

tury they formed themselves into a sect, that of the Encratites, to which the apologist Tatian was attracted.

In the third century a class of ascetics appeared, who, in order to live more in accordance with their ideas of Christian holiness, withdrew from populous places, hoping thus to avoid the vanities and temptations of the world. These were called "hermits." * They lived in deserts. The earliest of the hermits is Anthony. He was born about the middle of the third century, in Memphis, and having determined to live the life of a hermit, chose as his residence a ruined tower far from the habitations of other men. Here he lived and, according to tradition, struggled fiercely with temptations. During the course of one of the persecutions, hearing in some manner of the trials of the Christians, he visited Alexandria, encouraged the persecuted, and incidentally his reputation for sanctity became the occasion for others to follow his example. Another famous hermit was Paul of Thebes, who dwelt in a cave farther away from the world even than Anthony.

Rather loosely allied with Christianity and yet in a sense associated with it was the form of religion taught by Mani (Manichæus) and called Manichæism. Mani (A. D. 216-277) was descended from a distinguished Magian family. He traveled from his native city in Babylonia, then under the dominion of Persia, far into India and China. On his return he proclaimed his new doctrines, made adherents, was persecuted and finally cruelly put to death. The system he taught was essentially a dualistic religious philosophy. He held to the original and independent existence of the two principles of Good and Evil. From these, through a mythological account, he derived the world. In the present constitution of the world the good is found in the light, therefore in the sun and moon. Man contains in himself elements of both. To redeem the good in man the *Jesus patibilis* comes into the world, and, while teaching men the way of deliverance, appears to suffer at the

* From *ἐρημος*, "desert;" also Eremites.

hands of Satan. Associated with this system of philosophy, Manichæism includes an organization and worship. The body of believers was divided into two classes: the initiated or elect, and hearers or catechumens. Over the whole body one president ruled as vicar of Mani. He was, however, assisted by twelve apostles. These had seventy-two bishops under them, and these again a number of presbyters and deacons. The worship of the Manichæans was twofold—internal and external. The external was simple and spiritual; the internal was kept secret. Their moral code was summed up in three laws called the law of the lips (*signaculum oris*), which bound the faithful to close his lips against the entrance of that which was evil, animal food and wine, and the exit of impure words. The seal of the hands (*signaculum manuum*) bound him against evil work with the hand, and the seal of the bosom (*signaculum sinus*) bound him against all sexual pleasure. The Manichæans found a large number of adherents in the West and occasioned not a little trouble to the Church. They were, however, persecuted as a foreign and pernicious sect, as early as A. D. 290, under Diocletian, and always zealously repudiated by the Church as a heretical people.

CHAPTER VII.

THE NICENE AGE (A. D. 325-590).

Church and State.

THE relation of Christianity to the imperial government was destined to remain a doubtful one as long as the imperial power was shared by two men as different as Constantine and Licinius. Constantine had definitely made up his mind, not only to leave Christianity unmolested, but to favor it. He further took up the idea of the unification of the empire, broached by Diocletian, and determined to realize it by making the Christian religion the one religion of the State. Whatever the truth be concerning his conversion,* he certainly grew to be a consistent friend of the religion of the cross, and adopted this emblem (the cross or labarum) as the sign on his standards. Licinius, on the other hand, continued hostile to Christianity in spite of the edict of Milan which he had issued jointly with Constantine in A. D. 313. The solution of the difference could only come in one way, viz. by the concentration of the power into the hands of the one or the other. This was accomplished after a short struggle. Constantine remained the sole emperor in A. D. 324. The following year he transferred the seat of empire from Rome to the new city which he founded on the site of the old Byzantium, and which has been called after him, Constantinople, though he designed that it should receive the name of New Rome.

* According to a story which was early circulated he saw on the eve of his victory over Maxentius a bright cross in the western skies with the motto "By this Sign Conquer" (*Εν τούτῳ νικᾷ*).

From the date of this event, whose revolutionary influence can hardly be overstated, the Church became the recipient of a number of immunities, privileges and favors, amounting to its adoption as the state church. Laws were enacted for the protection of Christians against Jews, Sunday was recognized as a holiday, and public business was forbidden on it, churches and burial-places confiscated during the persecutions were ordered to be restored to the Christians, new and much more costly and imposing churches were erected, grants of money for other ecclesiastical purposes were made, and finally fifty elegantly executed manuscripts of the Bible (the Septuagint Old Testament, and the Greek New Testament) were ordered to be prepared under the supervision of Eusebius of Cæsarea.

Constantine's private life was not altogether moulded by the spirit of the religion he favored. He retained the title and exercised the functions of the heathen office of Pontifex Maximus. He was guilty of the death of his son Crispus and his wife Fausta, besides several more distant kinsmen.

Christianity
made the State
Religion.

Character of
Constantine.
His sons.

Nevertheless he formally entered the Church and received Christian baptism just before his death (A. D. 337). His sons divided the empire; Constantine II. (A. D. 337-340) ruled in the northwestern portion; Constans (A. D. 337-350) in the West, and Constantius (A. D. 337-361) in the East. They all continued towards Christianity, as they understood it (i. e. adopting Arianism as the true form of it), the policy of State protection and interference.

Julian, called "the Apostate" (A. D. 361-363.) became the leader of a short-lived pagan reaction. He was born in Constantinople in A. D. 331. He was the son of Constantius, the younger half-brother of Constantine the Great. When Constantine's sons succeeded their father, Constantius was put to death, and Julian and his older half-brother were spared only because they were considered harmless. The jealousy of the emperor Constantius afterwards caused them to be banished to Capadocia, where they were educated in the Christian faith, and prepared for clerical

Julian.

service as lecturers. But Julian regarded himself as the victim of Christian persecution. In A. D. 351 Gallus was created Cæsar by the emperor, and Julian was permitted to return to Constantinople, but was shortly again exiled to Nicomedia. He subsequently obtained permission to visit Athens, and pursued his studies in that city. On the death of Gallus he was recalled to Constantinople, and Constantius created him Cæsar, and gave him command of the armies in Gaul. There he gained high distinction for military skill and personal bravery. On the death of Constantius he became sole emperor. On his accession he made a public avowal of paganism of which he had been a secret adherent from the age of twenty. It was no ordinary profession, but the expression of a strong authoritative conviction. The great aim and controlling principle of his government was the suppression of Christianity and the restoration of the pagan worship. He re-opened the temples which had been closed, and ordered decaying ones to be repaired; removed the cross from the military standards, the court-room, the imperial statue, etc., and substituted pagan emblems in its place. A reformed and restored paganism was again to be the religion of the State, and to enjoy all the privileges of a state establishment. His reign was too short to show what precise form this pagan revival might ultimately have taken. His career was cut short in a battle with the Persians. Had he returned from this war it is not unlikely that he would have opened a direct attack on the Church. He was the last Roman emperor who was hostile to Christianity.*

After this short interruption the policy of Constantine was resumed by Jovian and continued throughout the period. At the death of Theodosius the empire was divided into the eastern and western branches under his sons Arcadius in the East and Honorius in the West. The Western empire succumbed before the barbarians in 476, under Rom-

Restoration of
Christianity.

* It was commonly reported among the Christians that he exclaimed just before he expired, "Thou hast conquered, after all, O Galilean!" But for this report there was no foundation.

ulus Augustulus. The Eastern continued under a series of rulers, the most distinguished of whom was Justinian I. the Great (A. D. 527-565).

When Christianity was adopted as the state religion it naturally assumed the aggressive attitude towards paganism. During the brief reign of Julian a vigorous effort was made by a number of pagan thinkers to reverse the position of the parties, but with its failure heathenism was compelled to take the defensive. Instead of claiming, as heretofore, the right of the old faith to dominate, its champions now pleaded for its toleration on the ground of its historic associations. This was the position taken by such men as Libanius, the rhetorician of Nicomedia, Themistius of Constantinople and Symmachus of Rome. More uncompromising in their paganism were Ammianus Marcellinus, known for valuable contributions to our acquaintance with the history of the times, Eunapius and Zosimus and the pagan school at Athens which was suppressed by Justinian in the sixth century. In Alexandria heathen philosophy (Neo-platonism) found a brilliant champion in the person of Hypatia, who lectured in Alexandria on the subject of philosophy and was cruelly murdered by a mob on account of her supposed opposition to the bishop Cyril.

As the Church assumed more and more this aggressive attitude towards paganism, it was natural that the imperial government should reflect this attitude in an ever increasing intolerance of heathenism. Accordingly, we find Gratian (A. D. 375-383) first giving up the title and office of Pontifex Maximus, as a heathen office, and withdrawing state support from the Vestal Virgins. Valentinian II. (A. D. 375-392) removed the altar of Victory from the vestibule of the senate chamber, where it had stood for centuries as the emblem and instrument of the old religion in relation to the State. In the East, Theodosius the Great (A. D. 379-395) issued a strict prohibition of idolatry, making it a penal offence even to pour out libations to the heathen gods (A. D. 392). In a short time heathen-

Attitude of
Pagan Philos-
ophy.

Suppression of
Heathenism.

ism was extinct in the cities and was to be found only in rural districts; hence it was called "paganism" (the religion of the *pagani*, that is the peasants). The last vestiges of heathenism as a state religion disappeared with the suppression of the Lupercalia in Rome, A. D. 492; and the closing of the school of philosophy in Athens by Justinian in A. D. 529 put an end to the last center of diffusion of pagan ideas. Justinian further compelled all his subjects to be baptized.

A compromise between paganism and Christianity was attempted by a sect called Hypsistarians. These combined fire and sun worship with certain Jewish ideas and claimed to worship "The Almighty" or the "Highest," whence their name.* Another similar sect was that of the Messalians whose sole form of worship was prayer offered to the Sovereign of the Universe, whence they were also called Euchetæ.†

Beyond the jurisdiction of the empire the fortunes of Christianity were diverse. In Persia its adoption by the Roman State put it under suspicion, and persecution, unknown before, began to be experienced by Christians as they were supposed to be in sympathy with Rome in its war on Persia. Such a persecution was undertaken by Shahpur (Sapor) in spite of the protests of Constantius in A. D. 343 and continued till A. D. 381. At that date Bishop Maruthas of Tagrit obtained exemption from persecution for Christians, but in A. D. 414 another outburst of heathen fanaticism put them under the ban once more. From this state Theodosius II. delivered them by a compact with the Persian king Varanes, promising in return toleration for Zoroastrians in the Roman Empire.

The Christian Church of Armenia (mentioned as already in existence at the end of the second century) was, through the efforts of Gregory, surnamed the Illuminator, taken into favor by Tiridates II. and given the position of the state church nearly at the same time as in the Roman Empire. It also made

* Ὑψίστος—Highest. Hypsistarian—a worshiper of the Highest.

† Εὐχῆται—prayer. Euchetæ—"Praying people."

vast strides forward in growth. It gained its independence as a national church in A. D. 366, when at a synod held at Valarschapad, Narses the patriarch of the national church was recognized as Catholicos (primate). Somewhat later under Mesrob (A. D. 441), who invented an alphabet and translated the Bible into Armenian, the beginning of a literature was made. Moses Choronensis is the chief representative of this literature, having written the history of the people.

To this period belongs the foundation of the Church of Abyssinia. This event is ascribed to the labors of two young men, *Ædesius* and *Fruementius*, who were providentially led into the country in consequence of the shipwreck and death of the merchant *Meropius* with whom they were associated. Their preaching resulted in the conversion of the king, and the way was opened for further labors among the people by monks from Egypt.

In the West, Christianity came in contact with the Teutonic and Keltic races. Of the Teutons, the Goths became acquainted with it through the Roman captives whom they carried home from their battles with the imperial troops. The apostle of the Goths, however, that is he who organized and placed Christianity on a sure footing among them, was *Ulphilas* (A. D. 311-383). He was probably born a Christian and trained for service in the Church. While on a mission as ambassador of the Gothic king at Constantinople he was consecrated bishop. As Arianism was the form of belief in the ascendancy at the time, *Ulphilas* was and remained an Arian. Returning to his own people he engaged in numerous and varied labors among them. He founded churches, ordained a clergy, and translated the Scriptures into the Gothic. To do this, however, he was compelled first to invent an alphabet. His translation is considered a model of faithfulness to the originals and of idiomatic Gothic. He did not translate the Books of Kings, deeming that the Goths were by nature warlike enough and would likely be stirred up to undue ferocity by reading about the wars of the Jews. The Gothic Church was sub-

Among the
Goths.

In Abyssinia.

jected to persecution repeatedly, but endured with heroism and carried the gospel to the Suevi in Spain and the Vandals of Pannonia.

Another Teutonic tribe, the Salian Franks, had made their way into ancient Gaul, taken possession of the land, and virtually extinguished all Roman institutions. Their king Clovis (Chlodwig, A. D. 481-511) was married to a Christian princess, Clotilde. Her attempts to win him over to her own faith were unsuccessful. But the king, having been hard pressed in a battle with the Alemanni, resolved to embrace the religion of Christ, if Christ should hear his prayer and give him the victory. This turned out to be the issue of the battle, and Clovis was baptized and compelled his army to be baptized. This conversion naturally was very superficial. The Franks carried into the Church many of their vices, such as cruelty, polygamy, perjury and simony. The most renowned of the bishops of the Frank Church at this early period was Gregory of Tours (A. D. 540-594), whose *History of the Franks* is written in the spirit of mediæval credulity, but still is very valuable as a source of information.

Beyond the certainty that a Christian Church existed in Britain at this period, very little is known about it. The population was Keltic. From later data it is to be inferred that this Church had an independence and character of its own. Its points of difference from the Roman Church were, (1) The time of observing Easter. They kept it on the Sunday following the full moon in March. (2) The form of tonsure. They cut the hair on the forehead and temples, making the shape of the crescent, while the Romans cut a circle on the top of the head. (3) Government by councils, and ignorance of, or refusal to recognize the authority of the bishop of Rome.

Ireland was also inhabited at this period by a Keltic race and was known as Hibernia and Scotia. The exact date and circumstances of the introduction of the gospel here is hidden in obscurity. During the course of the fifth century Coelestine,

Among the Franks.

In Britain.

In Ireland. St. Patrick.

bishop of Rome, sent Palladius to the island, but it does not appear that Palladius accomplished anything. The real "Apostle of Ireland" is St. Patrick (Patricius, A. D. 378-460). The exact place of his birth is uncertain, but he was the son of a deacon and taken by marauders from his birthplace into Ireland. Here he was employed in taking care of sheep. He was released from this bondage and went to his parents, but the needs of Ireland had made an impression on him, and he resolved to devote himself to the evangelization of its people. Going back, he gave himself up to perpetual labors. He traveled the whole length and breadth of the country, preaching and founding churches and monasteries, baptizing, teaching, ordaining clergy and enduring privations and sufferings in the midst of all these labors. He was remarkably successful. In less than a hundred years from the date of the beginning of his work the whole island was Christianized. Associated with him was St. Bridget, but very little is known of her work.

Scotland was called at this age Caledonia and was inhabited by the Picts. St. Ninian and St. Kentigern, the first in the fourth century and the second in
In Scotland. the sixth, are named as the earliest evangelists in the country. But their history is overlaid with so much legendary material that it is not possible to extricate the kernel of fact in it. The real Apostle of Scotland is Columba (A. D. 521-597). He was born in Ireland, but upon invitation from the king of Scotland went over to that country and established himself on the little island of Iona (Hy, or I). From this place, where he established a monastery, as from headquarters, he went out on evangelizing expeditions. His zeal and consecration were very great and his success rapid. Other centers were established on the model of the monastery at Iona and the country was soon Christianized.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE HIERARCHY AND POLITY.

THE ecclesiastical polity developed during the Ante-Nicene age remained in its main outlines, theoretically, unchanged. Practically, however, the post-apostolic distinction that had been introduced into the presbyterial or episcopal office had become intensified. The use of the terms Bishop and Presbyter, as severally indicating two distinct orders of the clergy, had become more thoroughly established. The power of the bishop had been increased, and that of the presbyter had been seriously diminished. The deacon was regarded as a third and inferior order of the clergy, and had been permitted to participate in some of the functions of the superior orders. Bishops, presbyters and deacons, continued to rule the churches with the duties and prerogatives already attained by their respective offices previously. But the office of the bishop became more and more important, and that of presbyter less and less so. When the empire was completely reduced into a Christian State the territories under the jurisdiction of the bishops touched each other, not leaving, as previously, intervals of territory between the cities, over which no bishop had any authority. Thus the whole country came under the direct episcopal administration.

The legal position of the clergy was gradually defined by the concession to them on the part of the State of certain privileges. (1) They were exempted from public service. (2) They were also exempted from taxation, at least the burdensome forms of it. (3) They were endowed with the power

Privileges granted by the Government to the Church.

of deciding disputes before them, and their decisions were regarded as final. Besides these privileges granted to the clergy, as such, the Church was given the right of asylum. According to this provision the voice of the Church, when interceding for mercy for the guilty, was heeded. The Church was put in position to protect them from the severity of the law when they fled to her for refuge.

The civil relations into which the Church came brought into existence a number of semi-secular or legal offices.

These though not regarded as clerical, were loosely attached to the ecclesiastical system of the age. Such were the offices of (1) *Oeconomi*, or stewards of financial and business affairs. These took the place and work of the deacons of the older Church, as the deacons, became mere assistants of the bishops; (2) *Defensores*, or legal advisers and advocates of the Church and the poor under its care before the courts; (3) *Notarii*, or notaries to draw up public documents and make records in due form; (4) *Chartophylakes*, or keepers of public documents; and (5) *Apocrisarii*, or official representatives of the Church in the imperial court. To these must be added (6) *Parabolani*, or visitors of the sick, and (7) *Copiatæ*, those charged with the burial of the dead. These last two classes were useful during seasons of pestilence, which often visited the large cities.

The clergy, already sharply distinguished from the laity in the previous age, developed a character of its own during this period. To this end the contributing factors were a selective process intended to keep out of the sacred service of the Church unworthy candidates. Certain qualifications were insisted on before ordination. Of these some had reference merely to the previous station in life or occupation of the candidate. Actors, dancers and others engaged in similar employments were barred out by their occupation from entering the clergy. So were military men. Slaves also, as long as they were in the condition of slavery, could not be ordained, not on account of a contempt for the

Qualifications
for entering
Clerical Life.

condition of slavery, but on the principle that the servant of the Lord must be independent of all others. Hence, slaves when emancipated were freely ordained. Neophytes (those who had joined the church very recently) were also excluded, as were also very young persons. The age of thirty was fixed as the limit for presbyters, but the rule was not strictly adhered to. Another ground of selection was an educational qualification. Some knowledge of Christian truth, as found in the Scriptures, was always required of the Christian ministry. At the period under consideration the standard was raised by the entrance into the clergy of men well versed in the ancient Greek and Latin classics (Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, Basil and others). The schools of the Church at Alexandria, and Cæsarea, now increased in number by the addition of those at Antioch, Edessa and Nisibis, exerted a strong influence in this direction. After entrance on the clerical office, ascetic requirements helped to differentiate the character of the clergy. Celibacy was insisted on in the West. In the East, though commended, it was not required.

The synodal system was perfected during this age by the convocation of ecumenical councils. These were calculated to represent the whole Church and deal with questions of vital importance. They were convened by the emperors. They formulated articles of faith and drew up rules for the regulation of discipline. Five ecumenical councils were held during this period: those at Nicæa (A. D. 325), at Constantinople (A. D. 381), at Ephesus (A. D. 431), at Chalcedon (A. D. 451), and Constantinople (A. D. 553).

The patriarchates which were developed, but somewhat dimly defined, before the dawn of this epoch, were distinctly outlined and formally recognized in the ecumenical councils. Their boundaries were fixed and the rights of precedence of their incumbents discussed and adopted. In Egypt the see of Alexandria was easily declared the chief and supreme seat of authority. Antioch retained its central and dominant position in Asia, but was limited on one

Ecumenical
Councils.

Patriarchates.

side by the recognition of Jerusalem as an independent patriarchate after some struggle. On the other side the see of Constantinople grew in importance and became the center not only of the Church in Thrace, but also in Asia Minor, and even in the dioceses of Pontus and Cappadocia. The effect of this was not simply to reduce the patriarchate of Antioch but to raise that of Constantinople so far, that at the Council of Chalcedon (A. D. 451) it was recognized as equal in rank with the see of Rome. The title "patriarch" was now fixed upon to designate the bishops of these churches. They were empowered to ordain the metropolitans and simple bishops in their respective territories. An occasional exception to the rule of subordination to the patriarchs was made, as in favor of the bishop (metropolitan) of Salamis in Cyprus, who claimed and maintained his independence at the council of Ephesus (A. D. 431). Such were called *autocephali* (self-governing).

The bishop of Rome was in the East numbered and ranked among the patriarchs, but the name did not prevail in the West. Neither were the bishops of Rome satisfied with a position which was geographically analogous to the patriarchates of the East. They early put forth the claim that their see was of apostolic origin. A little later this was modified to the effect that all the churches in the West were the offshoots of the only western apostolic see,— that of Rome. The antiquity and apostolicity of the Roman Church was not disputed in the East. On the contrary, deference was paid to the Roman bishops, and the weight of their prestige was sought after by parties, in questions discussed in the East only. Their position in ecumenical councils was equal, if not superior, to that of any other bishops. But their right to dictate or interfere was denied when Julius (A. D. 337–352) proposed to bring the question of the deposition of Athanasius before a Roman council, though an eastern council had decided it. The eastern bishops assembled at Antioch in council declared that he had no right to interfere in the affairs of the Eastern Church. But the claim to primacy, instead of being

abandoned by such resistance, was reasserted more and more clearly by the successors of Julius. Most important for his forcible presentation of this claim was Leo (A. D. 440-461.)

Leo insisted on the rights of the bishops of Rome as successors of St. Peter. To this end he called attention to those facts in the Gospel history which show the apostle as the spokesman and representative of the other apostles in their relations with Christ (Matt. xvi. 18). But more important than the arguments adduced by him was the ability and dignity with which he managed the affairs of the Church in furthering the idea of the supremacy of his office. When the Western empire fell before the invading Goths the Church was left the sole heir to many of the functions exercised by it. Thus another impulse was given to the growth of the papal idea. Resistance to this idea was offered again in the East, and now also in the regions most immediately affected by it—Gaul and Britain. It received a temporary check during the reign of Justinian, and its further growth was no doubt delayed.

CHAPTER IX.

THEOLOGY AND CONTROVERSIES.

THE Nicene and post-Nicene ages are pre-eminently the period of theological controversy. The discussions regarding the mystery of the Trinity with which the previous period closed had led to no definite conclusion. Sabellius exercised considerable influence in Egypt and especially at Alexandria. Arius, a presbyter in that city and a man of keen mind, educated at Antioch, and thus accustomed to look at matters from a point of view differing slightly from that of the Alexandrians, propounded a view intended by him to meet and oppose the Sabellian influence. This view consisted in the teaching that Christ was not the offspring of the divine nature, but of the divine will. He was created before the beginning of time. "There was once when he was not." Through him God made the world. He was sinless, but not by nature. Rather by his own act or conduct preserving himself from sin. Against this view the bishop of Alexandria declared himself, first individually, and then through a synod (A. D. 320). Arius and his partisans were excommunicated.

This did not, however, end the debate. Constantine attempted to reconcile the parties, but failing, convened the first ecumenical council at Nicea (A. D. 325). This was the largest assembly of bishops held up to this time. It represented all the sections of the Church. The bishop of Rome, unable to attend in person on account of advanced age, sent two presbyters as deputies. Two hundred and fifty bishops were reported as attending the meeting of the synod, besides presbyters and deacons and a large number of laymen. The emperor opened the sessions, but gave over the

Council of
Nicea, A.D. 325.

further conduct of the meetings to the "presidents." These were bishops among whom Hosius of Cordova is named. The discussions were led by Eusebius of Nicomedia, a partisan of Arius, Eusebius of Cæsarea, a mediating party, and Athanasius for the bishop of Alexandria. The result of the deliberations was the promulgation of the Nicene Creed containing the teaching that the Son is "consubstantial" with the Father. Arius and those who would not subscribe to this creed were anathematized.

But this decision was not a final settlement of the controversy. An effort to reach a compromise was immediately set on foot. The advocates of this movement have been called "Semi-Arians." Their object was to have the Nicene Creed so modified as to omit the word "consubstantial" (*homousios*) from it. They were led by Eusebius of Nicomedia. The emperor who ratified the decisions of the council was won over to this party and alienated from Athanasius, who had meanwhile succeeded Alexander as bishop of Alexandria. At a synod held in Tyre (A. D. 335), Athanasius was deposed and exiled. The emperor resolved to reinstate Arius in his office, and was only prevented from so doing by the sudden death of Arius (A. D. 336). Constantine himself died the next year (A. D. 337). Constantius, who succeeded him, openly espoused Arianism. Athanasius took refuge in Rome. Here his views were approved and the right to commune conceded him. Marcellus also, an extreme partisan of the "homousian" doctrine, though condemned at Constantinople (A. D. 336), was recognized at Rome by a synod (A. D. 341). To heal the breach thus made between the East and West, another council was called at Sardica in Bulgaria, (A. D. 344), but failed to accomplish anything. Still another synod held at Antioch (A. D. 345) formulated the Semi-Arian view in a creed called "the Long-drawn-out" (*Macrostich*), and condemned Photinus and the Photinians for holding the views of Marcellus. During a temporary lull in the controversy Athanasius was recalled (A. D. 346), but was exiled again (A. D. 356).

Semi-Arian
Controversy.

Meanwhile the effort to compel the Western Church to adopt Semi-Arianism was made in three successive synods at Sirmium, Arles and Milan.

Thus far the Arians and Semi-Arians had worked together. As soon as they obtained the victory over the Athanasians they separated. Aetius and Eunomius reasserted pure Arianism in a balder form than before. They used the expression that Christ was of a "dissimilar" substance from the Father, hence they were called Anomœans. (From *ἀνόμοτος*—dissimilar). The Semi-Arians from the assertion that the Son was of "similar" substance with the Father were called Homoiousians (*ὁμοιος*, similar). Again efforts were put forth to bring about an understanding on the subject. Synods were held annually at different places in the empire between A. D. 356 and 360. When, however, Julian ascended the imperial throne, the discussion was thrust aside for a time. Athanasius returned once more to his see in Alexandria. Jovian, who succeeded Julian, was an adherent of the Nicene Creed. His influence during a brief reign was mildly exerted in favor of the views expressed in that creed. At his death Valentinian I. (A. D. 364–375) was raised to the throne, and associated with himself Valens (A. D. 364–378) as co-regent in the East while he himself reigned in the West. Valens was an Arian, and showed himself a violent partisan as a ruler. Valentinian favored the Nicene view which was generally accepted in the West. While, therefore, the controversy was practically closed in the dominions of Valentinian, it was carried on vigorously for the next seventeen years in the eastern half of the empire.

Meantime, in the West, the Church had steadily stood by the creed agreed to at Nicæa. Auxentius, the bishop of Milan, did indeed espouse the cause of the Semi-Arians, but he found little sympathy among the bishops of Italy; and, when he died, in A. D. 374, the eloquent Ambrose (A. D. 340–397) was lifted into his place by popular acclamation, and did much to hold the western branch of the Church

Anomœans and
Homoiousians.

Ambrose and
Hilary.

on the Nicene side of the controversy. Another great theologian of the West, during the same period, was Hilary (A. D. 320–366), bishop of Poitiers, who also exerted, through a work *On the Trinity*, a powerful influence against Arianism, suffering imprisonment for his views.

Two new factors made their appearance during the reign of Valens. The first of these was the rise of the question as to the place of the Holy Spirit in the Trinity. Athanasius induced a synod at Alexandria (A. D. 362) to require the repudiation of the teaching that the Holy Spirit was a creature. Certain Semi-Arians, under the lead of Macedonius (whom Constantius had made bishop of Constantinople), persisted in holding the view thus condemned, and were called Macedonians, or, from the nature of their error, *Pneumatomachi* (“Opponents of the Spirit”).

The second of the factors above alluded to was the entrance upon the scene of three men, who, by the weight of their united influence, contributed towards the final predominance of the Nicene view in the East. These were the so-called Cappadocians—Basil of Cæsarea, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Gregory of Nyssa. Basil (the Great, A. D. 330–379) was born of Christian parents and enjoyed the benefit of the teachings of good classical scholars. He generally followed Origen in theology, and at first inclined to the Homoiousian (Semi-Arian) side, but later threw his learning and prestige to the side of the Homoousians. Gregory of Nazianzus (A. D. 325–389) was the son of a bishop, and companion in study of Basil. He was early ordained a presbyter by his father, and a little later became his father’s assistant. He did not, however, consent to succeed his father on the latter’s death, but went to Constantinople, and by his eloquence and depth of thought furthered the cause of the Nicene faith. Gregory of Nyssa (A. D. 330–395), a brother of Basil, was made bishop of Nyssa in Cappadocia, but drifted into Constantinople and took an active part in the great discussion. He was the most philosophical of the three Cappadocians, and

Macedonian-
ism.

The Cappado-
cian Theologi-
ans.

Origen’s Influ-
ence.

appreciated and yielded to the influence of Origen, although, as already noted, he adhered to the Nicene declaration of faith.

Under the influence of these men, and others of lesser power, the Semi-Arian party was little by little drawn towards the Nicene position. Theodosius (A. D. 379-395), soon after his accession, called a second ecumenical council, to give the question before the Church a final consideration. This council met at Constantinople in A. D. 381, and, in addition to the definition of the relations of the Son to the Father, already made at Nicæa, pronounced on the essential divinity of the Holy Spirit, and thus the doctrine of the Trinity was clearly set forth.

The Arian controversy made it very clear that the comprehensive tendency of Origen's systematic theologizing was a source of misunderstanding and danger. Both sides in the controversy quoted this great theologian; and this because he had succeeded in so expressing his views as to include, in his comprehensive mode of thought, the truth represented by each. There arose, however, a certain type of thinkers who were unable to appreciate this phase of his thought. Between these, on the one hand, and those who admired Origen and followed him implicitly on the other, it was inevitable there should come a conflict.

The first phase of this conflict was developed in Palestine towards the end of the fourth century. There a group of Christian thinkers took up the writings of Origen as a guide in their studies. The foremost of these were John, bishop of Jerusalem, Rufinus of Aquileia, and Jerome, one of the most prolific of the Latin Fathers of the Church. The devotion of these men to Origen drew down on them the displeasure and opposition of Epiphanius, bishop of Constantia (Salamis), in Cyprus (A. D. 315-403). The reputation of Epiphanius for orthodoxy, and the consequent fear of being charged with heresy on the ground of Epiphanius' opposition, led Jerome to break away from his companions and fellow-admirers of Origen and attack Origen as holding a number of heretical views. This naturally brought forth answers and defences from

Origenistic
Controversy.

the other side. The conflict grew especially bitter between Jerome and Rufinus, but led to no ecclesiastical action.

At the same time, but upon occasion of a different set of circumstances a second conflict involving Origen's views, if not directly growing out of them, appeared at Alexandria. Here Theophilus, the bishop, had declared himself distinctly against the anthropomorphic views held by some. He thus seemed to give his adherence to the spiritualistic theories of Origen. On being attacked by certain fanatical monks from the Scetic desert, he changed his attitude and became a vehement opponent of Origenism. In this way, however, he was brought into conflict with the monks of the Nitrian desert, who were Origenists. With these he carried on the controversy. As they betook themselves to Constantinople to the protection of John Chrysostom, the bishop of that city, Theophilus entered into a dispute with Chrysostom. Chrysostom, however, was not a violent partisan of Origenism. The controversy was, therefore, reduced to a personal one between these bishops. Chrysostom (The Golden Mouth, so called from his great eloquence, A. D. 347-407), was a native of Antioch and devoted himself in early life to monastic habit. But being unable to endure the severities of this form of life he returned to his home and was ordained presbyter. His natural gifts raised him to the bishopric of Constantinople. In the conflict with Theophilus, Chrysostom had to contend against the ill-will of the empress, who had been offended by his plain speech against the laxity in morals tolerated by her at court. A council held at an imperial estate near Chalcedon, called "The Oak," and presided over by Theophilus, condemned and deposed Chrysostom. He was banished from Constantinople, but recalled in consequence of a tumult caused by this measure. The enmity of the empress, however, was implacable. Chrysostom was condemned a second time on a technical charge and banished to a more distant place. This he never reached, succumbing to the hardships of the way. As an incident of this

conflict, a council convened by Epiphanius at Cyprus condemned Origen's views (A. D. 401).

The question of the essential unity of the Son with the Father from eternity once settled, discussions arose as to the relation of the divine and human elements in the Incarnate Son. How were the Godhead and human nature combined in the person of Christ? The first attempt at the solution of this problem was made by Apollinaris (390).

Christological
Controversies.

Apollinaris.

This theologian was trained in the Platonic philosophy, and as he approached the difficult question of the person of Christ, resorted to the Platonic psychology for light. Here he found the distinction between the animal or irrational soul and the spirit. He therefore asserted that in the Incarnation the eternal Logos took upon himself a true human body and a genuine animal soul, but no true human spirit. The place of this in the ordinary human nature was taken by the Logos himself, who is a true spirit. This doctrine was at once recognized as inconsistent with a belief in the true humanity of the Lord, and some of the foremost thinkers of the Church appeared in opposition to it. Among these were Athanasius, Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa and especially Theodore of Mopsuestia. The doctrine was anathematized at the council of Constantinople (A. D. 381).

The opposition of Theodore of Mopsuestia to Apollinarianism was simply one of a group of characteristics developed by the school of thinkers which centered about Antioch. Theodore himself was the most prominent representative of this school. He distinguished himself as a student and commentator of the Bible, and was made bishop of Mopsuestia (A. D. 393-428). He and his followers were inclined to insist on the integrity of the human nature of Jesus Christ. This tendency was slightly at variance with the tendency of the Alexandrian school, which emphasized the overshadowing power of the divine nature.

Theodore of
Mopsuestia.

The Antiochene tendency, pressed to an extreme, issued in the Nestorian heresy. Nestorius, who gives the name

to this form of belief, was educated at Antioch and became patriarch of Constantinople (A. D. 428–Nestorianism. 435). He was not, however, the originator of the heresy. This arose from the denunciation from the pulpit by Anastasius, a presbyter under Nestorius, of the phrase “Mother of God” as applied to Mary. Anastasius preached against the use of this phrase, on the ground that Mary was not and could not be said to be the mother of the divine nature in Christ, but only of the human. He was attacked for this by the monks and the people and defended by the bishop. In the course of the discussion the view was elaborated that there are in Christ two distinct persons, the divine and the human. Meanwhile Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, appeared as the champion of the opposition to Nestorius, actuated in this course, perhaps, by personal ambition and jealousy. An ecumenical council was called to meet at Ephesus in A. D. 431. Before the arrival of the eastern bishops, who were known to favor Nestorius, and in the absence of Nestorius himself, as he refused to appear, though summoned, Cyril organized the council and secured the condemnation of Nestorius. A verdict thus obtained did not pass unchallenged, but after a few years of heated debate and a change of face at court from the side of Nestorius to that of Cyril, the decision was acknowledged as valid, Nestorius was deposed and banished, dying in exile (A. D. 439), and the Alexandrian view obtained the upper hand.

The settlement of the question thus reached did not, however, prove a permanent one. Cyril was succeeded in the patriarchate of Alexandria by Dios-Eutychianism. corus, a man of intolerant and violent temper.

Soon afterwards Eutyches, the aged head of a monastery in Constantinople, propounded the view that after the incarnation there were not two natures in Christ, but one. The human nature was so thoroughly absorbed in the divine that even the corporeal element in it was different from the ordinary human body. This view was opposed and soon condemned by the patriarch of Constantinople, Flavian, with the concurrence of the “resi-

dent synod."* Dioscorus now came to the rescue of Eutyches, who also had the support of the imperial court. The matter was again referred to a council, and Eutychianism was formally rejected (A. D. 449). But the emperor, not satisfied with this result, summoned an ecumenical council to meet at Ephesus the same year. Dioscorus assumed the control of this council, and the violence exhibited in it rightly gave it the name of "The Robber Synod." Flavian was so maltreated that he died in consequence. Other opponents of Eutyches were forced to flee for their lives.

Meantime Monophysitism became generalized. Not only the absorption of the human nature of Christ by the divine, but also the mixture of the two in a third and a new theanthropic nature was advocated. The ascendancy of these views was not, however, destined to last long. With the death of the emperor, Theodosius II., who had befriended and protected Eutyches and his doctrine, a radical change came. Leo I., bishop of Rome, had outlined in a letter to Flavian the position to be taken by the Church. An ecumenical council was called and met at Chalcedon in A. D. 451. This council gave the final form to the definition of the relations of the human and divine elements in Christ. It declared for the true divinity and the perfect humanity of the Lord. These coexist in his one person without intermixture, without transmutation, without division, and without separation.†

But, though the doctrine of the person of Christ was clearly set forth, political reasons interfered with the reunion of the parties to the controversy. Monophysitism had gained many adherents in Alexandria, Egypt and Palestine. A rebellion broke out in Palestine, led by a monk named Theodosius. Riots and disturbances followed in Alexandria. The patriarch of that city, Proterius, appointed after the deposition of Dioscorus, was assassinated, and

* Σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα, consisting of prelates residing in the city.

† The terms used at Chalcedon were ἄσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀχωρίστως.

a Monophysite elected in his place in the person of Timotheus Ælurus. In Antioch, Peter the Fuller, also a Monophysite, was elected patriarch. The emperor, Leo I. (A. D. 457-474), maintained the orthodox side at Constantinople. Upon his death, his son-in-law, Zeno, succeeded him, but was displaced by a usurper, Basiliscus (A. D. 475-477). This emperor was an ardent Monophysite and put forth a document condemning the creed of Chalcedon and the letter of Leo which had foreshadowed it. He was not, however, allowed to remain in power very long. Zeno was reinstated, and the adherents of the Chalcedonian creed regained power. Zeno now put forth a new proposal for reunion, called *The Henoticon* (A. D. 482). This was meant to be a compromise. It avoided the terms used in the controversy and was non-committal on the Chalcedon creed, but failed to reunite the parties. It was, however, accepted by many Monophysites, creating a disruption in their ranks. Meanwhile the side of the Dyophysites in the East was strengthened by the formal rejection of the *Henoticon* at Rome by Felix III., an act which was followed by a temporary schism between the Eastern and Western branches of the Church, lasting until A. D. 519. At that date the patriarch John of Constantinople was induced by Justinian, the nephew of the reigning emperor, Justin, to condemn the *Henoticon*, and communion between the two branches of the Church was restored by Hormisdas.

The last stage of the Monophysite controversy was entered into by the accession to the imperial throne of Justinian (A. D. 527-565). This emperor made it his life-task to re-establish the unity of the empire around the Creed of Chalcedon. He first issued a decree sanctioning the use of the expression "God who hast suffered for us," introduced into the liturgy, first at Antioch by Peter the Fuller, and later adopted at Constantinople. This was a concession to the Monophysites. He was next induced by the empress Theodora, who was a Monophysite at heart, to sum up in three so-called *Chapters*, the works of Theodore of Mopsuestia, the *Letters* of Theodoret against Cyril and the *Letter* of Ibas to Mares, and declare

them heretical. He asked the bishops to concur in this verdict. This was readily done by the Eastern bishops; but those of the West would not agree. Vigilius of Rome had indeed secretly promised the empress to do so too, but broke his word on finding that he must meet a storm of opposition in the West. The emperor, however, brought him to Constantinople and compelled him to draw a document entitled *Judicatum*, in which the *Three Chapters* were condemned. Finally the emperor convened the Fifth Ecumenical Council at Constantinople in A. D. 553. Here the *Three Chapters* were condemned as well as Origen and his views. Vigilius, still loath to go back to Rome as a partisan to this condemnation, issued his *Constitutum*, attempting to occupy middle ground by condemning certain views in the *Three Chapters* but not the men. He was compelled, however, soon afterwards, to subscribe to the finding of the council.

Fifth Ecumenical Council.

But though these proceedings restored peace and unity to the Church and empire, they did not destroy the Monophysite heresy. This was rather broken into smaller factions by the appearance in it of varieties of shades of opinion. The main body of those who dwelt in Syria and Mesopotamia found a leader of energy in Jacob Baradæus (A. D. 541-578), from whom they derive the name of Jacobites. They were persecuted and increasingly isolated in churches of their own in Abyssinia and Syria.

While Alexandrian speculation and Antiochene study led to controversies above noticed, Athenian Neo-Platonism also found its way into the Christian world under the guise of writings on the *Celestial Hierarchy*, on *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, on the *Divine Names* and on *Mystical Theology*. These writings were put forth in the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, but their author evidently lived about A. D. 500. He taught that God is an inscrutable Being who condescends to develop and manifest himself in a series of heavenly beings, ranged in ranks as a hierarchy. At the head of this hierarchy stands the Holy Trinity. The earthly hierarchy is sim-

ply patterned after its heavenly prototype, and through the ordinances of the Church, especially the sacraments (called by their author "mysteries"), secures for men the opening of the way to God.

Contemporaneously with the pseudo-Dionysius flourished the last of the writers in classic Latin. This was Severinus Boëthius (A.D. 480-525). Being suspected of conspiracy, this philosophic thinker was seized by command of the emperor Theodoric and cast into prison, and later put to death. During the period of his incarceration he composed his treatise *On the Consolation of Philosophy*, a work conceived and executed in the spirit of ancient stoicism, but mistaken at the time as the result of profound Christian thought.

While the East was occupied with the controversies relating to the Trinity and to the person of Christ, the

West became the scene of a controversy on a different subject, viz., the Christian doctrine of

Grace and its relation to human freedom and

ability. The thinker with whom the discussion of the question begins is also undoubtedly the greatest thinker of the

Western branch of the Church. Augustine (Aurelius Augustinus, A. D. 354-430) was born in the North African town of Tagaste. His mother, Monica, was a devout

Christian, who made the profoundest religious impression on his mind in early youth. He drifted away from these

ideals, however, while fitting himself for the profession of rhetorician at Carthage. At the same time he acquired

the desire for a deeper insight into truth through philosophy. To satisfy this desire, he joined himself for a time

to the Manichæans, being admitted into this sect to the degree of a hearer. But failing to find the satisfaction of

his spiritual thirst here, he resorted to Neo-Platonism. Still failing of satisfaction, he turned to the Scriptures,

already familiar to him to a certain extent, and was led to the inner experience of the power of God's grace, which

thenceforth became to him the center of his thought and life. He was baptized in A. D. 387 by Ambrose of Milan,

in whose parish he had meantime taken his abode. Shortly after this he returned to Africa and reluctantly

submitted to ordination as presbyter in the town of Hippo (A. D. 392). In A. D. 395 he was elected bishop of the place, and spent the rest of his life in labors in the service of the Church at this place.

Augustine wrote a large number of works. As the most important among these may be named the *Confessions* and the treatise *De Civitate Dei*. He His Work. busied himself with a wide variety of topics, and a complete list of his writings would show him to have been a man of versatile genius and broad scope, who took an interest in all the questions of his day. As a controversialist his support was sought after and his opposition dreaded. He engaged in the study and exposition of Scripture and wrote commentaries. He took up the defence of the Christian faith against the Manichæans and wrote against the Pelagians and Donatists.

His system of thought, as already intimated, begins with the question, "How can a sinful man take the steps necessary to his salvation?" His answer was His Theology. clearly given, and may be summed up in the proposition that the divine grace must enter into the heart and enable him to do this. Augustine's Christian experience was supported at this point by his Platonic philosophy, which looked upon God as the real ground and agent of all things. Man was created in the image of God, with freedom, but in the fall of Adam he lost this freedom and became utterly unable to do good. The grace of God finds no assistance or effective resistance in human nature as it is after the fall. It enters into it and breaks it away from its attachment towards evil, frees it and gives a new impulse towards God. Only after this work of grace is done can man coöperate with the Spirit. But this saving grace is given, not to all individuals of the human race, but to a certain number whom God in his mercy has predestined thereto from eternity.

This system met with well-defined opposition at the hands of Pelagius (A. D. 370?–440?), a British monk, who Pelagianism. appears for the first time at the beginning of the fifth century preaching moral reform. He was a man of calm temperament, without any

knowledge of the spiritual struggle with sin through which men like Augustine have to pass. He appears to have couched his opposition to Augustine's views in judicious terms, so that it offended no one at first. But he gained a disciple in Cœlestius (fl. A. D. 415), a layman, who was less prudent. Cœlestius began by denying the connection of Adam's sin with the condition of the race. He also denied the remission of sin in the baptism of infants. He was accused and condemned at Carthage of holding these and other views consistent with these, before a council held in A. D. 413.

Meantime Pelagius himself went to Palestine, and, on being charged with holding these views, admitted before an assembly of presbyters that a sinless life was impossible without the grace of God, and was acquitted (A. D. 415). He was again acquitted at a synod held at Diospolis later in the same year. But his enemies in Africa were not satisfied with these decisions. In two councils held at Carthage and Mileve in A. D. 416 he was condemned. This action was then put before Pope Innocent of Rome for approval, and was readily approved by him. The pope also excommunicated both Pelagius and Cœlestius. Pelagius made another effort at securing vindication by addressing a memorial to the pope. A larger council at Carthage, however, in A. D. 418, condemned his system in clearer terms and without reference to what the pope might do. As the pope approved this decision also, no further complications arose. Pelagianism was finally condemned at the third ecumenical council at Ephesus in A. D. 431.

The views of Pelagius were taken up and advocated with more energy than that exhibited by Pelagius and more prudence than that of Cœlestius, by Julian of Eclanum. This bishop led the minority, who protested against the condemnation of Pelagius, and entered on an animated controversy with the great Augustine himself, charging him with Manichæan tendencies. But he was unable to restore the condemned views to favor in the Church.

But while the doctrines of Pelagius and Cœlestius were condemned their influence was not counteracted, nor were

the views of Augustine accepted without qualification throughout the whole Church. An attempt was made in the south of Gaul (Massilia) to find a middle ground between the two systems. This has been called Semi-Pelagianism. The most prominent advocates of this position were John Cassian (fl. A. D. 428), Vincent of Lerins (fl. A. D. 428), and Faustus of Rhegium (fl. A. D. 494). According to the Semi-Pelagians there are two forces working together in the regeneration and salvation of man—the grace of God and the will of man. While man is affected by the sin of Adam he is not rendered utterly incapable of doing good. Hence he sometimes begins the work of salvation which the grace of God helps him to complete. At other times, however, the grace of God begins it and he coöperates. Cassian also especially rejected the doctrine of Augustine on predestination. Vincent of Lerins attempted to fortify these positions by setting up the uniform tradition of the Church against the positions of individuals or special local divisions of the Church.* After Augustine's death his views were defended against the Semi-Pelagians by Prosper of Aquitaine (fl. A. D. 460), Cæsarius of Arles (fl. A. D. 543) and Fulgentius of Ruspe (fl. A. D. 555). Finally, a generalized form of Augustinianism was adopted at the Synods of Orange (A. D. 529), and Valence (A. D. 529).

A heresy which grew into a sect arose in Spain, led by Priscillian, a wealthy layman of good family and education.

Priscillianism. Priscillian appears to have attempted a reformation of morals among the Christians of his region. As he organized separate conventicles, however, and taught opinions concerning Christ which were formed under the influence of Oriental speculation his followers have been regarded as a sect of heretics. He denied the charge of Manichæism, but was condemned by a council of bishops at Saragossa (A. D. 380), and after various vicissitudes he was himself put to death (A. D. 385), being the first to suffer death for heresy.

* *Quod semper, ubique et ab omnibus creditum est* serves as the norm of truth.

CHAPTER X.

NICENE AND POST-NICENE CHURCH INSTITUTIONS.

THE worship of the Church becomes more fixed and stately during this period, assuming a liturgical form.

The distinction into the two parts, one intended for all without discrimination and called *missa catechumenorum*, and the other for the communicants only called *missa fidelium*, continues. The second of these is developed into a service of five parts. 1. Prayer for different objects announced by the deacon and appropriated by the worshipers through the formula *Kyrie eleison** (Lord, have mercy). 2. The act of offering in which the worshipers offer their gifts, and these are collected by the deacon. After this the holy kiss is exchanged. 3. The act of consecration of the Eucharist with the responsive *Sursum corda* (Lift up your hearts), the words of institution and the *Epiklesis* (invocation) of the Holy Spirit on the elements. 4. The communion or participation of the elements with the singing of psalms. 5. The dismissal with prayer of thanksgiving, and the form: "Go in peace."

With the exaltation of the ceremony in the Lord's Supper goes the growth of the idea of sacrifice. The Old Testament is interpreted as typifying Christ, and its sacrifices as foreshadowing the great sacrifice of Christ, but the Supper itself takes on the form of a repetition of Christ's sacrifice. Furthermore the idea of a change in the elements begins to dawn. The exact nature of this change is not, however, clearly set forth. The utterance of different leaders of thought differ very much. Thus, the efficacy of the

Eucharistic
Service.

Doctrine of
Sacrifice.

* *Κύριε ἐλέησον*, Lord, have mercy.

Eucharist for a large number of ends is believed in. It is a means of protection and salvation from all dangers and evils, and a benefit to the souls of departed believers when offered as a sacrifice in their behalf.

The observance of Sunday as the Christian holy day was furthered by the legislation of Constantine, setting it apart as the holiday of the civil service. In general this day of the week takes the place of the Sabbath of the Old Testament, without, however, a formal action on the part of the Church or a sharp and perceptible transition.

The feast of Easter was the first and most important of the circle of festival seasons in the year, though differences of opinion as to the exact date of it still continued. But the Western mode of determining the date approved at the council of Nicæa prevailed towards the end of the period. A certain season of fasting preceded the observance of Easter; but here also custom continued to vary as to the exact duration of the fast. The period was called *Quadragesima* (forty days), or approximately six weeks. But in some portions of the Church this was lengthened into eight weeks, and in others shortened by the omission of Sundays, or Saturdays and Sundays. The week preceding Easter was observed with a minuter regard to its significance as commemorative of the Passion.

Two festival days sprang up independently, one in the East and the other in the West, commemorative of the appearance of Christ on the earth. The Eastern is probably the older, and, under the name of Epiphany, recalled to the mind the manifestations of the divine presence in the baptism of Christ. This was observed on the 6th of January. The Western celebration took the birth of the Christ as its object, and developed into Christmas. The 25th of December was the day set apart as the probable birthday of Jesus Christ. These two days met with acceptance, not merely in the regions where they originated, but passed, the one from the East to the West and the other from the West to the East, until the whole Church recognized both.

Epiphany and
Christmas.

From a very early age Christians expressed a high degree of veneration for the apostles and other characters whose faith or holy lives were commended in the Scriptures. But it was during the age under consideration that this veneration grew into adoration. Moreover, the circle of those whose saintly lives thus raised them above other men was enlarged by the introduction into it of martyrs. The Church at first adopted the custom of offering prayers for saints and martyrs. In the fifth century, however, this gave place to prayers to the martyrs and saints for intercession in behalf of those who offered these prayers. The saints thus prayed to were supposed to be in a peculiarly near relation to Christ and capable of presenting their petitions at any time. The burying-places, too, of martyrs came to be regarded as especially sacred, and were chosen as suitable sites for church edifices.

Naturally, to the person of the mother of Jesus was attributed at least the same sacredness as was ascribed to the saints. The prevailing ascetic idea that marriage was a less holy form of life than celibacy or virginity gave birth to the notion that Mary remained a virgin after the birth of Jesus. To reconcile this notion with the mention in the gospel accounts of persons called "the brethren of the Lord," two rival explanations were given of this expression. According to the first, proposed by Epiphanius, the "brethren of the Lord" were cousins, called "brethren" by a Hebrew idiom. The second was proposed by Jerome, and explained the phrase as meaning that these "brethren" were sons of Joseph before his marriage to Mary. The view of Helvidius that they were children of Mary was scornfully rejected. This enhanced the feeling of respect for Mary to a point beyond the veneration paid to the saints. She was spoken of and addressed as "mother of God," and churches began to be dedicated to her, besides the other tokens of honor ascribed to her in common with the other saints and martyrs.

Angels also were by degrees included in the number of those to whom honor was to be given, although the

The Worship
of Saints and
Martyrs.

The Virgin
Mary.

growth of this custom was slower and met *Angel Worship.* with more opposition than that of the worship of saints.

The honor accorded to the saints led to the setting up of their images in the churches, doubtless at first for the sake of keeping their memories fresh in the minds of believers. But as the feeling of respect was transmuted into worship, these images themselves became the objects of worship—a tendency which was intensified by reports of miraculous healings effected through them. Already at the beginning of the fifth century Augustine deprecates this superstitious custom.

The use of pictures in churches, even for the sake of adorning the bare walls, or otherwise embellishing the places of worship, was vigorously opposed by *Image Wor-* the ablest of the church leaders. Eusebius *ship.* took away two pictures, alleged to be those of Jesus and Peter, in order that the heathen might not say that Christians had turned idolaters. Epiphanius tore away a curtain in a village church on which was painted a representation of Christ or some saint. Yet the love of art, especially of painting, brought into the Church by the pagans, was so great that, in spite of the outbursts of opposition, it became the universal custom to adorn churches with the pictures of saints, apostles and martyrs, and even of Christ himself.

The artistic feeling found vent also in the form and material of church edifices. The basilica was the commonest of the types of church-building after the days of Constantine. The ground-plan of this type is an oblong with a semi-circular annex at the end opposite the entrance. This ground-plan is divided into naves by parallel rows of columns running from the entrance towards the apse. This general type was varied almost indefinitely by the addition of a transept or changes in the mode of arranging the naves, aisles or roof. The external form of these buildings was also made a study, the object being to give them an imposing and stately appearance. Some very elaborate and expensive church edifices came into existence

Opposition to Images.

Church Buildings.

soon after the adoption of Christianity as the state religion by Constantine.

The discipline of the Church was maintained, first, by the initiatory act of baptism, and secondly, by legislation.

The first was designed to keep out the unfit ;
 Discipline. the second to preserve all admitted within
 from falling into a condition of unfitness and

to purge the Church of the unworthy in case any such
 either entered or developed within her ranks. Baptism was
 preceded, as in the previous age, by a time of preparation
 (the catechumenate), varying in length according to the
 circumstances, the age and information of the candidate.
 Stated times in the year were set apart as seasons fit for
 the administration of the ordinance. In the East the
 feasts of Easter, and Epiphany, when Christ's baptism was
 commemorated, were thought the best seasons. In the
 West, Pentecost, called Whit or White Sunday (from the
 white robe worn by candidates) and Christmas were so
 designated. Baptism was supposed to have a

Baptism. peculiar efficacy in washing away sin. Hence
 many postponed their baptism until the ap-
 proach of death, in order to pass into the future life as
 nearly sinless as possible. Even Christians by convic-
 tion thus delayed entrance into the Church formally.
 The ceremony attending the administration of the ordi-
 nance was mainly the same as that described as prevailing
 in the preceding period. The Apostles' Creed and the
 Nicene Creed, however, came to be used as baptismal
 confessions of faith, and the ceremony was made more
 elaborate and formal in some minuter details.

The legislation of the Church was enlarged by the in-
 corporation of the canons of the ecumenical councils
 and some imperial edicts, together with the
 Law. deliverances of some of the provincial councils.

This legislation was codified by John Scholas-
 ticus in A. D. 564. Naturally, such legislation had primary
 reference to the outward life. Spiritual and even moral
 delinquencies of the subtler kind could not be touched
 by external legislation. For such the Church attempted
 to provide in its penitential system, instructing its mem-

bers that it was far better for them to confess sins of this sort and endure the penalty than enter into the presence of God with unforgiven trespass. A special officer was appointed to receive confessions and assign penalties. He was called the "penitential presbyter." But on account of abuses in this office it was soon abolished. The penalties affixed to sins, either open or secret, varied from fasting for a time to excommunication. The regulations governing the application of penalty grew into the penitential system more fully elaborated in the following period.

Zeal for the purity of the Church gave rise to a disruption in this period which, for a long time, harassed the Church in North Africa. This was the Donatist schism. The Donatists at first stood for the principle that the Church of Christ should be preserved pure, and that no person guilty of sin serious enough for excommunication is fit to perform sacramental service. Later, when persecuted by the State, they added to their distinctive tenets the principle that the kingdom of God and the kingdom of this world had nothing in common. The occasion of the schism was the election and consecration of Cæcilian as bishop of Carthage by Felix of Aptunga (A. D. 311). The charge was brought against Felix of having given up his Scriptures during the Diocletian persecution, and his action in consecrating Cæcilian was declared invalid. Majorinus was elected as a rival bishop. In A. D. 313, Majorinus having died, Donatus was elected in his place, and the party opposed to Cæcilian was named after him. Constantine, on his accession to the throne, tried, first by force and then by gentler measures, to pacify and win back the Donatists, but without success. Persecution only developed latent fanaticism; and under the name of *Circumcelliones* they went about giving vent to their intense hatred of the Catholics. Throughout the fourth century the controversy raged with fury until the appearance of Augustine as bishop of Hippo in A. D. 395. Augustine, through his manifold efforts, succeeded in winning over many of them. At a conference in A. D. 411, before an

imperial delegate as arbiter, he confuted their champions and the schism was outlawed. Soon after this the vandals invaded Africa and Donatism disappeared in the chaos that ensued.

The desire for a strictly holy life led to the appearance of unusual forms of monasticism. Of these the most singular was that adopted by the Stylites
 Monasticism. (Pillar-monks). These lived on pillars, whence they exhorted men unto good works as they came to witness their strange mode of life. Symeon the Stylite (A. D. 390-460) attained to the greatest renown among them, having lived for thirty years on a pillar sixty feet high. The *Bosci* (Grazers) withdrew from civilization altogether and lived in uncultivated fields and deserts on roots and fruits, renouncing not only all the pleasures of the world but also its labors and employments.

Monks who, in imitation of Antony, lived in the desert, especially in Egypt, formed communities. About the middle of the fourth century these communi-
 Cœnobites. ties began to be organized. Thus arose the Cœnobite monks. Organization was soon followed by the adoption of a rule or body of rules to govern the daily life. The first to formulate such a rule was Pachomius on the island Tabenna on the Nile (A. D. 335). The society of monks was here placed under one leader or head called abbas. The members were obliged to spend their time in work as well as devotions. The proceeds of their labors were devoted to their daily needs and the surplus was given to the needy. Basil
 Monastic Rules. of Cæsarea devised another rule intended to avoid by its prescriptions the dangers of monasticism already perceptible.

In the West, also, monasticism took root, but in its growth it showed some features quite at variance from those of the Eastern form. One of the most prominent of these was the application to
 Western Mon- study. The monastery at Lerinum, an island
 asticism. on the West coast of Italy, assumed the character of a training school for the clergy of Southern Gaul. Another monastery near Marseilles proved to be an important

literary center and furnished the Church with the works of John Cassian. The highest form of monastic rule was reached for the period in that framed by Benedict of Nursia. Benedict founded the monastery of Monte Cassino in A. D. 529. The rule he provided for it was calculated to form strong character without encouraging eccentricity. The history of the monastery proved the wisdom of its founder. And the rule served as the basis of future developments in that direction. Another prominent monastery was founded by Cassiodorus (A. D. 540) and devoted to the training of copyists of good books and the preservation of the writings of the fathers.

Monasticism found also some opponents, such as Jovinian and Chrysostom. But the tendencies of the age were too strong to be resisted or even diverted into a sounder and more reasonable view. The criticisms of Jovinian were condemned by Siricius, the pope (A. D. 390), and answered by Ambrose of Milan. Jovinian himself was excommunicated for heresy.

PART II. THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD.

(A. D. 590-1517.)

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY: THE GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

THE Middle Ages are conveniently so called from their chronological position between the ancient and modern times. The ancient civilization reached its culmination in the Roman Empire. With the possession of power and the consciousness of superiority Rome lost her motive for aggressiveness and vigilance. She became unable to guard and vitalize her vast possessions. Her aristocracy and governing class degenerated both morally and socially, and the hordes of invading barbarians found it an easy task to enter the once invincible city. In 476 the western branch of the empire, with its seat in Rome, was formally given up and Odoacer under the title of king assumed control. Thus ancient civilization came to an end in the very portion of Europe in which its existence could have affected the incoming barbarian races. No civilization was ready to take its place. Christianity had not yet had time to permeate the popular life and present a ripe system of institutions to these new races. Europe was plunged into darkness. Hence the name, Dark Ages, often applied to this period.

End of the
Western
Empire.

The Church grew in power as the civil government waned before the advancing barbarians. But the Church itself was in many ways affected by the fall of the old civilization. Faith began to degenerate into credulity. The spirit of reverence and teachableness was changed into abject, cringing servility. Spiritual religion declined and formalism increased. Thus the light held out by the Church, though not extinguished, was partially obscured.

The Church
and the
Dark Ages.

The limits of the middle ages may be determined for the political world by the fall of the old Roman Empire in 476 as a starting-point, and the fall of the Byzantine Empire in the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 as its end. For the Church the events of greater importance are the accession of Gregory I. (the Great) in 590 as the beginning, and the opening of the Protestant Reformation in 1517 as its end.

Limits of the
Middle Ages.

A glance at the map of Europe at the beginning of the seventh century shows that Thrace, Macedonia, Thessaly, Epirus, Illyricum, together with Asia Minor, now constitute the Roman Empire, whose capital is, however, not at Rome, but at Byzantium. The name Byzantine becomes a fitter one to designate it in its further course, not merely because of the change of capital already mentioned, but also because it develops a character and a civilization all its own. Western Europe is distributed among a large number of new peoples, chiefly Teutonic, but with an admixture of Slavonic elements. Austria is occupied by the Gepides and the Lombards; Northwestern Germany (to use its modern name), by the Saxons and Thuringians; Switzerland by the Allemanni; Italy by the Lombards and Ostrogoths; Northwestern France by the Franks; Southwestern France by the Burgundians; Northwestern Spain by the Suevi, and the southwestern portion of the same country by the Visi-Goths. North Africa, once a flourishing and populous Christian region, appears under the control of the Vandals, and the North African church, with Carthage as its center, seems to be blotted out of

Geographical
Distribution of
Races.

existence. While the British islands are for the most part unaffected by the migrations of the tribes, the Angles appear in the southern portion of Britain, and the Keltic Britons are driven into the interior, and even to the extremities farthest away from the source of invasion.

CHAPTER II.

THE CHURCH IN THE EAST.

THE monotony of the life of the Church in the Eastern Empire during the seventh and eighth centuries was broken by the appearance of the vigorous Arab religion of Mohammed and two controversies within the fold itself, one relating to the theological question of the will of Christ, and the other to the practical one of the worship of images.

The Disturbing Elements.

The land and people among whom Mohammedanism arose were fitted to produce precisely such a system. The immediate seat of the origin of this religion was the city of Mecca. Here was located the *Kaaba* (the cube), a heathen temple, made, according to the legend, by the angels in heaven, and let down to earth in the form of a tent, used as such by Adam, but given a more permanent brick form by Seth, and finally reconstructed, after the Deluge, by Abraham and Ishmael. This sacred place was guarded by the tribe of the Koreish. Within it was the sacred Black Stone, originally, it is said by Mohammedans, as white as milk, but turned black on account of the sin of man. It was also, according to the legend, a gift from heaven.

The people of that portion of Arabia in which Mecca is situated are nomads, claiming descent from Abraham through Ishmael and the children of Keturah.

The People and their Religions.

The religions prevalent among them just before the advent of Mohammed were heathenism, Judaism and degenerate forms of Christianity, connected historically with the heresies rejected and condemned by the Church. Ebionites, Arians, Sabellians, Nestorians,

Eutychians and Monophysites, unable to live under persecution within Christendom, withdrew in large numbers into these regions where they could be looked upon at least with the tolerance that grows out of indifference. All of these, however, revered Abraham as the father of the faithful, and in this fact there was a point of contact between them, and a ground of hope for their unification.

Mohammed (more correctly Muhammad, Abu-Al-Kasim) was born in 570, being the only child of the widow Amina. His father died before his birth.

Life of Mohammed. Raised as a poor boy, he married, at the age of twenty-five, a rich widow, Khadijah, for whom he had worked previously as steward and agent. He was of a nervous temperament, and almost from his infancy had been subject to epilepsy. This, with his highly fertile imagination, made him the victim of hallucinations. At the age of forty he appeared in the character of a prophet. He had received, he said, a divine commission. For twenty years he maintained the claim that he received revelations while in an ecstatic condition. He began to teach his new faith among his relatives and fellow-townsmen. His first converts were his wife, Khadijah, his father-in-law, Abu-Bekr, his daughter, Fatima, and Ali and Zayd, both adopted sons. His attacks on the idolatry of Mecca drew down on him the displeasure of the Koreish, by whom he was persecuted and forced to flee to Medina in 622. This date marks a crisis in his life, and has therefore become the era of Mohammedanism under the name of the Hedjira. His success was greater at Medina. Having gathered a body of followers here, he led them in a military campaign against Mecca and the Koreish. These he succeeded in conquering, and accordingly he entered Mecca in triumph in 630, putting an end to its idolatry and compelling it to receive him as the prophet. As he grew in power his character showed marked changes. His former tolerance and friendship towards Christianity disappeared. He preached and practiced the destruction of all opponents to his new religion. His former temperate and frugal habits also gave way to sensuality. He married eleven wives, but allowed only four to his disci-

ples. While preparing for an aggressive campaign of conquest in Syria in behalf of his religion, he died of a violent fever in 632.

Mohammedanism as a religious system has been summed up in six articles as follows. 1. God is one. He is all-powerful and all-wise, and to be feared and obeyed. Submission to him is the central principle of the system. Hence it is called *Islam*. 2. All events have been foreordained and come to pass according to an unchangeable order. 3. There are two classes of angels, the good and the bad. 4. God has given his revelation in the Scriptures. 5. He has sent prophets of whom Adam, Moses, Jesus and Mohammed are the greatest. Mohammed is the Paraclete promised by Jesus. 6. God will judge and reward or punish all men in a final judgment.

The Koran, according to Mohammedanism, is the last and best revelation of God, and Mohammed his last and greatest prophet. The Koran is a somewhat confused production, consisting of different utterances by the prophet, given at different times, each of which was no doubt affected more or less by its original setting, now lost. It is, however, full of lofty poetry and breathes a pure zeal for monotheism. Its materials, so far as they are not original with the prophet, are derived, first from the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, but at second hand through the medium of the imperfect knowledge of them possessed by Jewish merchants and heretical Christians. There are, however, also elements from rabbinical Jewish tradition and from apocryphal Christian books. The ethical teaching of the Koran has some good features in it, such as the inculcation of honesty, humility, courage and temperance. But these are counterbalanced by its permission of polygamy and slavery, and the exhortation to use violence in the dissemination of the faith. Its practical religion may be put, with perhaps less regard to logic than convenience, in the four duties of prayer, almsgiving, fasting, and pilgrimages.

During the lifetime of its founder, Mohammedanism

did not spread beyond the bounds of Arabia. Upon his death, his father-in-law, Abu Bekr, and later Omar, as caliphs (successors), carried it into Palestine. In 637 Jerusalem fell into the hands of its adherents. In 639 the whole of Syria had been subjugated. Two years later Egypt followed. During the remainder of the seventh century, the Mohammedans took possession, one by one, of all the strongholds of North Africa. Thence, in 711, they crossed into Spain, and in a short campaign of two years (711-713), succeeded in founding the Moorish kingdom there. They then crossed the Pyrenees and threatened Gaul; but were effectually stopped from further acquisition in Europe by Charles Martel at the battle of Tours (732). Meantime, in the East, they had added to their other conquests, Persia and Asia Minor, and attacked Constantinople. But here, again, they were, for the time, prevented from further progress by the natural strength of the city and the use of Greek fire.

At the fourth ecumenical council in Chalcedon (451), the question whether Christ was possessed of one nature or two, was decided in favor of the two-nature view. This decision was left standing, though a concession seemed to be made to the other side, by the fifth ecumenical council held at Constantinople (553). But this solution of the question left a large body of citizens in the remoter regions of the empire dissatisfied. The menace to unity and prosperity involved in this dissatisfaction was felt by the emperors. Acting upon the impulse of the desire to avert the danger threatened, the emperor Heraclius (610-640), procured from Cyrus, patriarch of Alexandria, the statement that "Christ as God and man in one person performs all his actions, both as God and man, by one theanthropic mode of operation or will" (*μὴ θεαὸς ἑνὸς ἐνεργεία*). This was approved by the patriarch of Constantinople, Sergius, and by the pope, Honorius I., of Rome. The Monophysites, too, accepted the new statement and returned in large numbers to the Catholic fold. But Sophronius, an acute monk of Alexandria, saw through and denounced the formula

as an unwarrantable concession to the Monophysite side. Becoming patriarch of Jerusalem later, he repeated his rejection of it. The emperor having apparently gained his point, now set himself to prevent the further discussion of the question. He therefore issued an edict entitled *Ecthesis*—"Εκθέσις τῆς πίστεως"—Exposition of the faith (638), reaffirming belief in the two-nature view, and forbidding further debate. Meanwhile the new view called the Monothelite, from the assertion of one will in Christ, found many able opponents. Maximus, the Confessor, and the Roman Church pronounced against it. The emperor Constans II. (642-668) thought it necessary to renew the prohibition of the discussion, which he accordingly did in stronger terms than his predecessor in a document called the *Typus* (648). But the dyothelite (the two-will) party, now grown to formidable proportions and led by Martin I., the pope, broke out in open defiance, and in a council held at the Lateran in Rome, declared that Christ was endowed with two wills as well as two natures. The emperor had Martin seized and taken to Constantinople, where he was sentenced and exiled. Maximus was also seized and subjected to punishment and indignity. The controversy was carried into the following reign. Constantine Pogonatus (668-685) called an ecumenical council to settle it, for only in this way, it appeared, could peace be restored.

The council met in 680 at Constantinople. The emperor presided, and a letter of Agatho, the pope who had succeeded Martin, outlined the solution of the question, giving almost the very words of the form adopted by the council. The one-will theory was condemned. All Monothelites past and present were anathematized. The patriarch of Constantinople renounced his error. His colleague of Alexandria was deposed.

In 692 another council was called by the emperor Justinian II. (684-695 and 705-711), which confirmed the condemnation of the Monothelite heresy. This council, however, was convened as a supplement to the sixth and fifth ecumenical coun-

Sixth Ecumenical Council.

The Quinisext Council.

cils and is called for this reason *Quinisext*. It collected one hundred and two canons bearing on ecclesiastical law and clerical life, and issued them as the code of the Church. On account of the insufficient recognition of the authority of Rome, the popes never assented to this codification, and the code has remained valid in the East only.

The Monothelites, after an unsuccessful effort to reopen the question through the emperor Philippicus Bardanes (711-713), withdrew into Mohammedan territory, elected John Maro patriarch of Antioch (hence called Maronites), and continued to the twelfth century, then united, without changing their views, with the Roman Church.

The growth of image-worship became a reproach to the Church in the East, as well as a hindrance to the progress of the gospel among the Mohammedans.

Subsequent History of the Monothelites. Image-worship The emperor Leo the Isaurian (716-741), undertook to remove this cause of offence.

In 726 he issued an edict ordering the putting up of the images in the churches high above the reach of the worshipers' touch, and forbidding prostration and kneeling before them. This step was followed in 730 by the removal altogether of the images out of the churches, and the whitewashing of the walls. Germanus, the patriarch of Constantinople, opposed these measures, and a party of Iconolaters (Image-worshippers) was formed around him to oppose the Iconoclastic party led by the emperor. The emperor displaced the patriarch, but an abler champion of image-worship rose up in the person of John of Damascus, living within Mohammedan territory, and therefore beyond the jurisdiction of the emperor. A council called by the next emperor, Constantine Copronymus (742-775), in 754, declared against image-worship. Laws were made and enforced to this end; but the monks remained unflinching worshipers of the images. At the death of Leo Khazarus (775-780), the government devolved upon his widow, Irene, during the minority of her son. She was an ardent advocate of image-worship. Under her administration a rapid change came about.

A council was convened (the seventh ecumenical) in 787, at Nicæa. The first act of this council was to declare the council of 754 illegal, and its decrees null and void. It then formally sanctioned image-worship and anathematized all opponents and dissenters. Irene put herself into permanent possession of the throne (770-802), by having her son's eyes put out and himself imprisoned in a monastery.

But the contest was not over with this first triumph of image-worship. A wave of reaction swept over the Church towards the last part of the reign of Irene; it gathered force for several years until the emperor Leo the Armenian (813-820) took advantage of it and again tried to suppress iconolatry. A new champion, however, now appeared of image-worship in the person of Theodore of the Studium, a zealous monk. The controversy raged with renewed vigor. The final stage in the struggle was ushered in by the edict of Theophilus (829-842), in which all worship of images in public or private was prohibited. But with his death his widow, Theodora, restored the forbidden practice. The "resident synod" of Constantinople (842) reaffirmed the decisions of the seventh ecumenical council and established the Feast of Orthodoxy, in commemoration of the complete triumph of image-worship.

In the West the iconoclastic controversy was viewed from different standpoints. The Roman Church remained steadfast through it all in its adherence to the practice of image-worship. Quite different, however, was the attitude of the Church in Gaul and its patron, the emperor Charlemagne. When Charlemagne received the decrees of the seventh ecumenical council he caused to be written the *Caroline Books*, in which the decisions of the council are repudiated. Images, it is further asserted, could be set up in churches, but they should in no case be worshiped. This attitude was maintained by the Frankish synod of Frankfort on the Main (794), and later by that of Paris.

About the middle of the seventh century Manichæism

in a modified form made its appearance in a Syrian village, Mananalis, near Samosata. The agitator of the movement was a certain Constantine, who was attracted by the epistles of the apostle Paul and attempted to make a new combination of Manichæism and the distinctive views of the apostle. He assumed for his system the name of Paul, and for himself that of Sylvanus ; his followers also took the names of Paul's other companions. Under the name of Paulicians they were persecuted locally and took refuge among the Saracens, and later in Thrace and Bulgaria. Here they contrived to elude their persecutors and survived through the Middle Ages. They were ascetics in practice ; but unlike other ascetic sects, they did not oppose marriage. They accepted most of Paul's epistles as their canon, including an epistle to the Laodiceans. They also received the four Gospels,

CHAPTER III.

THE CHURCH IN THE WEST AND THE FRANK KINGDOM.

GREGORY I. (590-604), whose accession to the papacy opens this period, was born in 540, being descended of rich and noble ancestors. His early education was intended to prepare him for the civil service. He entered this service, and in 574 was appointed prefect, but dissatisfied with the life he led, he turned to the monastic habit, devoting his wealth to the foundation of a monastery. In 579, he was appointed representative of the see of Rome (apocrisiarius), at the imperial court in Constantinople. This post he occupied until 585 when he returned to Rome and was made abbot of his monastery. And from this position he was finally elevated to the papacy, being the first monk to receive papal dignity. In the papal throne his influence was wholesome. He proved himself an implacable enemy to all forms of abuse. A rigid ascetic himself, he encouraged strict morals and punished simony. In a large number of writings which he composed, not as literature, but for practical ends in the administration of his office, he proved himself a skilled ecclesiastic, though an indifferent theologian, and vastly strengthened the papal idea.

His chief contribution to the growth of this idea was a negative one outwardly, and consists in his successful conflict with the patriarch of Constantinople as to the use of the title of "universal bishop." John the Faster, patriarch of Constantinople, had assumed this title in his correspond-

Controversy as
to Universal
Bishopric.

ence with other prelates. Without setting up a counterclaim to the title in behalf of Rome, Gregory used all the skill he had acquired as an ecclesiastical statesman to refute the claim of the Greek patriarch and cause its revocation. For himself he distinctly disclaimed any such name and called himself "the servant of the servants of the Lord." But he obtained and wielded a mighty influence and gave the papacy a stronger impulse by his negative course than he could have done by loud assertions of its supremacy.

The successors of Gregory on the papal throne for the next century barely maintained the high place of the position bequeathed them by their great predecessor. One of the nearest of these boldly assumed the title of "universal bishop" so vigorously repudiated and warred upon by Gregory. Boniface III. (608-615) turned the Pantheon into a church "of the Virgin and all the Martyrs." Honorius I. (625-638) was condemned as a Monothelite, and Martin I. (649-655) suffered persecution as a Dyothelite. Gregory II. (715-741) stood firmly for image-worship against the emperor Leo the Isaurian. With him also begins the effort of the Roman Church to build up a Christian state in the West that should serve at once as the bulwark of the Christian religion against attacks from without, and the support of the see of Rome in its increasing alienation from the Byzantine court. The immediate occasion for the desire for such a state was the attitude of the Lombards in Italy. This rude race had taken possession of the best portions of what once belonged to Rome, and were harassing under their leader, Luitprand, even the estates of the Church. Gregory appealed to the Franks for aid against them.

Among the Franks meanwhile the descendants of Clovis and heirs to his throne had fallen into effeminate ways.

They had been supplanted in the administration of affairs by their Mayors of the Palace. This office, once in the gift of the king, became hereditary with Pepin of Landen (639). Pepin thus became the founder of a dynasty of Mayors of the Palace. He was succeeded in the office by his son Grimoald and

Successors of
Gregory.

The Frank
Kingdom

afterwards by Pepin of Heristal and the renowned Charles Martel (the Hammer, 714-741). Charles Martel, in opposing successfully the invasion of the Mohammedans into Gaul, had already practically assumed the championship of Christendom against its enemies. To him, Gregory III. (731-741) addressed himself in the time of the Church's need. The negotiations begun at this time, looking to an alliance between the Western Church and the Franks were, however, interrupted by the death during the same year of both Gregory III. and Charles Martel.

The successor of Charles Martel in the office of Mayor of the Palace, Pepin the Short (741-768), formally set aside the Merovingian dynasty and assumed the name of king as he had already exercised the functions of one previously. Zacharias (741-752), who followed Gregory III. in the papacy, did not at first realize the need of resuming the negotiations for an alliance with the Franks. He had either outwitted or intimidated Luitprand, the Lombard, and stopped his troublesome operations in Italy, without the aid of secular power. But Luitprand's successor, Aistulph, renewed the annoying attitude towards the Church abandoned for a time by his predecessor. Zacharias was convinced that the alliance with the Franks was the best way out of the troubles. He appealed to Pepin the Short and sanctioned his assumption of the title of king. It was during his successor's pontificate, however, that Pepin crossed the Alps, overcame the Lombards, and restored to the Church the Exarchate of Ravenna. As this had been controlled before its subjugation to the Lombards by the Byzantine government as a semi-ecclesiastical possession, its bestowal on the Church of Rome formed the beginning of a temporal power for the papacy.

When Pepin the Short died, in 768, his kingdom was divided between his two sons, Carloman and Charles (the great Charlemagne, 768-814); the former took the southern division, the latter the northern. In 771, Carloman died and Charles seized his kingdom, ignoring the rights of the infant sons of his

brother. He at the same time began a series of campaigns against the Saxons, Lombards, Bavarians, Avars (or Huns), Danes, Slavs and Greeks. By dint of great courage, indomitable energy and military skill, he succeeded in extending his domains far beyond the limits of his father's kingdom. In fact he founded an empire in Europe excelled in former times only by that of Rome.

Besides his military achievements, Charlemagne also patronized letters, founded a school, caused a grammar of the German language to be written, and a collection of the old war songs to be made, dictated the Caroline Books, and finally ordered the revision of the Latin version of the Bible. In all these enterprises he called to his aid the ablest of the divines, poets and scholars of his age. He was in general a man of keen intellect and ardent piety. And yet with all his virtues he was not free from grave faults. But these were the result of his surroundings and inheritance.

Charlemagne encouraged and strengthened the alliance between the papacy and the Frank power. He made several visits to Rome, in one of which he was declared by the pope *Rex Francorum et Patricius Romanorum*. In 799 a riot in that city again compelled his interference. He lingered for some time, and on Christmas, 800, he was, apparently without premeditation, crowned by Pope Leo III. (795-816) Emperor of the Romans. This was the beginning of the *Holy Roman Empire*. He died in 814.

The Holy
Roman Em-
pire.

CHAPTER IV.

CHRISTIANIZATION OF THE TEUTONS.

GREGORY THE GREAT was noted, not merely for his administrative ability, but also for his missionary zeal.

With him begins an era of organized missionary effort in the north and west of Europe. The general course of evangelizing activity in the Middle Ages is, however, distinguished from that of the ancient period by some striking features. It aims at the conversion of nations in collective bodies, and not at that of simple individuals. Hence political movements play an important part in helping or hindering the progress of the gospel. In the second place, conversion means not simple faith in Jesus Christ as a Redeemer, but the acceptance of a system of doctrine, tradition, government, worship and discipline. And thirdly, Christianization is also civilization. The ancient Church saw itself compelled to fight the form of civilization it found; the medieval Church introduced civilization wherever it carried the gospel.

It has been remarked already that the Keltic Church, planted in Britain during the ancient period, was driven into the interior by the Anglo-Saxons. The island seemed to be plunged back into heathenism. At this juncture, Gregory became interested in the Anglo-Saxons and sent, in 596, Augustine with Laurentius and forty other monks to preach Christianity to them. Ethelbert, king of Kent, was already acquainted with the Christian religion through his wife Bertha, a Frankish princess. He received the

General Character of Medieval Missions.

Augustine and the Anglo-Saxons.

missionaries with favor and accepted the new faith, being baptized in 597. He used no compulsion, but recommended Christianity to his people, and, a large number following his example, a church was organized and Augustine was made the archbishop of Canterbury. After a short period of reaction under the son and successor of Ethelbert, who returned to paganism, the new church entered upon a peaceful career of progress, and soon replaced heathenism throughout the whole country.

The relation of this new Anglo-Saxon Church to the old Keltic British Church now absorbed the attention of its leaders. The Anglo-Saxon clergy claimed the authority and jurisdiction of Rome over the British Church. But the British leaders would not readily give up their liberties, nor abandon their distinctive practices as to tonsure and the observance of Easter. The two branches of the Church on the island were thus kept apart until later political reasons led to the absorption of the Keltic by the English branch. The same struggle for independence against the encroachments of Roman clergy took place in Scotland and Ireland, with the same result of final absorption by the church planted by Roman missionaries.

The English Church of this period produced several men of note and influence. One of the early successors of Augustine in the archbishopric of Canterbury, Theodore (668-690), was distinguished as a student of the Greek fathers. He perfected the internal organization of the English Church, and composed a "penitential" (book) which was used long afterwards. Cædmon (d. 680) rendered some of the books of the Bible into Anglo-Saxon. Bede (674-735), called the Venerable, a presbyter and a monk, in Northumberland, furthered the cause of education by framing a number of text-books for learners; but his most important work is the Ecclesiastical History of England (*Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*) which has remained a veritable mine of information for the early history of English Christianity. Finally Alcuin (735-804), began in York as the head of a monastic

The Keltic Churches.

Christian Literature in England.

school, but removed to the court of Charlemagne and assisted that monarch in his educational enterprises.

Of the Germanic tribes, the Franks had already been Christianized. But they were not an aggressive missionary people. The Irish Church, on the other hand, was conspicuous for the zeal it showed in carrying the gospel to the yet heathen centers of Europe. It was from Ireland that the first missionaries to the Germans went forth. The earliest band of Irish monks that entered this field was led by Columbanus (540-615). But the strictness of the morality he preached rendered him obnoxious to the Burgundian court, within whose jurisdiction he started his labors. He removed accordingly into Switzerland, fixing his headquarters first at Zurich and then at Bregenz. But he was compelled to withdraw himself from here also, and died in Italy. His follower Gallus founded the monastery bearing his name (St. Gall).

Another band of Irish monks was led by the Englishman Willibrord (657-741). This band entered Friesland.

Its success was slow and the results insignificant. But the establishment of an archbishopric in Utrecht with Willibrord as its occupant, owning the allegiance of Rome, was deemed satisfactory.

But the true apostle of Germany was Winfrid (680-755), better known as Bonifacius. A native of Devonshire, England, he gave up a promising career in the Church in his native land in order to serve Christ as a missionary to the Germans. He first joined himself to Willibrord in Friesland, but as the work here was interrupted by war, he betook himself to Rome to receive special instruction in the Roman ritual and ecclesiastical law and a commission from the pope. With this commission he returned to Germany and preached for a few years in Thuringia. He was summoned to Rome and appointed "regional" bishop of Germany. He now set himself to the task of first reducing the existing German churches to the Roman form, as they differed in their practices from Rome, and then of

overthrowing idolatry altogether. Both of these objects he attained in the course of his ministry of thirty years. Passing into Friesland, he engaged in converting the heathen to Christianity here also, when a mob fell upon him and his followers and put them to death.

CHAPTER V.

CHRISTIAN THOUGHT AND LIFE IN THE WEST.

WHILE Rome continued to be the main center and source of influence for the Western Church, a new center was formed at the court of the emperor Charlemagne. Here Alcuin was invited to superintend a system of schools in which the liberal arts as understood in the Middle Ages were taught. The course of instruction included seven studies, divided into two groups, called respectively the *trivium* and the *quadrivium*. The *trivium* comprised grammar, logic and rhetoric, while the *quadrivium* consisted of music, arithmetic, geometry and astronomy. The schools designed to teach these branches were in connection with the cloisters. But aside from these schools and in a manner standing above them for more advanced study, Charlemagne established the Court School (*Schola Palatina*). Associated with Alcuin in these educational enterprises, were Paulus Diaconus (720-800), and Eginhard the biographer of Charlemagne, who also succeeded Alcuin.

In Spain, Isidore of Seville (560-636), promoted Christian learning. He was well versed in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, and in profane as well as ecclesiastical literature. On becoming archbishop of Seville, he established a school for the education of the Spanish clergy. His works cover a wide range of subjects and are the result of careful study. He not only enlightened his own age in matters pertaining to religion, but left in his historical works valuable information for later ages.

The Western Church was agitated at the end of the

eighth century by the appearance in it of a form of thought called Adoptionism. The kernel of this Adoptionism. heresy was the teaching that Christ, as to his divine nature, was the true Son of God, but only the adopted son as to his human nature. This doctrine was first taught in Spain by Elipandus, archbishop of Toledo. It was approved and elaborated further by Felix of Urgel in Catalonia. When made known at large, it was recognized as a modified form of Nestorianism. It never spread beyond the bounds of Gaul and Spain. Felix was summoned before a council which met at Ratisbon in 792. His teaching was pronounced a revival of the Nestorian heresy, and he was induced to recant. But on returning to Spain, in spite of his oath before the council, he reaffirmed his Adoptionist views.

At the request of Charlemagne, Alcuin addressed a letter to Felix and another to the clergy of Spain and Gaul, refuting the new doctrine. The Adoptionism
 Condemned. tionists of Spain asked that a new council might be called to rehear their case. This was accordingly done, and their view was again rejected at Frankfort-on-the-Main in 794. But even thus the discussion did not close. Felix and Alcuin again stated their arguments. Finally, Leidrad, archbishop of Lyons, persuaded Felix to appear before another council at Aix, in 799. Here Felix professed himself fully convinced of his error, and agreed to spend the remainder of his life under the supervision of Leidrad. But in a writing discovered after his death, even at this period of his life spent under Leidrad's care, he seems to have still cherished Adoptionist views. Elipandus, living among Mohammedans, and thus beyond the jurisdiction of Charlemagne, remained constant in his adherence to Adoptionism.

The union of the Western Church with the Frank power, though outwardly a benefit to the Church, had also its corrupting influence. The Franks were Ecclesiastical
 Corruption. imperfectly converted, and carried their crude and corrupt ideas of government into the administration of ecclesiastical affairs. The first point

at which the Church was unfavorably affected was the episcopacy. The rulers assumed control of vacant bishoprics and at first nominated, but afterwards appointed, the new bishops. As they were accustomed to expect pecuniary compensation for the bestowment of other secular offices, they soon began to exact money for ecclesiastical offices also. Thus the election of bishops by the churches became obsolete, and vacant sees were simply sold by the princes. Gregory I. and Boniface protested against this abuse, but without avail. The evil was partially checked by Charlemagne through special legislation. Charlemagne's law directed that bishops should be elected by the churches, but that the approval of the secular power should be necessary for the completion of the transaction. He was himself careful to nominate and approve only capable persons. But the reform was only temporary.

Another point at which the influence of the State was felt in the Church was ecclesiastical legislation. Such legislation was at first in the hands of local councils under the presidency of a bishop. As the State assumed the patronage of the Church the consent of the king, and later of the emperor, was deemed necessary to legalize the synods. From this state of things it was but a step to the assumption of the legislative power in the Church by the imperial general assembly. Synods then became unnecessary and were discontinued.

In Spain, the secular legislative body—the diet of the realm—was reorganized so as to give representation to the clergy. In this form, the diet devoted its first three days to ecclesiastical legislation, the clergy alone taking part, and the remainder of the session to general legislation, the whole diet participating.

Charlemagne divided the general assembly of his realm into two sections—the secular and the spiritual. The former consisted of laymen, the latter of bishops and abbots. Church laws were discussed and enacted by the latter, but must

Legislation
Passes into the
Hands of the
Civil Govern-
ment.

Law of
Spain.

Of Charle-
magne.

receive the sanction of the secular prince and be published by his authority in order to have full validity.

The tendency of the laws enacted was to distinguish the Church as a privileged institution. The clergy were exempted from military service, at first at their own option, but later by a prohibitive law. This measure deterred many of the higher ranks from entering the clergy, as they would not bind themselves to any vows which should hinder their entering a military career when opportunity offered. The consequence was that the clergy was replenished from the bond class, and this class was greatly exalted thereby.

The civil authority was further charged with the task of enforcing ecclesiastical discipline. Punishment was inflicted upon conviction of the offender, in the form of fine, fasting, pilgrimage, scourging or imprisonment. Private sins, instead of being confessed as heretofore in public, were taken to a priest and by him forgiven upon the performance of penance, that is good works prescribed by the priest.

To guide the clergy in taking confessions and meting out penalties, penitential books were composed. These were codifications of the canons of synods and opinions of fathers regarding the kind and amount of penalty due each form of sin. These books were produced locally, and are known as the British, Irish, Frankish, Spanish, and Roman Penitentials. Theodore of Canterbury (690), Bede (735), Egbert (767), Columbanus (615), and others prepared such books.

The worship of the Church remained as in the previous age. But as the Western clergy needed guidance in preaching, Books of Homilies were composed for their use (*Homiliaria*). Charlemagne required the regular practice of preaching, not only of all bishops, but also of all priests, who were to possess copies of *Homiliaria* and use them. At his request, Paulus Diaconus culled out of the works of the ancient fathers their best sermons and put them in a *Homiliarium*.

The musical part of the service was enriched by the addition of the organ about the middle of the eighth century. Gregory I. introduced a new style of chant to replace the older style called the Ambrosian, which had become too much secularized. The Gregorian style was deemed more stately and slow in its movement, and therefore more solemn and appropriate for sacred purposes. Gregory also composed hymns for use in the service. Hymn-writing was cultivated by others both in the West and in the East. Among the most eminent of these may be named Gregory's contemporary, Fortunatus, in the West, and Cosmas of Jerusalem (695 ?-760), and John of Damascus (705 ?-780) in the East.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PAPACY AND THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE.

(A. D. 800-1073.)

THE successors of Charlemagne were not equal to the task of perpetuating the strong government established by him. His influence was permanent indeed, but his dynasty proved to be one of the shortest-lived in history. His son, Louis the Pious, (814-840), inherited his religious zeal, but not his military and political ability. He was a more suitable candidate for the cloister than for the throne. His three sons, Lothair, Louis and Charles rose up in rebellion against him and succeeded in wresting the scepter from his hands. But unable to agree among themselves, two of them combined against the third and restored the rule to their father. Three years after his death the empire was divided among them. Lothair took Italy, Louis, Germany, and Charles (the Bald) France. Thenceforth the territories governed by them remained separate. Now one and now another claimed and wielded imperial authority, but the empire was little more than an empty name for a century and a quarter.

Meantime the papacy itself had fallen into the hands of mediocre men after the death of Leo III. The first four popes who followed Leo, occupying the see from 816 to 827, did nothing to further its interests. Gregory IV. (827-844) took an active hand in the troubles between Louis the Pious and his sons, but not with marked results.

It was probably during the second quarter of the ninth

Decline of the
Carolingian
Dynasty.

Temporary De-
cline of the
Papacy.

century that the so-called Isidorian Decretals were produced. In this collection or book the pope's supremacy in the Church, his independence of the State, and the inviolability and dignity of the clergy were set forth in clear and vigorous terms. The form in which these principles are put is that of decretals or decisions of ecclesiastical questions by the bishops of Rome in answer to questions put to them. The collection claims to contain such decretals from the time of the apostles onwards. There had been other books of decretals put forth before, but none had claimed to contain anything older than the date of Siricius (A. D. 384-398.) This collection was published under the name of Isidore of Seville; but it was made long after the days of that eminent man, and is spurious, as very clearly appears from the following considerations: (1) The language of the letters purporting to be written by the earliest Roman bishops is the corrupt and mixed Frankish Latin of the eighth and ninth centuries. (2) The historical conditions assumed in the decretals are those of France in the Middle Ages and not those of Rome before the invasion of the barbarians. (3) The version of the Scriptures quoted is that of the Vulgate as revised by order of Charlemagne. (4) The anachronism is committed of representing Victor, bishop of Rome, about A. D. 200, as writing on the Easter question to Theophilus of Alexandria, who flourished about A. D. 400. The real author of these decretals is unknown. Suspicion attaches to Benedict Levita of Mayence, but no positive evidence can be produced for the settlement of the question. The collection was first used about the middle of the ninth century.

Gregory IV. was succeeded in the papacy by Sergius II. (844-847), he by Leo IV. (847-855), he by Benedict III. (855-858). Between Leo

The Female
Pope Joanna.

IV. and Benedict III. a tradition of late date assigns the alleged female pope, Joanna. She was supposed to be a German woman, who, disguised as a man, went to Athens, pursued studies and acquired great reputation for learning, then removing to Rome she

was promoted from stage to stage in the clergy until she reached the papal throne. This story is no doubt a fabrication. The earliest witnesses to its truth come from the eleventh century. No break occurs in the papal line to admit of such person in it. The Greek hierarchy carried on a bitter controversy with Rome in the ninth and tenth centuries, in which they cited all the objections they could gather together against the papacy. They would, no doubt, have cited this also, had it been true and known to them. A sufficient motive for the fabrication of the story can be found in the corrupt condition of the papacy soon after this time.

In the person of Nicholas I. (858-867), the papacy found one of its strongest representatives and promoters.

This pontiff availed himself of the pseudo-Nicholas I. Isidorian Decretals and pushed the claims of his office in every direction. Lothair II. had set aside his lawful wife, Teutberga, and married Waldrade. The pope, in spite of the decisions of the archbishops of Cologne and Treves, sanctioning the course of the king, compelled him to take back his lawful wife. The archbishop of Cologne, for his part in this affair, was disciplined, and submitted to the pope. Nicholas also claimed and enforced the right of interference in the affairs of the provincial churches. When Rothad, bishop of Soissons, was deposed by Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, he appealed to the pope from the action of his archbishop. Hincmar denied the right of the pope to entertain the appeal, but Nicholas obliged him to reinstate Rothad and asserted his authority. Nicholas also entered into controversy with the Eastern Church. Ignatius, the patriarch of Constantinople, was deposed for rebuking the immorality of Cæsar Bardas, a court favorite. Photius was given his place. As there arose some dissension in the Church, Photius asked Nicholas for his support. The pope assumed the place of a judge and pronounced against Photius. This led to mutual excommunications, and the bitter struggle which ensued constitutes one of the stages in the progress of the schism between the two churches.

Nicholas was followed by Hadrian II. (867-872),

who saw clearly the ideal set up by Nicholas, but lacked the force and consistency necessary to keep as near it as Nicholas himself had come. He undertook to press the claims of the papacy to be heard in a dispute between Charles the Bald and Louis II., but his opinion was disregarded, and his threats proved ineffectual. He supported Hincmar of Laon, a nephew of Hincmar of Rheims, against his uncle, but here also he met with a rebuff.

John VIII. (872-882) was more successful. His authority was in a manner recognized by Charles the Bald, whom he crowned emperor. This act was intended to unify Western Christendom as in the days of Charlemagne. It was followed by the coronation of the next emperor, Charles the Fat. But the inefficiency of this ruler proved an insuperable obstacle in the way of the effort at reunion. He was deposed in 887 and the feudal system was fairly inaugurated in Europe. Under this system any man was the independent sovereign of as much territory as he could obtain or hold.

John VIII. was assassinated; and with his death the moral character of the papacy took a downward course.

The politics of Italy played a cardinal part in papal elections. The political factions corrupted the clergy and used them as their tools. Changes in the papacy became frequent. From 882 to 904 twelve men held the office. In 904 Sergius III. (904-911) assumed the papal throne, contrary to all rules, by the aid of an armed force. The papacy fell under the influence of unprincipled women. Theodora, a member of the Roman aristocracy, but a woman of corrupt morals, together with her two daughters, Marozia and Theodora, controlled the succession of popes and put into the chair their companions in guilt. This is the period of the "Pornocracy," and lasted until 963. The last of the popes of this generation was John XII. (955-963). He was the grandson of Marozia, and had inherited the secular government of Rome on the death of his father, Alberic. Elected pope at the age of eighteen, he retained the name Octavian, as civil prince, and took that of John as

ecclesiastical ruler. His record is one of the blackest. He was guilty of almost every crime conceivable. His enormities led the emperor, Otto I. (936-973), to interfere and restore order and purity in the Church. Otto was at first content with an oath of allegiance from John, but on realizing how inadequate this was, he convened a synod in Rome, had the pope deposed, and a new order established under a new pope. The relations of the Church and empire were settled by a compact.

After fifty years of comparative order under the compact with the Saxon emperors, the papacy fell into another

era of confusion known as the "Tusculan Supremacy." The struggle for the control of affairs at Rome narrowed down to the two

Tusculan
Supremacy.

families of Crescentius on one side and the Count of Tusculum on the other. The latter prevailed, and with the selection of Benedict VIII. (1012-1024) the papacy became hereditary in the Tusculan family. John XIX. (1024-1033) succeeded his brother Benedict. John was himself followed by his nephew, Benedict IX. (1033-1045). Though very young on his accession to the papal throne Benedict was noted for his corruption. He surpassed even John XII. in the enormity of his crimes. He committed murders and adulteries openly, "robbed the pilgrims on the graves of martyrs, and turned Rome into a den of thieves." The horror of his atrocities exhausted the patience of the Romans. They expelled him and elected Sylvester III. (1044); but Benedict, by the help of the Tusculans, returned and reinstated himself in power. Later he sold the papacy to John Gratian (Gregory VI. 1045), who hoped, by reforming the papacy, to justify the illegal proceeding of buying it. But Benedict returned again and claimed what he had sold, on the ground that he had no right to sell it. Thus there were three popes. It was time for the emperor to interfere. Henry III. convened the Synod of Sutri (1046). Gregory VI. presided, the two other popes were deposed, and Gregory himself abdicated, confessing that for the sin of simony he was unworthy to hold the office. The synod was adjourned to

Synod of
Sutri.

Rome to elect a pope, and the Tusculan ascendancy came to an end.

The new pope was Clement II., who reigned but one year (1046-1047), being followed by Damasus II., who also reigned only a few months (1047-1048).

Reforms. With the accession of the next pope, Leo IX. (1048-1054) there came a man on the scene who as the counselor of the popes, wielded a mighty uplifting influence on the papacy. This was Hildebrand. Born in the lower ranks of society, he entered a monastery at Clugny. Here, as Leo IX. was journeying through France, he was attracted by Hildebrand and induced him to accept the position of sub-deacon at Rome. Hildebrand gradually grew in the estimation of the leaders until his word was regarded as well-nigh decisive in matters of ecclesiastical policy. He set himself to reform and purify the clergy and emancipate the papal see from the domination of the State. Thus under the successive papacies of Victor II. (1055-1057), Stephen X. or IX.* (1057-1058), Nicholas II. (1058-1061), and Alexander II. (1061-1073), as the power behind the throne, Hildebrand went as far as to secure the adoption of reform in the mode of papal elections. These were referred to a college of cardinals, which it was provided should meet in Rome, and should elect a pope out of the ranks of cardinals only; the clergy were expected simply to give their assent to the action.

* Stephen II., who became pope March 27, 752, died a few days after; for which reason he is usually omitted from the list of popes.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CHRISTIANIZATION OF THE SCANDINAVIANS AND SLAVS.

AMONG the various projects of Charlemagne looking to the advancement of Christianity was also one having as its ultimate object, the planting of the Church in the Scandinavian kingdoms. But his efforts to bring about this end, were not destined to meet with success. It was during the reign of his son, Louis the Pious, that Providence opened the way for this work. Harald Klak besought the assistance of Louis in establishing his claims to the throne of Denmark. In complying with the request, Louis also sent Ebo, archbishop of Rheims (822) to teach the people the Christian faith. A beginning was thus made, but Ebo was not able to prosecute the work very far. Harald Klak was expelled in 826, and took refuge at the imperial court (at Ingelheim). Here he was converted to Christianity, and on his return took with him Ansgar (801-865), the missionary who was to earn the distinction of being the Apostle of Denmark.

The first efforts of Ansgar were directed towards the education of boys who should teach Christianity to their fellow countrymen. These he was compelled to redeem from the condition of slavery before he could reach them. But even this form of labor was soon interrupted (829) by the expulsion of Harald Klak. Ansgar removed to Sweden. In the face of discouragements and contrary to the advice of friends, attacked and robbed on the way by pirates, he managed to land at Birka, and was received favorably

Ansgar in
Denmark.

by the king. Here he found that he had already been preceded as the herald of the gospel by certain Christian captives. The mind of the heathen seemed thus prepared for the preaching of Christ. Ansgar, deeming the time ripe, went in 832, to Rome and induced the pope (Gregory IV.) to found the archbishopric of Hamburg as the metropolitan see of Denmark and Sweden. Of this see he was appointed the first incumbent. He was further reinforced by the accession of Gauzbert a nephew of Ebo. Taking the hardest part of the field to himself and giving the more promising part to Gauzbert, he now engaged in energetic labors. Gauzbert also labored in Sweden for sometime, but abandoned the work in 845, greatly discouraged.

In Sweden.

Thus the whole field was again left to Ansgar.

But another appeal for assistance brought to Sweden the energetic Erimbart, under whose direction Christianity made steady, even though slow progress. Unni (940), archbishop of Hamburg, built upon the foundations thus laid. Finally, with king Olaf Skotkonung (1008), who was baptized, the Church was firmly established. Idolatry continued to be allowed until 1075 when Olaf's successors wiped out the last traces of it.

Meanwhile in Denmark Ansgar's efforts resulted in the permission to build a church at Schleswig. In spite of changes in the attitude of the kings towards him and his work, he continued to labor incessantly until the time of his death in 865.

Conversion of Denmark.

He built hospitals and asylums for the sick and the poor, ransomed captives and sent missionaries to the remotest parts of the land. After his death the missionary work was involved in the political situation. At the end of the ninth century Denmark was united under Gorm the Old (941), a firm pagan who, though for a time he allowed the preaching of Christianity, resolved, on realizing that it alienated his subjects from him, to exterminate it. He was prevented, however, by the emperor Henry I. from putting this resolution to action. He died in 941. His son Harald Blaatand (941-991) was converted to Christianity by archbishop Unni and used

his influence in favor of the new faith. But he was succeeded by Sweyn (991-1014) who yielded to a reactionary wave of heathenism and waged war against the Church. Finally under Canute the Great (1014-1035), Denmark formally entered the circle of Christian countries. Canute invited Anglo-Saxon clergy to his realm to guide church affairs, made a pilgrimage to Rome, reëstablished one bishopric and founded two others, and in every way adopted the Christian religion as that of the State.

Norway was brought under one government by Harald Haarfagr (860-930). He was succeeded by Eric. But an illegitimate son, Hakon the Good, educated in England and baptized as a Christian, soon supplanted the unpopular Eric. Hakon aimed at the Christianization of Norway, but proceeded with caution. He finally proposed that the people adopt the Christian faith of their own accord; but his motive was misunderstood. The proposal was taken to be a secret blow at their liberties. Meanwhile the sons of Eric invaded the land and in a battle against them Hakon lost his life (969). The country was plunged into political confusion. The Dane Harald Blaataud invaded it (975) and introduced Christianity. But the dominion of the Danes was short-lived. It was overthrown by Hakon Jarl (975-995), and with it Christianity was put under the ban. Hakon Jarl himself was overthrown by Olaf Trygweson (995-1000), a descendant of Harald Haarfagr, converted and baptized while away from his native land. Olaf now attempted to force his new faith on the people. He was deposed in consequence of a second Danish invasion, and another season of confusion followed. Finally under Olaf the Saint (Haraldson 1014-1030), the Christian Church was put on a sure foundation. This prince died in a war against the Danes and was canonized and worshiped by his people.

Iceland was discovered in 862 and colonized by Norwegians. But the gospel did not reach it, at least it made no permanent impression, until Thorvald Kodranson while traveling in Saxony was converted and took bishop Frederic there as

a missionary. His efforts, however, simply prepared the way. About the year 1000, two natives who had been banished, introduced Christianity on their return, and through their labors it spread and took permanent hold of the people.

The Slavs appeared in Europe early in the Christian era. They were originally an Aryan race, but contact with various Tartar tribes caused a confusion

The Slavs. not merely in their race characteristics, but also in their religious beliefs and practices.

At the time when Christian mission efforts were undertaken among them they had a polytheistic system and practiced human sacrifices and polygamy. Two waves of evangelizing effort swept over them, one from Constantinople and the other from the court of Charlemagne.

The first touched Bulgaria, whose boundaries were adjacent to those of the Greek empire. Greek captives first made the gospel known to the Bulgarians, and many thus accepted it. But such converts were called to endure persecution. In

Christianiza-
tion of Bul-
garia.

one of the conflicts between the Greeks and Bulgarians the former succeeded in taking as one of the captives the sister of the king, Bogoris. She was converted during the period of her captivity, and on her return to her home, persuaded her brother to accept the gospel. In this she was assisted by Methodius, a Greek missionary. Methodius painted before the king a scene representing the last judgment, and succeeded in rousing his fears. Bogoris was baptized in 863. His conversion led him into a bloody conflict with a faction among his subjects who were staunch heathens. He proved victorious and forced the whole nation to follow his example. The question of the affiliation of the Bulgarian Church led to a dispute between the East and the West which was finally settled by the diplomacy of Basil the Macedonian in favor of the East.

Moravia was in political relation with Germany, and the western wave of evangelization had already touched this country, when, on account of the motive of political independence from Germany, its king, Ratislav, sent to Michael III., Byzantine

Moravia.

emperor, for Greek missionaries. The emperor commissioned Cyril and Methodius to this work. Cyril invented an alphabet for the Slavonian language, translated the Scriptures into their dialect, framed a liturgy after the model of the one used in the Greek Church, and preached to the people with untiring energy. A national Moravian Church was thus formed. The Roman Church and the Western empire now stepped in to attach this church to themselves. In 868, Cyril and Methodius were invited to Rome, and a compact was formed according to which the Moravian Church was made the diocese of Pannonia and affiliated with Rome, Methodius being appointed its archbishop. The question of the language to be used in worship was also agitated. The pope allowed the use of the native language in preaching, but required the use of Latin in the liturgy. Swatopluk ascended the throne of Moravia in 870. At his death (908), the Moravian kingdom was conquered and divided between Bohemia and Hungary, and the Moravian Church lost its national character.

Bohemia was made a dependency of Moravia during the reign of Swatopluk. Its prince, Borziwoi, on owing allegiance to Swatopluk, was taught the Christian faith, and baptized. Methodius himself went over to Bohemia further to instruct and help him. But his people remained for the most part heathen. His successor, Wratislav, was neutral. But at the death of this prince (925), his two sons took opposite sides on the question of religion. Boleslav was a fierce heathen; Wenceslav, a Christian. The latter was assassinated, and Boleslav the Cruel reigned and waged a relentless war against the Church. The emperor, Otto I., interfered and put a stop to his persecutions (950). The son of this prince, Boleslav the Pious, embraced Christianity and established it as the religion of the State.

Poland received the gospel from Moravian fugitives, who, upon the occasion of the conquest and division of that country, fled for refuge. As Poland was in a manner connected with Bohemia, the conversion of that country naturally reacted

on Poland, and the Christian religion was fully established when Mieceslav, at the instance of his Bohemian wife, professed Christianity and commanded his people to follow his example. The foundation of the see of Posen completed the work begun by the fugitives.

Russia claims to have received the Christian religion from the apostle Andrew. The claim is based on the tradition that Andrew preached the gospel in Scythia. But for nearly nine centuries her history is a blank. Ruric was chosen ruler in 862, and is reputed to be the founder of the empire. The relations of the empire of Ruric with the Byzantines brought it in contact with the Church. But it was only as late as the days of Vladimir (980-1015) that this contact brought fruit. Vladimir, it is stated, was visited by deputations representing the four great religions of the day—Judaism, Mohammedanism, Roman Christianity, and Greek Christianity. Perplexed by the representations of these delegates and unable to decide which he would have, he sent envoys of his own to investigate them in their own homes. These were impressed by the pomp of the court of Byzantium, and recommended its religion. Vladimir allied himself with the Byzantine dynasty by marrying the princess Anna, and joined the Greek communion. His subjects were baptized in great numbers.

The Wends were then at the northwestern end of the line of Slav emigration. They were near neighbors to the Germans. The German emperors, Henry I. and Otto I., especially the latter, interested themselves in them. Otto founded among them the bishoprics of Havelberg (946), Brandenburg (949), Meissen, Merseburg and Zeitz (968). The people were on the way to the acceptance of Christianity when, in 983, Mistiwoi, an apostate from Christianity, checked the movement. Later he repented of his apostacy and attempted to retrieve the harm he had done by activity in favor of the Christian faith. His grandson, Gottschalk, also began as a Christian, and after a temporary falling away into heathen-

ism, founded a Christian Wendish empire (1047). A heathen reaction, however, well-nigh swept away all his efforts, as it also resulted in his martyrdom (1066). The Wendish Church was reestablished in the twelfth century.

The Hungarians (Magyars) were in constant touch with the Eastern empire and Church, but seem to have remained unaffected. Otto I. first compelled them
 Magyars to admit missionaries into their territories (950). Somewhat later their prince, Geyza (972-998), married a Christian princess, Sarolta of Transylvania. She influenced her husband to favor Christianity, and the knowledge of this fact among the people resulted in the acceptance of the faith by large numbers of them. There was a heathen reaction when, somewhat later, Stephen (998-1038), the son of Geyza, openly avowed Christianity, but this was overcome, and the Church was securely founded.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONTROVERSIES AND SCHISMS.

AFTER the synods of Orange and Valence (529) declared in favor of Augustine's doctrine of sin and grace, the Church seemed to be committed to this system as a whole. There were many however, who did not follow Augustine closely, especially on the subject of predestination, on which the synod had not committed itself. The discussion of these subjects broke out with renewed vigor in the ninth century within the Frankish Church. The champion of strict Augustinianism was Gottschalk (808-869). As a child Augustinianism in the Church. Gottschalk had been given over (*oblatus*) to the monastery of Fulda. On reaching maturity he made an unsuccessful effort to repudiate the vow made in his behalf and was allowed to pass into another monastery. He incurred, however, by this course the enmity of Rabanus Maurus (776-856), a man of great influence.

Gottschalk spent his time in the seclusion of the monastery in the study of the views of Augustine. Having become in this way an enthusiastic adherent of these views, and observing that the theologians of his day were far from the standpoint of the father whom they professed to follow, he flung the charge of Semi-Pelagianism at them. This was reported to Rabanus Maurus and drew from him a denunciation of the preaching of Gottschalk. Gottschalk summed up his view in the teaching that, "God according to an unconditional decree out of his own free grace chooses some to whom he imparts the grace necessary for

their conversion and leaves the rest to suffer the penalty of the law according to merit." In expounding this view he used the term *predestinatio duplex*, drawing a distinction between the predestination of the elect to eternal life and the predestination of the non-elect to punishment. Both predestinations, however, he taught to be in themselves good. Rabanus Maurus represented Gottschalk as teaching that the elect are sure of salvation, whatever their conduct, and that the non-elect could have no opportunity.

The dispute thus acquired considerable magnitude and importance. A synod at Mayence in 848 tried and excommunicated Gottschalk as a heretic. He was referred to Hincmar, who brought him before another synod at Chiersy, and, having had a second sentence passed on him, scourged and imprisoned him. Gottschalk remained constant in his views in spite of this treatment. Except for the act of throwing his book into the fire, under the influence of physical pain he showed no sign of weakening. He died in imprisonment in the convent of Hautvilliers, still holding to predestinarianism.

The controversy was not ended with the condemnation of Gottschalk's views. Prudentius of Troyes (861) Ratramnus of Corbie (868), and Servatus Lupus, abbot at Ferrières (862), took up his teachings and presented them in more moderate language. These were men in good standing, and to meet them Hincmar asked king Charles the Bald to invite John Scotus Erigena (805-891), a thinker whose acumen had obtained for him a high reputation. Scotus wrote, but in a mystic pantheistic vein which was neither understood nor helped the cause of Hincmar.

A second synod at Chiersy (853) laid down four propositions. (1). Man was free at the creation; by the abuse of liberty he sinned. Out of the mass of the lost, God elected those who were predestinated to life. Others he left in the mass not foreordaining them to perdition, but foreordain-

His View Con-
demned.

His Imprisonment.

Controversy
Continued.
John Scotus
Erigena.

End of the
Controversy.

ing punishment for them. (2.) Freedom was lost in the fall and regained in Christ. (3.) God would have all saved, though all are not saved. Salvation is a free gift. Perdition is the desert of sin. (4.) Jesus Christ died for all men, though not all are saved, because of unbelief. This was a vague vindication of the predestinarian view. A clearer statement was desired by its adherents. Such a one was given at the synod of Valence (855) in six propositions developing the doctrine of Augustine more consistently. To remove the evident difference between these, Hincmar and Remigius agreed to refer the matter to another synod, but this was not done.

Since the days of John of Damascus the Eastern Church had come to hold that the elements in the Lord's Supper are transformed into the body and blood of Jesus Christ. The Western Church held to the view of Augustine that they acquired a spiritual efficacy. During the course of the seventh and eighth centuries the growth of superstition tended to the acceptance in the West of the Eastern view. This view gained ground steadily until it found utterance in a book by Paschasius Radbertus, *On the Body and Blood of the Lord*. Radbertus taught that the bread and wine were efficaciously changed, so that after the consecration, "there is in the Eucharist nothing else but the flesh and blood of Christ, though the figure of bread and wine remain." This doctrine created a stir in the West. Charles the Bald, to whom the book of Radbertus was dedicated, asked Ratramnus a monk of Corbie for his opinion on it. Ratramnus in answer wrote a book bearing the same title but containing exactly the opposite view. The Church was divided into two camps. Ratramnus was supported by Rabanus Maurus, Walafrid Strabo, Christian Druthmar, Florus Magister and even John Scotus Erigena. Radbertus found allies in Hincmar of Rheims and Haimo of Halberstad. The weight of opinion was at this time evidently against Radbertus and in favor of Ratramnus, but the question was left open. Interest in the discussion abated and no action had been taken by council or pope.

Sacramentarian
Controversy.

Two hundred years after the appearance of Radbertus' work *On the Body and Blood of the Lord*, his teaching was attacked again by a canon and director of the school at Tours—Berengarius (1000–1088). This learned man embodied his views in a letter to Lanfranc, abbot of Bec, then at Rome, which the latter referred to the pope (Leo IX.). The pope put them before a council at Rome (1050), and they were condemned. Berengarius, himself, was summoned to appear before another council at Vercelli, but failed to obey the summons and was again condemned without further hearing. After a short interval of silence and suspense, however, he was relieved of the charge of heresy by a provincial synod at Tours (1054). Here he won the confidence and friendship of Hildebrand, who acted as the representative of the pope. But his opponents were not satisfied with this result, and held another council at Rome where, confiding in the friendship and power of Hildebrand, Berengarius presented himself (1059). His trust, however, proved to be misplaced; for he was made to sign a statement in which the change of the elements in the Eucharist was asserted in the most unequivocal terms. Going back to France, he reaffirmed his belief in the spiritual nature of the sacrament, and withdrew his assent to the statement he had signed at Rome, on the ground that he had signed it only from fear of death. Thus matters stood for nearly twenty years. Meanwhile the tide was going against him. In 1078 he was once more summoned to Rome, and induced by Hildebrand to sign a document couched in ambiguous terms. But as this act was also regarded as unsatisfactory by his accusers, he was required and compelled the next year to subscribe a most rigidly transubstantiationist formula. The only alternative left him appeared to be a martyr's death. He signed, and was allowed to go back to his home, where he spent the rest of his days in great dejection of spirit. Thus Lanfranc's doctrine of transubstantiation triumphed in the Church.

A theological difference arose between the Eastern and Western branches of the Church, which was destined to

Differences
between
Eastern and
Western
Churches.

result in the final separation of these branches into two organizations, each one of which looks on the other as schismatic. This was the difference on the subject of the procession of the Holy Spirit. While, however, this theological difference was used as the primary occasion of the separation, there were other causes of a more fundamental nature that brought it about. The chief one of these was probably the political alienation of the East and West when the Frankish kingdom was formed. Ecclesiastical government was administered upon geographical lines, and with the sharp line of demarcation between the East and West created by the new western state, there arose a rivalry between the two branches of the Church represented respectively at Constantinople and Rome. Along with the political difference there appeared also, very naturally, a series of variations of minor importance in worship and practice. The Eastern Church recognized eighty-five apostolical canons as valid; the Western only fifty. The Eastern forbade the ordination of married men to episcopal rank only, keeping all lower ranks of clergy open to them, but not allowing marriage after ordination; the Western prohibited marriage to all clergy. The Eastern Church forbade fasting on Saturdays; the Western allowed it. The Eastern Church forbade eating of blood and things strangled, and the use of the figure of the lamb as a symbol of Christ; the Western allowed all these things. As for the difference on the subject of the procession of the Holy Spirit, it was clearly brought to light in the adoption of the clause "and from the Son" (*Filioque*) in the Creed by the council of Toledo (589), later also at Gentilly (767), Friaul (796), and Aix-la-Chapelle (809).

These differences could not long remain unobserved. It was only necessary for a suitable occasion to appear in order that they might lead to a disruption.

Separation in
the Ninth
Century.

Such an occasion did present itself when Photius appealed to Nicholas I. to help him in enforcing the deposition of Ignatius his predecessor. Nicholas, assuming the position of a su-

perior and judge, pronounced against Photius. As the latter resisted the authority thus assumed, the pope excommunicated him. A violent controversy ensued in which both sides held up the differences existing between them and charged each other with departure from the faith. The question was complicated by the new dispute as to the allegiance of the Bulgarian Church. A council called *ex parte* met in Constantinople in 867 and pronounced, as was expected, for the Eastern side. But a change of dynasty in Constantinople altered the face of affairs. The new emperor, Basil the Macedonian, declared against Photius, deposed him and reinstated Ignatius and pronounced the decisions of council of 867 null and void. Another council in 869 confirmed these acts of Basil. This was satisfactory to the Western Church and the council was recognized as the eighth ecumenical. But Photius was presently reëlected patriarch and became sufficiently reconciled to the pope to have the question reopened. A third council was therefore called, which met in Constantinople in 879-880. This council rescinded the action of that of 869, reinstated Photius, anathematized believers in the *filioque* and other changes in the Nicene Symbol. The papal delegates were bribed to concur in these decisions and went back with false reports of the proceedings to the pope. On discovering the deception the pope anathematized Photius and repudiated the action of his representatives. Meanwhile another change at Constantinople led to the deposition of Photius and the suspension of the discussion at this point.

During the middle of the eleventh century a new difference between the two branches of the Church arose on the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist. Final Schism. The custom of using such bread had grown imperceptibly in the West since the ninth century. In 1053 the patriarch Michael Cerularius charged the Western Church with imitating the Jews in the observance of Easter. He called them "Azymites" on account of their use of unleavened bread.* The charges were met by countercharges. Cardinal Humbert,

* *ἄζυμος*, bread made without leaven.

a man of violent temper, appeared as the champion of the Roman side. To arrest the controversy the emperor Constantine Monomachus proposed a conference. The Western delegates led by Humbert appeared in Constantinople and were favored by the emperor. The patriarch and people, however, staunchly refused to agree on the terms of reconciliation proposed by them. Finding it impossible to make further progress towards an understanding they laid an excommunication on the altar of the Church of St. Sophia (July 17, 1054) and departed. The patriarch in his turn excommunicated the pope and the schism was complete.

CHAPTER IX.

LIFE AND MORALS IN THE MEDIEVAL CHURCH.

THE marked feature of the age is the divorce of religion and morals. While piety was externally very great, its root was superstition rather than vital godliness. Fear and not love was the actuating motive in the religious life. It was not uncommon for Christians to express their devotion to their faith by building churches, going on pilgrimages, undertaking the defence of the Church against her enemies, and scrupulously obeying her prescriptions in external matters; and yet living immoral lives. The Frank kings were notorious criminals. Their example could not fail to have its effect on the people. Thus as the age advanced morals degenerated.

The tenth century particularly is distinguished as the period of the lowest ebb in morals in Europe. It has for this reason been called the Dark Century (*seculum obscurum*). As the year 1000 drew near the superstitious belief gained ground that the world was coming to its end. This belief had the natural effect of paralysing the energies of the Church. Lawlessness prevailed. Piracy, brigandage, and ruffianism, became very common.

Still in the midst of confusion the Church continued, like good leaven, leavening the lump of society. There were cases of lofty spiritual ideals, rare indeed, but therefore all the more remarkable. And these owed their inspiration to the gospel as taught by the Church. The Apostles' Creed,

Degeneration
of Morals.

The Dark
Century.

The whole-
some Influence
of the Church.

the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments continued to be taught and held by all Christians and their diffusion among the people could not fail to have some effect. Family life was not what it should have been, but it was purer than among the Oriental un-Christian nations, or among the ancient pagan Greeks and Romans.

Slavery was common and allowed by the Church ; but its severities were much softened by wholesome ecclesiastical legislation. Asylum was offered to fugitive slaves on the same terms as to other fugitives. Children of slaves were educated for the priesthood, though in order to be ordained they must be first emancipated. The marriage of a free person and a slave was permitted, if the condition of the slave was known to the free party. No slave was obliged to work on Sunday. Nor were the owners of slaves permitted to sell them to Jews or to pagans. Emancipation was encouraged and many were led to give their slaves their freedom.

As long as society existed in a disintegrated condition and justice or redress could not be secured through a common government whose power was respected, each family or clan tried to secure it on its own account. This gave rise to numberless private wars or feuds. Some of these were naturally fierce and lasted for a long time. The Church set its face against these private feuds as also against duels. But unable to stop them entirely it finally devised the "Truce of God" (*Treuga Dei*) as a means of lessening the evil in them. This institution arose in Aquitaine near the close of the period under consideration (1033). It consisted in the total suspension of hostilities between Wednesday evening and Monday morning—on Friday, Saturday and Sunday, in memory of the events which occurred on these days during Passion week, and on Thursday because of Christ's ascension. Thus did the memory of the Prince of Peace act as a peacemaker in the days of fierce passions and cruel feuds.

Wherever it was possible the Church used its discipline

in bringing the disobedient and lawless to penitence and reformation. Three grades of discipline came to be recognized, viz.: (1) Excommunication from or exclusion from the sacrament; (2) Anathema which at the council of Pavia in 950 was defined as "a higher species of excommunication" and included the threat of special penalties in the future life; besides mere exclusion from church privileges in this life; and (3) The Interdict. This form of discipline was inflicted on rulers or princes and consisted in the prohibition of all religious services within their territories, except baptism and extreme unction, and these when performed must take place with closed doors. The principle underlying the interdict was that the ruler who was not moved by the individual excommunication or anathema should be coerced to heed the voice of the Church through those under him; therefore these were made the victims of the Church's disciplinary action that they might secure the submission of the prince.

Worship became more and more bound to liturgical forms. The Latin language in the West and the Greek in the East were alone allowed to be used. In the case of the Slavonians, the sermon was permitted to be preached in the vernacular.* The liturgy itself, however, continued to be enriched by the addition to it of new and glowing contributions in the form of hymns. Rabanus Maurus, already named as a noted ecclesiastic and theologian, composed Latin hymns, especially the *Veni Creator*, which has survived to the present day. Notker Balbulus (840-912) introduced an innovation in the sequence. Previously the sequence was a mere prolongation of the last syllable of the *Alleluia* sung between the reading of the Epistle and the Gospel, giving time by the prolongation to the deacon to ascend from the pulpit to the organ loft from whence he was to chant the Gospel. Notker

* Pope John VIII., is the reputed originator of the distinction. Greek and Latin, he decided, should be used in addressing God in the liturgy; but barbarous tongues like the Slavonic might be good enough in addressing the barbarians in preaching.

changed this single syllable into a rhythmical hymn. King Robert of France (970-1031), son of Hugo Capet was also skillful in the writing of hymns and to him is ascribed another Latin production that has come down to modern times —the *Veni Sancte Spiritus* (Come Holy Spirit).

Monasticism received a new impulse and developed into new forms. About 760 Chrodegang, bishop of Mentz, imposed canonic life upon the regular clergy of his diocese. This was modeled after the Rule of Benedict of Nursia and was soon adopted as the law of the Frankish Church under the name *Regula Aquisgranensis* (816). But the general decline of morals affected the monastic system, and corruption entered here also. The monasteries grew wealthy and their wealth proved an irresistible temptation to the covetous to enter them for the sake of enjoying or administering their property. Many laymen even sought the headship of monasteries for the material gain attached to them. When they obtained possession of them they turned them practically into feudal castles, bringing within these enclosures their wives, their hounds for the chase, and other worldly accompaniments.

In the midst of this state of things Benedict of Aniane (750-821) appeared as a reformer. He revised the Rule of Benedict of Nursia and introduced a stricter discipline. But this reform was local.

In the tenth century another reformation was instituted by Berno (927) in Burgundy upon the lines set by Benedict of Aniane. This was followed up more vigorously by Berno's successor, Odo of Clugny (942), and culminated in the ascendancy of the monastery of Clugny in Burgundy and the acceptance of its plan as a model by a system of monasteries which now constituted the "Congregation" of Clugny. This was an association of monasteries holding an annual meeting for the purpose of legislating uniformly for the whole circle of which it consisted. In the twelfth century two thousand monastic communities had entered the congrega-

tion. Its influence in France was great and wholesome. Morals were perceptibly improved by it. Its example was followed by the monks of the Appenines in the formation of the Camaldulensian order and at Vallombrosa by the order of the Vallombrosans.

CHAPTER X.

THE PAPACY AND THE EMPIRE IN CONFLICT.

THE accession of Hildebrand to the papal throne did not so much usher in as bring to its highest point the wave of reformation already set into motion more than twenty-five years before. Hildebrand, as has already been said, was the friend and counselor of the popes, and practically dictated the policy of the papacy since the election of Leo. IX. in 1048. When Alexander II. died in 1073, the people demanded his elevation to the office which all knew he had previously controlled. He was reluctant to come into the foreground. Physically he was not a strong man. His intimate relations with his immediate predecessors had taught him the difficulties with which he would be surrounded. His first action was to ask the consent of the emperor Henry IV. to his assumption of the papal crown (tiara). Henry readily granted what it would have been well-nigh impossible to refuse. As Gregory VII., Hildebrand was now ready to prosecute the work of reform to its completion.

The marriage of the clergy, simony, and investiture by the secular princes were the three abuses which to his mind hindered the full exercise of that power which belonged to the Church. Against these therefore he directed his blows. At a synod held in Rome the year following his accession (1074) he reënacted the old law of clerical celibacy which had fallen into desuetude. A storm of opposition arose on the part of the clergy; but Gregory knew how to excite the feelings of the common people against the married

priests and secure the permanency of the law. In 1075 he held another synod, which pronounced against simony and lay investiture, or the installation of the bishops into their offices by the presentation of the ring and staff by the prince within whose dominions they were to exercise their functions. Such investiture was forbidden at this time on pain of excommunication.

The pope's ideal came into full view in the action against investiture. He held that the spiritual world was above the temporal, and therefore should not only be independent of its control, but on the contrary, should dominate the temporal.

Ideals of
Hildebrand.

The end he aimed at was a theocracy with the pope as the visible representative of God. If the saints were to be judges of angels, how much more fittingly might they be judges of secular princes. The purification of the morals of the clergy and the extinction of simony were simply means calculated to train and prepare the hierarchy for the supremacy of the Church over the State.

Henry IV. could not but feel that the blow was aimed at his own power. He was engaged, at the time the action on investiture was taken, in a war with the Saxons. He undertook to come to an understanding with the pope, but was met with the threat that unless he heeded the voice

Conflict with
and Submission
of Henry IV.

of the Church he must be excommunicated. Indignant at this attitude he summoned a synod of German bishops at Worms and caused the deposition of the pope. The answer of Gregory to this measure was a solemn anathema, absolving all Henry's subjects from their oath of allegiance. The subject princes of the empire, already dissatisfied with Henry, resolved that, unless within a year he should have this anathema removed, the imperial throne should be declared forfeited. Henry was reduced to straits. He sought the pope as a penitent at Canossa in January 1077 and was allowed to plead for forgiveness for three days in the snows of winter before he was granted absolution.

Meanwhile the German princes had elected Rudolph

of Suabia to the imperial throne. Henry's humiliation appeared to have been for naught. Enraged at this turn of affairs, the emperor now accepted the alliance of the Lombards, and while Gregory remained neutral, conquered the rebels, and on being again anathematized, set up an anti-pope (Clement III.), and was crowned by him (1084). Gregory without conceding for a moment that he was thwarted withdrew to Salerno, where he died the following year (1085).

The successors of Gregory could do no more than insist on the principles he had laid down. Victor III. (1085-1087), strictly adhered to the policy of his predecessor. Urban II. was called on to struggle against the claims of the anti-pope Clement, but made the papacy the center of a new enthusiasm by broaching the idea of the Crusades. Paschal II. (1099-1118), pushed Hildebrand's ideas with indiscriminate zeal. Henry died during his pontificate, and it was only five years after this event that his son secured the removal of the ban and his interment with due ecclesiastical ceremony. Henry V. was not, however, disposed to be any more yielding on the question of investiture than his father had been. So long as Paschal held the papacy he maintained the right to inaugurate bishops into their offices. Paschal was followed by Gelasius (1118-1119), whose reign was brief and unhappy. His successor Calixtus II. (1119-1124), backed by popular clamor for peace, succeeded in forcing the emperor to enter on an agreement known as the Concordat of Worms (1122). According to the terms of this compact the emperor gave up the right of investiture, and the pope conceded the right of German princes to superintend the election of prelates in their dominions.

The Concordat of Worms was confirmed by a synod held at Rome in the Lateran palace, hence known as the First Lateran or ninth ecumenical synod (1223). Henry died soon after this without issue. He was succeeded in the empire

Rebellion of
Henry and
Death of the
Pope.

Successors of
Gregory.

Guelph and
Ghibelline.

by Lothair the Saxon (1125-1137). Calixtus was followed in the papal chair by Honorius II. (1124-1130), and Innocent II. (1130-1143). During the pontificate of the latter the empire passed into the hands of the Hohenstaufen family under Conrad III. (1137-1152), and with Conrad began the Guelph-Ghibelline feud—a quarrel between the papal (Guelph), and the imperial (Ghibelline or Waibling) factions—which continued through the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

But another influence hostile to the papacy was set at work about the same time by Arnold of Brescia. Arnold appeared as the advocate of a return to the old Roman republican system in political government, and to the apostolic system of pure spirituality in the Church. He taught that the clergy should give up their earthly possessions and limit themselves to spiritual functions. Under his lead a republic was actually proclaimed at Rome (1143), though his views had been condemned and he had been himself sentenced to silence by the Second Lateran or tenth ecumenical council 1139. The popes who succeeded Innocent II. appeared to be impotent against the popular favor shown Arnold. He boldly denounced them as false shepherds. When, however, Hadrian IV. (1154-1159), previously an English monk (Nicholas Breakspeare), was elected to the papacy, he reduced the people to submission by placing Rome under an interdict. Arnold was driven from the city, and afterwards seized by Frederick Barbarossa, who delivered him to his enemies. He was put to death at Rome in 1155.

But Hadrian saw himself presently confronted by a more formidable enemy than Arnold of Brescia. Conrad was succeeded in the empire by Frederick Barbarossa (1152-1190), a man of commanding personality and an enemy of the hierarchy. Though living at peace with the pope for a time, he was led in 1158 to hold a diet on the Plain of Roncaglia and proclaim the rights of the empire, formally recording them through certain jurists of Bologna. The pope was in the act of preparing an

Arnold of
Brescia.

Conflict with
Frederick
Barbarossa.

anathema on the emperor when he died. His successor Alexander III. (1159-1181) published the anathema. The war between the pope and the emperor now broke out in earnest. Frederick marched into Rome with the anti-pope Victor IV.; but a fever paralyzed his army, and he saw himself compelled to return into Germany without having pressed fully the advantage he had gained. Later, in 1176 at Legnano, he suffered a decisive defeat and recognized Alexander as pope.

Another conflict in which the papal and secular powers engaged, also contributing to the exaltation of the papacy, was that between the Roman Church and king Henry II. of England. The English Church had developed a semi-independence against which Hildebrand's effort seemed to prove unavailing. Alexander set himself to accomplish what Gregory had failed to do. Henry, to oppose the pope's efforts the more effectually, secured the appointment of his chancellor Thomas à Becket, to the archbishopric of Canterbury. A Becket, however, was no sooner lifted to the high office than he developed extreme devotion to the papacy. He stood in the way of the reforms contemplated by the king. The king having expressed his impatience with this attitude, à Becket was assassinated and the reaction which followed this crime cost Henry a bitter humiliation and the abandonment of his plans.

While gaining power externally, Alexander also consolidated the internal order of the Church. At the Third Lateran, eleventh ecumenical council (1179), Innocent III. he secured the passage of rules governing the election of popes. After the death of Alexander, little was done by his successors until the accession of Innocent III. Frederick was drowned while crossing a stream in Palestine during the third crusade. His son Henry VI. (1191-1197) did not survive to the time of Innocent III. (1198-1216). Thus when Innocent ascended the papal throne, there appeared to be no strong Ghibelline to thwart his plans or resist his claims. He consequently wielded an almost absolute authority

and brought the papal power to its zenith. He made his voice heard in the public affairs of Europe. In Germany the succession to the throne was disputed by Otto of Brunswick and Philip of Hohenstaufen, the uncle and natural guardian of the infant son of Henry VI. The pope declared for Otto, on condition of the surrender of the imperial prerogatives reserved by the Concordat of Worms. But when Otto, proving false to his promise to relinquish these prerogatives, attempted to exercise them, Innocent excommunicated and deposed him and placed the rightful heir, Frederick II., in his place.

Frederick II. In France the king, Philip Augustus, had put away his wife, Ingeburga, and married Agnes. The pope by the application of the interdict, compelled him to take back his first and lawful wife. In England a dispute arose as to the election of an archbishop of Canterbury. The matter was referred to the pope. He took advantage of the occasion to introduce his friend Stephen Langton into the vacant archbishopric, and when king John declined to recognize Langton, the pope again by the use of the interdict forced the king to submission. It was upon this occasion that the nobles rose up against John, and wrested from him the Magna Charta—since then “the charter of the nation.”

One of the last acts of Innocent, was the convocation of a council. This was the Fourth Lateran or twelfth ecumenical council (1215). It advised the reconquest of the Holy Land, the extermination of heresy, and reforms in the Church.

The death of Innocent coincides with the attainment of his majority by Frederick II. (1212–1250). Honorius III. (1216–1227) who took up the papal office after Innocent, was a man of mild temperament. He was satisfied with small concessions and promises of crusades by Frederick. The emperor, however, delayed the fulfillment of his promise, satisfying the pope that he had good reasons for so doing. But Honorius was succeeded by Gregory IX. (1227–1241), a nephew of Innocent III. and a man of inflexible resolution as well as ascetic zeal. Frederick

Honorius III.
Gregory IX.
Fifth Crusade.

saw himself obliged to set sail for the Holy Land, but returned after three days on the pretense of an epidemic in his fleet. The pope excommunicated him. As if to prove the injustice of this measure, Frederick started on his crusade the following year without having taken pains to remove the ban. The fame of his dispute with the pope and of his excommunication preceded him, and on landing, he found himself surrounded by Christians who would have nothing to do with him, and Saracens whom he must treat as enemies. In spite of the difficulty of the situation, he managed to exact some concessions from the Sultan, made a ten years' truce and returned to Europe to prosecute the feud with the pope. Here in the course of a short time he achieved a victory clear enough to give him the power of dictating for Sicily the Code of Vinea as the law regulating the relations of Church and State. According to this compact, the authority of the Church should be subordinate to that of the State, though heretics were to be delivered over to the Church for discipline.

But the feud broke out afresh in 1239, when the pope anathematized the emperor once more and released his subjects from their oath of allegiance to him.

Conflict Re-
newed. The emperor in return accused the pope of inclining to the heresy of the Catharists.

Gregory charged him with infidelity and sympathy with the Saracens. Frederick once more marched against Rome. The pope called a council but before it met he died. His successor Innocent IV. (1241-1254) now took up and continued the warfare, denouncing the emperor at the council of Lyons (1245) as a heretic and robber. Frederick met with numerous reverses and died in the midst of them.

His son Conrad IV. was unequal to the great conflict. He carried on the struggle only for a short time (1250-1254). With his death the house of Hohen-

Fall of the
Hohenstaufen. staufen may be said to have come to its end. Conradin, his successor, was detained

in Suabia for a time, and as he came forward to claim his ancestral heritage he was seized and put to death in 1268 by the Guelphs.

It was at this time that Louis IX. of France set forth in a document called the Pragmatic Sanction the relations of the Church and State in his own domains. By the terms of the Pragmatic Sanction, France was to pay no tribute in the form of money to the pope, nor should any funds be raised in the realm, except by consent of the king and people. Further the bishops of the French Church were to be chosen freely by the native clergy, and the prelates and patrons should enjoy the revenues of the Church.

Louis IX. and
the Pragmatic
Sanction.

From 1268 to 1271 there was a vacancy in the papal throne. This was filled by the election of Gregory X. (1271-1276). Gregory had been a crusader with Edward of England. With the intent of enlisting the empire in another crusade he assisted in its reorganization under a new dynasty. Thus after an interregnum of twenty years Rudolph of Hapsburg was made emperor (1273). The dynasty, of which Rudolph was the first, by a wise subordination to the popes retained hold of the empire for a long period.

Gregory X.
The Hapsburgs.

After reorganizing the empire, the next care of the pope was to rouse the enthusiasm of the Church for a crusade. To this end he called an ecumenical council—the fourteenth, which met at Lyons and is also known as the Second of Lyons (1274). Two other subjects were put before the council besides the raising of means for the recovery of the Holy Land. These were the reunion of Eastern and Western Christendom, and the reform of morals. The results were equally disappointing in all.

Though Gregory's efforts gave the papacy some of the zest which characterized it under his predecessors, they were not followed up by those who came after him. In 1281 Martin IV. (1281-1285) was raised to the papacy. He was a Frenchman and the French influence became supreme with him. But the Sicilians, who had been under the power of the French for some time previously, unable longer to endure the yoke, broke out in rebellion, and, on Easter Monday, 1282, at the ringing of the vesper bells, occurred the massacre of all the French on the island, an event known in history as the Sicilian Vespers.

Martin IV.
Sicilian Vespers.

The last of the popes of this period was Celestine V. previously a hermit (1294). It was soon felt, however, that he was not competent to administer the affairs of so important an office as the papal, and he was induced by Cardinal Cajetan to resign. To prevent further trouble he was imprisoned. He died two years later. Cajetan himself was made his successor as Boniface VIII. (1294-1303).

CHAPTER XI.

THE CRUSADES. WARS OF THE CHURCH AGAINST INFIDELS AND HERETICS.

PALESTINE fell under the dominion of the Mohammedans before the middle of the seventh century. European Christendom did not, however, realize at once the significance of this fact. The relations between it and the Holy Land were not close and direct. But in the course of the Middle Ages pilgrimages to the Holy Sepulcher became very common, and acquired a peculiar meaning as meritorious works to be laid to one's account, and serving to counterbalance his sins. They grew more frequent towards the end of the tenth century, as the belief in the approaching end of the world gained ground. The Mohammedans at first favored and protected the pilgrims, but as they became more numerous, they changed their attitude and began to annoy them. European Christendom now came to realize that it was a disgrace to allow the holy place to continue under infidel rule, and to entertain the idea of recovering it. Hildebrand himself was anxious to move in that direction, but was prevented by his struggle with the empire. One of his successors, Urban II., was appealed to by the emperor of the East, Alexis Comnenus, and urged, at the council at Clermont (1095), a war for the recovery of the Holy Land under the standard of the cross. The impression made by his address was profound. The audience responded, "*Deus lo vult*" (God wills it), and the assembled prelates carried the enthusiasm to their homes.

The agitation soon brought forth fruit. Peter the Hermit and Walter the Penniless went about organizing

the first expedition against the Mohammedans. Peter, having gathered an undisciplined horde, put himself at its head and started for the East, but was soon compelled, by lack of personal fitness, to relinquish the lead, while his followers were cut down by the Turks in Bulgaria. Another host of 200,000 perished after getting as far as Hungary. Finally an army of 80,000 under Godfrey de Bouillon, Duke of Lorraine, passed through Constantinople, increasing in numbers as it went, took Edessa and Antioch, entered Jerusalem in 1099, and made Godfrey king.

The results of this event were manifold and promised a mighty revolution in the East. First of all, the success of the Christian warriors stimulated in them

Consequences. the desire for further aggressive steps against the Mohammedans. The plan of a march

against Bagdad was conceived, and awaited reinforcements from Europe in order to be practically tried. A Latin patriarchate was established in connection with the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. Finally, in order to sustain the new kingdom, new orders of knights were established. One order had already existed in Palestine for fifty years, having as its object the entertainment and protection of pilgrims. This was the Order of the Knights

Knighly Orders. of St. John, also called Hospitalers, or Brethren of the Hospital, from the name of their house, which was designated the Hospital of St. John the Baptist. Two new orders were now organized, viz. the order of the Templars (1118), so called from the location of their house by the side of the temple in Jerusalem, and the German, or Teutonic Knights, founded by citizens of Bremen and Lübeck (1190), as a hospital. These orders, recruited from among the ranks of the bold and adventurous, were destined to bring to view a new aspect of the spirit of chivalry.

But the Latin kingdom in the Holy Land was weakened by constant losses, and, in spite of accessions, found itself hard pressed by the Mohammedans. To avert the calamity of its fall Bernard of Clairvaux went through Europe preaching a second

Second Crusade.

crusade (1147). Louis VII. of France and Conrad III. of Germany led a vast host against the Saracens, aiming to take Damascus and make it the bulwark of the Latin kingdom. But dissensions among the crusaders, and treachery, made the expedition a disastrous failure.

In A. D. 1187 Saladdin, the king of the Saracens, once more took possession of the Holy Sepulcher. Dissensions were at once set aside in Europe when this Third Crusade. became known, and the three most prominent potentates of Christendom, Richard Cœur de Lion of England, Philip Augustus of France, and Frederick Barbarossa of the empire, united in the most brilliant of the crusades. But it seemed impossible for them to repress jealousies and quarrels for any length of time. Moreover, Saladdin, against whom they came, was a man of genius, and thus the result of the expedition was that, after securing freedom for Christians from taxation and from molestation in visiting the holy city, they dispersed.

A fourth expedition was organized in 1204, but was diverted by Dandolo, doge of Venice, into an attack on the Byzantine empire. Constantinople was Fourth Crusade. taken by the crusaders, and a Latin empire founded lasting nearly half a century.

The fifth of the crusades was led by Frederick II. (1229), under very inauspicious circumstances. He had promised to lead this crusade, but as he delayed to perform his promise, having started Fifth Crusade. and returned after a three days' sail, on the ground of an epidemic in his fleet, the pope excommunicated him. When he again led the crusade, this excommunication hampered him so that he was satisfied to secure by negotiations the cession of Bethlehem and Nazareth and a ten years' truce, and returned to Europe.

In 1249 Louis IX. of France directed a sixth crusade against Egypt as a way of approach into the Holy Land. He succeeded so far as to occupy Sixth and Seventh Crusades. Damietta, but was presently taken prisoner and purchased his freedom from the Mamelukes for 800,000 byzantines. Finally, the last of

the crusades against the Mohammedans was led, like the sixth, by Louis IX. This time Louis made Tunis his point of attack. But a pestilence broke out in his camp and carried off half of his army. He himself died during the campaign, and with him the active expression of crusading zeal came to an end.

The crusades were neither an unmixed evil nor a pure benefit to the Church and the world. While much fanaticism was evolved by them, and much waste and misery caused, there accrued, on the other hand, some signal advantages. The ills of the feudal system were mitigated in a measure. A common aim and companionship among strangers united those who before were separated and cherished enmity towards one another. The superfluous energy of adventurous spirits was employed, and thus, as Bernard said, "The State was no less benefited in losing the warriors than the Church in gaining them." Moreover, lessons in organization and military discipline were learned that could not fail of being useful later. And, finally, the spirit of commerce and intercourse was stimulated, and the general stagnation of Europe was broken up.

Another undertaking of the Church, commonly called a crusade, was the persecution of the sect of the Cathari, in the south of France (1208-1213). These are also called Albigenses, from the city Albi in which with its vicinity, they flourished. They were a sect of dualists, who also insisted on purity of life. Their cause was espoused by Raymond VI., count of Toulouse. The legate of the pope, Peter of Castelnau, undertaking to exercise civil authority within the jurisdiction of Raymond, came in conflict with him. When, later, he was assassinated, this was laid to the charge of the Albigenses; Raymond himself was accused of complicity in the crime, and the papal force under Arnold of Citeaux and Simon de Montfort invaded the region inhabited by the Albigensians and waged a bloody and cruel war on them.

Quite different was the conflict of the Church with the Waldenses. These took their name from Peter Waldo,

Good and
evil Results.

Albigensian
Crusade.

of Lyons, who came out as a preacher of a return to the pure teaching of Scripture, in the middle of the twelfth century. In accordance with this fundamental principle, he and his followers taught that there was no purgatory, that the Church was not infallible, that laymen were entitled to preach, and that the selling of one's goods and the distribution of the proceeds to the poor was an act of Christian consecration. Waldo himself pursued this course.

The Waldensians had no intention of leaving the Catholic Church. They formed a society within the Church, and hoped to bring about its reformation from within. The archbishop of Lyons at first, and Pope Alexander III. later (1179), declared against them. They were excommunicated and persecuted, and withdrew into the fastnesses of Piedmont in Italy. Here they succeeded in evading the authority of the pope and continued to exist through the following centuries.

Another movement away from the beliefs of the Catholic Church was headed by Peter de Bruys about 1110, in the provinces of Languedoc and Provence in France. Peter's followers were called after him Petrobrussians. Their distinctive tenets as far as known were: (1) that baptism should be administered to adult persons; (2) that the elements in the Lord's Supper are and remain material, and serve only as signs or emblems of the body and blood of Jesus Christ; (3) that prayers, sacrifices, and good works do not avail for the dead; and (4) that church buildings, images, and crosses are unnecessary in the worship of God.

The Eastern Church was disturbed at this time by a sect which made its first appearance in Bulgaria. This was the sect of the Bogomiles (Friends of God). They held that the firstborn of God was a superhuman being called Satanael. This being had created the world; but being moved to pride, he rebelled against the Father, and was rejected with a multitude of angels whom he had induced to follow himself. With this theological basis the sect combined teachings regarding the Church which were hostile

to its authority, and denied the virtue alleged to exist in its ministry and sacraments. These teachings were disseminated both in the East and the West, and the undermining of Church authority by them was resented and the sect was proscribed and persecuted.

CHAPTER XII.

MONASTICISM AND SCHOLASTICISM. LEARNING AND PIETY.

MONASTICISM made marked advances during the Middle Ages. As the towns began to exhibit the spirit of independence the monastic orders emulated their example. They chose their own abbots, managed their own estates, and generally broke loose from episcopal control. This independence of the bishops was not inconsistent but rather hopeful to the idea of direct subordination to the papacy, and for this reason the popes fostered it. Among other privileges granted by the papacy to the monasteries were the following: They were exempted from the payment of tithes; from the jurisdiction of legates; from excommunication by any one lower than the pope; from the interdict over the regions where they were situated. Abbots were permitted to wear the episcopal ring and gloves. They need not attend councils if not summoned by the pope. The abbots of Clugny and Vendome were created cardinals. These privileges and the influence of great men like Hildebrand elevated the monastic system appreciably.

Of new orders founded, the Cistercian deserves to be named first. Its name is derived from Cistercium (Citeaux), and it was established by Robert (1098), as a protest against the corruptions of the idea of poverty in Clugny. The order became eminent because of the connection with it of Bernard of Clairvaux (1113-1153). Bernard was a man of fervent piety, a mystic, and therefore an opponent of rationalistic

Spirit of Independence.

New Orders.
Cistercian.

tendencies just coming to the surface, eloquent and enthusiastic and devoted to monasticism, which, for these reasons, could not but feel the impulse of his presence in its midst.

Another order was founded at Fontevraud by Robert of Arbrissel (1100) for men and women. Still another order which arose to promise and power was that of the Carthusians, at Chartreuse. This was established by Bruno of Cologne (1086), and was distinguished for the rigidity of its discipline and for insistence on devotional and spiritual exercise. Besides these a number of minor orders arose, having specific objects as their distinctive features. The order of St. Anthony was founded for the relief of the sick. The Trinitarians were organized for the purpose of redeeming Christian slaves, and purchased a multitude who had been unfortunate enough to be captured and carried off into Morocco. The Premonstrants at Premontr  devoted themselves to the idea of poverty, though this idea was supposed to be the basis of almost all monastic orders.

The multiplication of these orders led the Fourth Lateran council (1215), at the suggestion of Innocent III., to forbid the formation of any more new ones. But scarcely had the action been taken before Innocent saw himself forced to make an exception of the case of the Mendicants. Clearly there was a new idea in these. Previously, monks had withdrawn from the world and through penitence, prayer and self-mortification, had sought salvation for themselves; the Mendicants reversed this course and set out to go into the world and save others by self-denying labors.

There were two orders of Mendicants. The Dominican order was conceived by Dominic Guzman (1170-1221), a Spanish priest. The spread of Albigensianism in the south of France and the inability of the clergy and the older orders of monks to deal with it disturbed Dominic. Even the crusade against the heretics did not seem to have the desired effect. He went to Rome in 1215 and submitted to the pope his plan of a special order of Preaching

Other Orders.
Carthusians.

The Mendicants.

Dominican
Order.

Brothers, who should traverse the regions infected with heresy and induce the heretics to return to the Catholic fold. The plan was approved and subsequently the rule of poverty put into it.

The Franciscans were organized by Francis Bernardone (1182-1226) of Assisi. As a youth Francis had been gay and worldly. Converted in a serious illness, he subsequently learned of the essence of the gospel as self-denial and absolute trust in the providing care of God. He, too, like Dominic, went to Rome, in 1215, with a plan of an order based upon his discovery of self-denial and absolute trust. Innocent approved this plan also, and the Franciscans went forth as the Begging Brothers.

The growth of the Mendicant orders was something phenomenal. By the middle of the thirteenth century they had more than 8,000 houses in the Franciscan system alone. Moreover, their power also grew so that soon they occupied the foremost places in the universities and exerted a powerful influence in the councils of the Church. Among the Franciscans there appeared quite early a class of more zealous brothers, whose fervid mysticism bordered on fanaticism. They began to teach poverty, not as a voluntary condition, to be assumed by members of the privileged Mendicant orders, but as the only normal natural condition, and the holding of possessions, on the contrary, as a sin in itself. They also predicted the speedy fall of the Church as an institution. These were the Minorites, or Fraticelli, who, in the following period, were persecuted as heretics for the views they held.

The Church was undoubtedly the repository and patron of learning and education through the Middle Ages. It founded schools in connection with cathedrals and cloisters, and stimulated study by opening up the field of the patristic writings to scholars. At the same time the legislation of the Church had increased in bulk and intricacy so as to require special attention. Thus the schools began to concern themselves with the problems of theology and canon law, and

Franciscan
Order.

Growth of the
Mendicant
Orders.

The Univer-
sities.

developed into universities. At the beginning of the thirteenth century universities are already found fully equipped. It is probable, therefore, that their foundation dates back to the middle part, if not to the beginning, of the twelfth. Bologna became the seat of a university where canon law was specially studied, while Paris and Oxford appear to have attracted students of theology and dialectics.

A new source of stimulus appears at the same time in the Church in the form of oriental Arabic and Jewish philosophy. The Arabs became acquainted with the works of Aristotle and adopted his system, mixed with Neo-Platonic ideas, and modified into consistency with the religion of Mohammed. Two forms of Arabian Aristotelianism developed—one in the East worked out by Avicenna of Bokhara (980–1037), and the other in the West by Avarrhoës of Cordova (1126–1198). The Jews also became acquainted with Aristotle, no doubt led by the Arabs in the East, and a third form of Semitic Aristotelianism appeared, made up of Jewish thought and Aristotelian philosophy. Solomon ben Gabirol and Moses Maimonides stand as the representatives of this system. All of these now came in contact with Christianity through the Moors and Jews of Spain, and percolated into the schools. The Christians began to study Aristotle directly in the Greek, and yielded to his influence so far as to use his method.

The first public occasion on which use was made of Aristotle's method in the interests of Christian theology was the trial of Berengarius at the council of Tours (1054); from that date its influence increased until it seemed to dominate all thought and resulted in Scholasticism. One of the earliest to adopt the new method was Anselm of Canterbury (1033–1109), called by Milman "The real parent of mediæval theology," and by others, "The father of systematic theology," and "The Augustine of the Middle Ages." Anselm was not only a keen dialectician, but also a man of devout spirit, and a searcher for the

Arabic and
Jewish Aristotelianism.

Anselm.
Scholasticism.

truth. He rendered service to the cause of theology in several particulars. First, he elaborated the argument for the existence of God, which bears his name; secondly, he vindicated Realism against Roscellinus and the Nominalists; and thirdly, he elaborated the theory of the atonement, which has been recognized by the Church since his day as the most satisfactory exposition of the Scriptural teaching on the subject. This theory, known sometimes as the Anselmic theory of the atonement, is found in the *Cur Deus Homo*, and grounds the saving work of Christ in the divine justice. One of the most brilliant of the scholastics was Peter Abelard (1079-1142). From his first appearance in the circle of medieval scholars Abelard displayed those characteristics which made his subsequent career so chequered and stormy. Gifted with exceptional talents himself, he was impatient with mediocrity, not only in his equals, but also in his teachers. He confuted the ill-digested statements of these, and thereby incurred their enmity. As a

teacher, himself, he showed the same disrespect for the teachings of the Church as he had shown as a pupil in the schools. He

wrote a treatise entitled *Sic et Non*, in which, selecting 158 subjects, he showed that the Church had expressed herself in contradictory terms on them (answering yes and no to the same question). He found an implacable enemy to his rationalistic tendencies in the mystic Bernard of Clairvaux (1091-1153). His views

Bernard of
Clairvaux.

were officially condemned. His illicit relation to Heloise was brutally punished by her uncle, Foulbert, and he was himself compelled to spend the last years of his life under a cloud in the monastery.

Much less known than Abelard, but a keen dialectician and rationalistic thinker, was Gilbert of Porrée (1070-1154). Gilbert had the faculty of so

Gilbert of
Porrée.

stating his views that, though they were suspected of unsoundness and tried before a council, he was not condemned, because the pope himself confessed that he did not quite understand the views,

and Gilbert readily recognized the authority of the Church and professed to agree with the council.

With Bernard of Clairvaux, already mentioned as a mystic and a man of fervid religious feeling, there emerges a shade of scholasticism of a different type.

Bernard. Bernard was surnamed the *Doctor Mellifluus*. He laid down the proposition that God is to be known by prayer rather than by disputation. *Tantum Deus cognoscitur quantum diligitur*. With this standpoint agreed in a measure also William of Champeaux, who

School of St. Victor. founded the school of St. Victor. The greatest exponent of this school was Hugo (1097–1141) surnamed, of St. Victor. Hugo held that what one is, is the measure of his insight into truth; and, secondly, that man can only know God by loving him. He was followed by able successors in the headship of the school in the persons of Richard and Walter of St. Victor. The mystic principle was further unfolded and applied by these, and the two wings of scholasticism drifted further apart.

The tendency to mediate between the dialectic and the mystic types of scholasticism was the natural product of the widening gulf. There were, naturally,

Peter Lombard. men who saw the truth in each, and who strove to combine the good out of both wings, and thus lead into a middle way. The most eminent representative of these was Peter Lombard (1100–1164), lecturer at the university of Paris, and afterwards bishop of the see of Paris. In his book of *Sentences* Peter compiled the opinions of the ancient fathers on theological subjects in such a skillful way as to secure for himself the place of an authority, and for his book that of a text book for three centuries after his death.

The blending of the two wings of scholasticism resulted in the increased hold of Aristotle on the theologians.

Alexander of Hales. This result was not, however, attained without a struggle and an effort in the opposite direction. A pantheistic interpretation of Aristotle by Amalric of Bena was condemned by a synod assembled at Paris in 1209. The works of Aristotle were also

prohibited by the same synod. Nevertheless, Alexander of Hales (1185?–1245), *Doctor Irrefragabilis*, through his commentaries, was instrumental in having them restored to the favor of the pope. His *Summa Theologica*, or system of theology, worked out on Aristotelian principles, became a model for other works on theology.

From another point of view the influence of John of Salisbury (1115?–1182), had the effect of stimulating the love of classical learning, while that of Albertus Magnus (1193–1280), *Doctor Universalis*, broadened the horizon of students by including in it natural science. Albert was a Dominican monk and a close student of Aristotle. He had studied theology as well as cabalistic and natural science, and was particularly attracted by the study of God's works in nature. His genius was versatile and his reputation for learning very great. It is due to his labors, at least in part, that scholasticism attained, during the middle of the thirteenth century, the highest point in its course, under Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventura and Duns Scotus.

Thomas Aquinas (1227–1274), *Doctor Angelicus*, was the descendant of high aristocratic ancestors, and during the troublous times of the Guelph-Ghibelline feud, he was desired by his parents to enter into secular and military life. But he was drawn to the Church, and eventually joined the Dominican order. He studied under Albert at Cologne, and later taught at Rome, Bologna, Pisa, and Naples. His love of work and his application were excessive. He won for himself the highest place as an authority on Catholic systematic theology. His works (*Summa theologica*, *Summa phylosophica contra gentiles*, and *Catena aurca*) are monuments of dialectic acumen as well as of sincere piety.

Bonaventura (1221–1274), *Doctor Seraphicus*, was a Franciscan of the purest moral character and of great ability. He became professor of theology at Paris in 1253, general of the Franciscans in 1256, bishop of Albano in 1273, and cardinal

shortly before his death in 1274. He was a friend of Aquinas, inclined towards the mystical tendency which he, in a manner, again separated from the main stream of scholasticism by his summing up the problem of religion in the figure of "the soul in exile from God seeking the way, and in the gospel shown it, back to God."

John Duns Scotus (1265-1308), *Doctor Subtilis* was characterized by abnormal acuteness. He entered the Franciscan order, and appeared as the opposite in theology of Thomas Aquinas, the chief representative of the rival order of Dominicans. More interested in arguments than in doctrines, he elaborated the theory of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, taught that the atonement of Christ was gratuitously accepted by the Father, and did not necessarily work out a satisfaction of justice, ascribed an arbitrary will to God, and considered individuality a perfection. Upon all these points Thomas had taught the very opposite theories. There arose, accordingly, a controversy, in which the followers of the two theologians, under the names of Thomists and Scotists, carried on their discussions on these subtleties for generations following.

A slight reaction against the speculative element in scholasticism manifested itself in Roger Bacon (1214-1294), *Doctor Mirabilis*. Without distinctly abandoning dialectics Roger Bacon attempted to make a place for the empirical method. He studied language, history, and especially natural science and mathematics. He was encouraged in his work in a measure by Clement IV. but on account of arrogance and extreme plainness of speech he was twice imprisoned.

Finally, Raimond Lull (1234-1315), *Doctor Illuminatus*, though more distinguished as a zealous missionary than as a scholastic, must be named in this connection for his deviation in the sphere of learning from the path trodden by the scholars of his time. He sought by a simpler, though somewhat

mechanical method, to arrange all knowledge in a new scheme of science. This he called *Ars Magna*. As a missionary he twice sailed from his native Majorca for Tunis and Algiers, there to preach Christianity and confute Averrhoism as a philosophy and Mohammedanism as a religion. On a third missionary tour he was mortally wounded on occasion of the outburst of fanatical zeal against his teaching.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE DECLINE OF THE PAPACY.

BONIFACE VIII. (1294-1303), on assuming the papal office, sought to raise it once more to the position of influence it occupied under Innocent III.

Boniface VIII. and Philip the Fair. As a man Boniface was bold and keen, and had thoroughly acquainted himself with the general political situation. He adopted Hildebrand's ideals and ventured to enforce his authority over princes. When complaints came to him from the clergy of France and England that the Church and clergy were being taxed for military purposes, he issued the bull *Clericis Laicos*, forbidding this taxation on pain of excommunication. In Italy, he made his power felt by exiling the ancient and influential family of the Colonna, and thus incurred their implacable enmity. He reproved Philip the Fair of France for seizing on ecclesiastical property. For a time it seemed as if the high-handed administration of the papacy by Innocent III. was about to be duplicated. Boniface was made the arbitrator of a dispute between Philip of France and Edward of England. But Philip did not mean to yield obedience to the pope. He declared that in secular affairs the king of France is subject to no one. The pope issued the bull *Unam Sanctam*, in which he claimed that both secular and spiritual authority are committed to the bishop of Rome, though the former is to be wielded for the Church by the State, without, however, a forfeiture of the right to direct as to how and by whom. Hence every creature

must obey the pope, or else forfeit salvation. The king had the pope seized and confined in prison, where he died.

Benedict XI. (1303-1304) made peace with Philip, but only nine months after the time of his assumption of office, he died suddenly and was succeeded by a Frenchman, Clement V. (1305-1314). Clement was a creature of the French king, and yielding to the desire of the king to free the papacy from Italian influence, he settled down in the city of Avignon instead of taking up his abode, like all his predecessors, at Rome.

The transfer of the papacy to the French city of Avignon marks the beginning of a period of seventy years which has been called the "Babylonian Captivity of the Papacy," from the fact that its duration was of the same length as the duration of the exile of the Jews in Babylonia. It

Babylonian
Captivity of
the Papacy.

is a period of general decline and loss of prestige. The pope, with whom it begins, continued as he began, a rather unwilling tool in the hands of the French king. He did indeed recognize Henry of Luxemburg as emperor after he was elevated to that dignity, contrary to the wishes of king Philip, but he had previously exerted himself in behalf of Philip's candidate against Henry. In other matters, he carried out, with more or less reluctance, the desires of the king. He interpreted away the deliverances of Boniface VIII. as to the relations of Church and State, by making France an exception to them. He removed all personal ecclesiastical discipline on the king. He joined in the struggle against the order of the Templar Knights, and finally suppressed the order, not on the ground of charges proved against them, but for the good of the public. The king's attitude towards the Templars was that of one who feared their great power and wealth as an organization, and desired their suppression by any available means. He brought against them charges of heresy, blasphemy and immorality, and extracted confessions from some members of the order by the use of torture, but when, on a closer investigation by the com-

mission of the council of Vienne (1311), these charges were proved to be groundless, he was satisfied with the bare suppression of the order without special cause.

Under John XXII. (1316-1334), who succeeded Clement V., a new feud between the papacy and the empire broke out. After a conflict with Frederick of Austria, Louis of Bavaria assumed control of the empire without the consent of the pope. For this he was anathematized, but brought counter charges against the pope, and appealed to a future council and a legitimate pope. This feud John bequeathed to his successor, Benedict XII. (1334-1342). Benedict, however, was of a pacific disposition, and would have been reconciled to Louis and even returned to Rome had he been permitted by the French king.

The steady gains of the empire in its struggle with the papacy, found expression in 1356, in an imperial decree, called the Golden Bull, in which the independence of the empire was distinctly asserted and the Electoral College was defined. This college was to have the absolute power of choosing the emperors and was to consist of seven ecclesiastical and secular princes, viz., the archbishop of Cologne, the archbishop of Treves, the archbishop of Mayence, the king of Bohemia, the duke of Saxony, the margrave of Brandenburg and the count Palatine of the Rhine. The effect of the Golden Bull was to prevent further disputes regarding the succession, and consequent appeals to the pope to decide between the contesting candidates for the imperial crown.

Thus the feud was prolonged into the papacy of Clement VI. (1342-1352), who created a rival emperor.

Meantime the spirit of discontent began to brew in Europe, especially in England and Italy. In the latter country Rienzi for a time held sway under a revival of the old republican form of government. The popes continued to rule the Church from Avignon. Innocent VI. (1352-1362) bent his

energies to reducing the use made of the Church by princes for their own secular ends. Urban V. (1362–1370) broke the Babylonian captivity by an effort to return to Rome. But this proved to be a visit rather than a return home. He was persuaded by his cardinals to go back to Avignon. Gregory XI. (1370–1378), finally yielding to the influence of Catherine of Sienna, did put an end to the exile, in spite of the clamors of the cardinals who wished him to stay in the French city (1377).

End of the
Captivity.

Urban VI. (1378–1389), was elected by the cardinals on the distinct understanding that he would go to Avignon again. As he declined, after his election, to take this step, the French cardinals constituting a decided majority of the college, withdrew in a body and elected Clement VII., at Avignon, and declared the election of Urban illegal. Urban appointed new cardinals in their places, and thus with two popes and two colleges of cardinals, a schism was effected which lasted forty years (1378–1417).

The Great
Schism.

The healing of this schism now became the great care of those who loved the Church and its peace. The University of Paris took the initiative in the effort to bring about a reunion, and proposed a plan to the king. Urban was succeeded by Boniface IX. (1389–1404), at Rome; Clement by Benedict XIII. (1394–1433), at Avignon. In the midst of increasing confusion popes succeeded one another at Rome, until an ecumenical council was called at Pisa in 1409. The ruling spirit of this council proved to be Gerson, of the University of Paris. Gregory XII. (1406–1409) was the Roman pope. The council bound itself not to dissolve until ecclesiastical reforms were effected. Alexander V. (1409–1410) was elected pope, while the two rival popes (Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII.) were declared schismatics and heretics and were deposed. Alexander promised to institute reforms in the Church, and in some minor matters fulfilled his promise, but did not go far enough. The rival popes still held to their claims and the Church saw itself

Attempts to
Heal the
Breach.

as at the end of the Tusculan domination, subject to three heads. Alexander, however, died in 1410, and his place was filled by John XXIII. (1410-1415). John was known as a crafty, daring and dissolute man, and all hope of reform was given up as long as he should hold the papacy. The difficulty was solved finally by the emperor Sigismund, who summoned a council at Constance.

The Council of Constance (1414-1418) is the sixteenth ecumenical, and one of the most memorable in the history of the Church. In attendance it was the largest ever held. It brought into the imperial city a concourse of 18,000 priests and over 100,000 strangers. It condemned John Huss to be burned at the stake and settled the schism by taking measures against the rival popes. John XXIII. was brought to trial for his crimes, of which there were enumerated as many as seventy. He was deposed, and sentenced to imprisonment for life. Gregory XII. was also deposed, and, having submitted to this sentence, was made bishop of Porto. Benedict was also deposed as a heretic, but kept up an ineffectual and insignificant resistance for some time. The new pope elected by the council was Martin V. (1417-1431). He also, on assuming office, proved truant to the council and refused to carry out its plans in the matter of reforms. Demands for reforms continued, and two local councils at Pavia and Sienna (1423-1424) gave him occasion by the small attendance mustered, to prosecute a dilatory process and relegate the whole matter to a larger council at Basel.

The Council of Basel was the seventeenth ecumenical (1431). Martin having died before the council met, his successor Eugenius IV. (1431-1447), organized it. Two objects were put before the assembly: first, the extermination of heretics, and second, the purification of the Church.

As to the latter the council went beyond the desires of the pope. Accordingly a decree was issued removing the seat of the council from Basel to Ferrara (1437), and thence subsequently to Florence. Some refused to go to Ferrara and held sessions at Basel.

Council of
Constance.

Council of
Basel. Re-
moval to
Florence.

These the pope excommunicated. They in return instituted legal proceedings against him and deposed him (1439), electing Felix V. in his place. But the authority of Felix was acknowledged by only a small fraction of the Church. But the schism was not allowed to grow. The emperor, Frederick III., mediated between the parties, and found in this work an able aid in the secretary of the council, Æneas Silvius Piccolomini. This talented man came to prominence during the sessions of the council and opposed the pope's plan of removing it to Ferrara. At his suggestion now the parties entered into a compromise, and some of the radical reforms were thus abandoned.

During the period of its sessions at Florence the council undertook the difficult task of reuniting the Greek and Roman branches of Christendom. A basis of agreement was reached by the council and assented to by the representatives of the Eastern Church. According to its terms the "Filioque" was declared a formal deviation from the old standards. Both leavened and unleavened bread were allowed in the Eucharist; the doctrine of Purgatory was admitted, though no definition of its nature was insisted on; the primacy of the Roman pontiff was conceded, and an order agreed upon as to the rank of the Eastern patriarchs according to the old canons. These concessions were not ratified by the Eastern Church in spite of the assent of her delegates at the council, and the agreement proved to be a series of empty resolutions.

The Eastern empire succumbed, soon after this, before the aggressive Ottoman Turks. Constantinople fell in 1453. Meantime Eugenius had successfully diverted the energy of the reforming channel and the remarkable efforts of the advocates of councils as against popes came to an end.

The fall of Constantinople and the dispersion of a large number of educated Greeks in Eastern Europe were followed by a revival of learning which could not fail to touch the Church very speedily. The papacy entered into a new stage of its ex-

Plan to reunite
the Eastern
and Western
Churches.

Fall of Con-
stantinople.

istence which has been properly called the paganized stage. The first of the popes of this stage was Nicholas V. (1447-1455). Nicholas was a lover of classical learning, and had no intention of infusing into the high ecclesiastical office he held the spirit of ancient paganism, but his patronage of the classics naturally brought about this result. He made a large collection of manuscripts which later grew into the famous Vatican library.

Calixtus III. (1455-1458) was the first Borgia to ascend the papal throne, and distinguished himself for crusading zeal and nepotism. As to crusading enterprise, the fall of Eastern Christendom and the threatening attitude of the Turks against the whole of Europe revived the spirit of pride for Christianity and hatred of unbelievers, and it became an ambition and an all-absorbing subject of effort in the Church to expel the enemy of the cross from soil formerly occupied by Christians. Pius II. (1458-1464), (the Æneas Silvius Piccolomini of the council of Basel), himself headed an expedition against the Turks but died on the way at Venice. Pius also seems to have undergone a transformation as he assumed the papacy; for instead of advocating as he did at Basel the subordination of the popes to the councils, he now appears in the light of a most zealous believer in the supremacy of the pope.

His successor, Paul II. (1464-1471), was the first of four popes who have been called the wicked popes. He was pompous and avaricious and an enemy of learning. Sixtus IV. (1471-1484) and the two who came after him treated their position as not even indirectly related with Christianity as a religious and moral system. As far as their conduct indicates, they might have been ignorant of the existence of the simplest and most elementary teachings of the gospel. Sixtus is reported to have had sixteen illegitimate children whose interests he advanced, using his office to this end. He implicated himself in quarrels with the Medici in Florence and made an unsuccessful appeal for a crusade.

Innocent VIII. (1484-1492) followed in the foot-

Revival of
Crusading.

The Wicked
Popes.

steps of his predecessors in immorality, as also in the effort to rouse the Church to a crusade. But Alexander VI. the lowest depth of degradation of the papacy was reached in Alexander VI. (1493-1503), previously Roderigo Borgia. The sole aim of Alexander in securing the papacy seemed to be the foundation of an independent kingdom for his family. He lived in open illicit relation with a concubine, Rosa Vanozza, and without apparent compunctions used his place to promote the interests of his son, Cæsar Borgia, whom he even made bishop and archbishop. The vices of Cæsar were equal to those of his father. He threw off the clerical garb in order that he might the more freely run his career of crime. He is said to have mixed the cup of poison which his father drank by mistake and from which he died.

Pius III. (1503), the immediate successor of Alexander, reigned only a short time. Julius II. (1503-1513), a nephew of Sixtus IV., was a man of Leo X. military talents which he used in freeing Italy from the rule of petty tyrants—among others the infamous Cæsar Borgia. He also convened an ecumenical council at the Lateran, the eighteenth ecumenical (1512), which pronounced against simony in the election of popes. The last of the popes before the Reformation was Leo X. (1513-1521), previously Giovanni Medici, the son of Lorenzo the Magnificent. By natural endowment and education Leo was a lover of art. He at once became the patron of learning and encouraged education in the liberal arts. But he also inherited some of the extravagance and love of display which characterized his father. In this way he used all the revenues of the papacy. As a manager he showed great skill in playing off Spain against France, and succeeded in inducing Francis I. to give up the pragmatic sanction in return for the promise of Milan.

CHAPTER XIV.

LITERATURE AND PHILOSOPHY.

THIS period witnessed a revolution in scholasticism. While the debate between the Thomists and the Scotists went on and men like Thomas Bradwardine Scholasticism. (1290-1349) worked in the spirit of Aquinas and fought the Pelagianism that had found its way into the Church, scholastic learning became diversified by the development on one side of secular and natural science, and on the other of a strongly pronounced mysticism.

The old question between realism and nominalism was revived by William of Occam (1280-1349), who in spite of the professed realism of the Church, William of Occam. taught a form of nominalism (sometimes called conceptualism). Occam was a Franciscan and a disciple of Scotus. He denied the existence of universal ideas except in the mind. Hence theology may not be an exact science. The pope may err, as also may councils. All the hierarchy may be given up if the Church require it. The emperor may appoint or depose the pope. These views Occam was able to teach from München under the protection of Louis of Bavaria.

At the same time, and under the protection of the same monarch, Marsilius of Padua (1275-1342) in the *Defensor Pacis* taught a more thoroughgoing ecclesiastico-political theory. The Church, according to this author, is a spiritual body having no judicial or punitive functions. The

Marsilius of
Padua.

clergy can only teach, warn, counsel. All priests are equal. Christian communities have the right to appoint their own pastors and bishops. Holy Scripture is the only source of faith.

The revolutionary views of Occam were finally combined by the last of the scholastics—Gabriel Biel (?—1495)—with the deliverances of the council of Constance and Basel, and disseminated, to the detriment of the idea of papal infallibility and the exaltation of the authority of councils.

Mysticism broke loose from the scholastic method with Meister Eckart (1260–1327). Eckart's theory of knowledge is fundamental to his mode of thought. Knowledge is the union of knowing subject and object known. Full knowledge of God is the result of absorption in the divine essence. This was too subtle to be popularly understood at the time, but it had the charm of religious fervor which always attracts.

John Tauler (1290–1361), starting as a Dominican monk, adopted Eckart's mysticism, but purged it of its pantheistic tendency and gave it a practical turn. He labored in Strasburg and Cologne as a preacher, and though his mysticism often roused the suspicions of his contemporaries, his sermons and his treatise on the *Imitation of the Poverty of Christ* indicate no tendency to swerve from the beaten path. To Tauler has sometimes been ascribed *The Master's Book*, giving an account of the author's conversion, but it was perhaps a work of Nicholas of Basel, a member of the sect called The Friends of God, who was burned for heresy at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

Henry Suso (1295–1366) cultivated with great diligence the emotional element in his religious nature. He made for himself an allegory in which wisdom became the object of his love. Personifying wisdom, he sought to win her as a bride through mortification and suffering. He was closely

associated with Eckart and was partially won over by Eckart from exaggerated self-tortures. But he continued to live under the spell of warm religious feeling which to the end worked on his imagination.

John Ruysbroek (1298-1386) was also under the influence of Eckart. He expounded his mystical contemplations in the Flemish language. He was preserved by a sound moral nature from extravagance, though he lived by preference in solitude, spent his time in religious meditation, and acquired great reputation and influence.

John Ruys-
broek.

All the above named mystics emanate from Eckart's circle and are careful to maintain their connection and own their allegiance to the Church Catholic.

"The Friends of God." A much larger number whose individual identity has been lost were not as scrupulous about their association with the Church, considering it corrupt and liable to the visitation of the wrath of God. These formed the ascetic contemplative sect of The Friends of God.

Finally, from indifference to the authority of the Church mysticism passed into actual denial of the truth of its teachings and opposition to the established moral and religious order in the sect of the Brethren of the Spirit. These denied the existence of God apart from the world, deified human nature, and asserted its independence and the sovereignty of the human spirit, and therefore the injuriousness of ecclesiastical laws.

Another type of mysticism is represented in Thomas à Kempis who flourished a century later than Eckart (1380-1471). A Kempis gave himself to the contemplation of the divine character as revealed in the Bible. His object was to lead men to Christ as the Truth by a process of quiet communion. His work on the *Imitation of Christ* has taken its place among religious classics and exercised a vast influence for good, having passed through thousands of editions.

Thomas à
Kempis.

Natural science had been cultivated before this age only incidentally by individuals, such as Albertus Magnus

and Roger Bacon. Though no tendency appears even at this time to enter this field in earnest, yet the bearings of a study of nature on questions of theology are realized by Raymond of Sabunde (fl. 1435), who wrote *Liber Naturæ sive Creaturæ* (1435). His theory is that God's first revelation is to be read in nature. Sin and the fall only make a direct revelation in the Scriptures necessary.

Biblical learning also remained, as in the ages past, a comparatively barren field. In Nicholas de Lyra (? 1270-1352), however, a new principle began to be seen in the interpretation of the Scriptures. Instead of resorting to the ancient fathers to learn the contents of the Bible, Nicholas goes to the Bible itself. And here, instead of looking for figurative and allegorical meanings, he seeks for the literal and historical sense. Faber Stapulensis (1455-1537), going a step further, departs from the usage of making the Vulgate version the basis of study and reverts to the Scriptures in the original languages.

While the intellectual movement within the Church was thus towards the broadening of the scholasticism of the preceding age, a mighty revolution was going on outside the Church. This has been termed the Renaissance (Renaissance or Revival of Learning). Various factors and forces conspired at this time to bring about the change. The mariner's compass had been, no doubt, used in Europe before this age, but its use became more common now, rendering travel and the exchange of opinions easy. The invention of gunpowder also had more than one indirect effect on human living and thinking. But the most forcible impulse to the change was given by the printing press (1450). Coming as this does nearly at the same time as the diffusion of Greek learning which followed the capture of Constantinople, it served as a swift vehicle for the transmission of those ideas which the renewed study of Greek authors could not but bring before the minds of men.

Classical ideals and ideas, as far as the knowledge of

the Latin only could furnish them, were already before the Italians at the time of Dante (1265-1321), Petrarch (1304-1374), and Boccaccio (1313-1375). But it was after the fall of the Eastern empire that a Platonic academy was formed in Florence under Cosimo de Medici (1389-1464). Marsilius Ficinu (1433-1499) translated Plato into Latin, and Pico de la Mirandola (1463-1494) devised his scheme of reconciliation between the Platonic and Aristotelian systems, as well as between philosophy and religion. These studies mark the beginning of humanism in literature. From Italy it passed into Germany. Among its first disseminators was Rudolf Agricola (1443-1485). Through his friend, the bishop of Worms, Agricola was instrumental in commending humanism to the German Church. The bishop of Worms brought to the front John Reuchlin, one of the most enthusiastic scholars of the age. Reuchlin (1455-1522) learned Hebrew of a Jew and wrote a Hebrew grammar, thus becoming the father of Hebrew lore among modern Christians. Soon the adherents of the new movement were carried away by pagan ideas to the extent of denying many positions held firmly in the Church, and were fiercely attacked by the monks. As the humanists made their appeal to the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures, the monks demanded the destruction of all Hebrew writings except the Old Testament Scriptures. For this they were called obscurantists, and mercilessly caricatured by the humanists.

One of the most active in this warfare between humanism and obscurantism was Desiderius Erasmus (1457-1536), a man of the keenest sensibility as well as of wide learning and an assiduous worker. Erasmus distinguished himself as the editor of many of the ancient fathers, and especially for first putting into printed form before the public the Greek Testament (1516). In England humanism was represented by John Colet, dean of St. Paul's, and Thomas More the author of the *Utopia*, in which he describes an ideal state constructed on rational principles.

Erasmus.
More. Colet.

CHAPTER XV.

SPIRITUAL LIFE.

BONIFACE VIII. was the originator of the idea of jubilees. In order to celebrate the close of the thirteenth century fittingly at Rome, he proclaimed the
The Jubilee. year 1300 a jubilee and promised absolution from all their sins to all who should in penitence visit the churches of the apostles. This brought a concourse of 200,000 people into Rome and proved a large source of revenue to the holy see. The example of Boniface was, therefore, followed by his successors in after years. At first every fiftieth, and later every twenty-fifth year were proclaimed jubilee years. Instead of actual attendance at Rome, however, for the sake of obtaining absolution, the payment into the Church's treasury of the cost of the journey was permitted as sufficient. The influence of this system was to strengthen the popular belief in the efficacy of penance, and set out more clearly the Church's doctrine of indulgences.

The doctrine of indulgences matured during the previous age. According to the principle underlying it the Church imposes a penalty for every confessed
Indulgences. sin. But such penalty can be transmuted from a work involving humiliation and suffering into the payment of a sum of money into the Church's treasury. At first indulgences were granted in remission of only part of the penalty imposed; afterwards they were issued as plenary remission for the whole of the penalty; and, finally, at the end of the period, it became the custom to give them in anticipation of the commission of the sin and the imposition of the penance.

In enforcing discipline the Church devised the special institution called the Inquisition. The Dominicans took charge of the work of hunting out and bringing to trial heretics, as early as 1235. The secrecy of their procedure and the doubtful methods used in securing evidence made the system unpopular. In France, Bernard Felicieux protested against its admission into the country (1320). Its hold on Germany was loose. In Spain, however, it was rigidly applied under Ferdinand and Isabella. Its organization was brought to the highest perfection under Torquemada (1483-1499), who was put at its head; its scope also was broadened, so that not only heretics, but Jews and sorcerers were made objects of its search.

But while the Roman hierarchy tightened its grasp on the Church, and the papacy set its face like flint against reform, the spirit of discontentment with corruption found vent in the preaching of a few who rose above fear, and like the prophets of the old dispensation, denounced evil in high places. Of these precursors of the Reformation the earliest was the Englishman, Wyclif. John Wyclif (1320-1384) was sprung from a noble family in Yorkshire, educated at Oxford and became master of Balliol College. The political condition of England in his day was favorable to the development of independence from continental control both in State and Church. The papacy was under the influence of the French, but the French were the national enemies of England. To one who could utilize the political feeling the way was open for the utterance of many sentiments which under other circumstances the hierarchy would have visited with swift and severe punishment. Wyclif knew how to take advantage of the situation. He used his great ability and learning in a warfare against the abuses he saw in the Church. The pope, he held, was not infallible. His bulls and decrees had no authority except so far as they were based on Scripture. The functions of the clergy did not include ruling, but service and helping. For such views he was condemned by Gregory XI. (1377), but protected by Parliament. He was, however, ex-

cluded from the university (1382) by the Earthquake Council and retired to his parish at Lutterworth. His increasing love and dependence on the Scriptures led him to translate them into English. He was not molested by further persecution and died at Lutterworth in 1384.*

Wyclif's books were carried into Bohemia and there used by John Huss (1369-1415). Huss was appointed professor of philosophy at Prague and began his teaching upon the basis of the views of Wyclif. The agitation which followed only spread the knowledge and acceptance of Wyclif's views. At this juncture a political rupture between the Germans and Bohemians promised to issue to the advantage of Huss. Wenzel, the king of Bohemia advocated his cause. He also gained the support of the able Jerome of Prague. The pope did indeed excommunicate him, citing him at the same time to appear at Rome; but the favor of the king, together with that of the people, enabled him to go on in spite of the pope. Even the archbishop of Prague was obliged to tolerate him. When John XXIII. offered indulgences for sale, Huss boldly denounced the measure as traffic in sin. The pope now resorted to extreme measures. He laid Huss' place of residence under the interdict. This led the emperor Sigismund to summon him to the council of Constance, with the promise of safe-conduct thither and back. As Huss had himself made his appeal "to a council, to Christ and to God," he felt constrained to go. The council condemned his teachings as heretical, the emperor failed to carry out the promise of safe-conduct, and Huss and his companion Jerome were burned at the stake.

* But his remains were later exhumed, burned, and the ashes thrown into a brook tributary to the Avon, a fact which Wordsworth has rendered into a symbol of the spread of Wyclif's views :

"As thou these ashes, little Brook, wilt bear
 Into the Avon, Avon to the tide
 Of Severn, Severn to the narrow seas,
 Into the main ocean they, this deed accurst
 An emblem yields to friends and enemies
 How the bold teacher's doctrine sanctified
 By truth, shall spread throughout the world dispersed."
Ecl. Sonnets. Pt. II., xvii.

Meantime his followers had increased in numbers and power sufficiently to defy the authority of the pope.

Hussite War. Upon the death of Wenzel, their king, they refused allegiance to Sigismund as one who had broken his word. This led to the Hussite War. The Hussites, meantime divided into two parties the Calixtines and the Taborites. The Calixtines (also called Utraquists)* held first of all that the cup in the Eucharist should be given to the laity also. They held besides that the gospel should be preached to the people, that the clergy should return to apostolic simplicity, and that the congregation should have the right of punishing all moral sin. The Taborites were more radical and rejected everything that could not be grounded on Scripture.

Calixtines and Taborites. They were led by the heroic Ziska. The Calixtines were enticed to reunite with the Catholic Church, apparently on their own terms (1433). The Taborites were defeated in the battle of Prague (1334) and the compact with the Calixtines proved a dead letter. Some, however, persisted in their opposition to the Church until the breaking out of the Reformation and joined with its adherents.

Another memorable attempt at reformation independently, however, of Wyclif, and Huss, was made by the enthusiastic Italian friar Jerome (Girolamo) *Savonarola*. Savonarola (1452-1498). Savonarola appeared in public life as a monk, and from 1481 as the abbot of San Marco in Florence. In theology he was a follower of Thomas Aquinas, whose order (the Dominican) he had joined. He began by reforming the monastery over which he was called to preside. Encouraged by his success here and by the crowds which his eloquent preaching attracted at the Duomo, he undertook the reformation of Florence. In this work he naturally encountered the opposition of the family of the Medici. He claimed the power of prediction and foretold, it was said, the death of Innocent VIII., the down-

*The name Calixtine was applied from the demand of this party for the cup (*Calyx*); the name Utraquist from their insisting that the Lord's Supper must be administered in both species (*utraque*).

fall of the Medici, and the invasion of Florence by the foreign army of Charles VIII of France. The latter event gave him great power. The existing government of Florence was overthrown and a theocracy with Savonarola at its head was established. But now the pope Alexander VI. interfered. The reformer was summoned to Rome. Alexander, in his eagerness to get possession of Savonarola, went even to the extent of offering him a cardinal's hat. But the monk did not allow himself to be beguiled. Excommunication was resorted to, also, without avail. Finally the interdict was laid on Florence. Savonarola agreed to submit to the ordeal of fire, but appeared to withdraw at the last moment. The populace wavered in their faith in him and turned against him. Bereft of supporters he was seized and with two of his followers hung on the gallows and then burned. While differing in many particulars from the English and Bohemian reformers, the Italian, like them, preached salvation by faith, and apart from submission to the Roman hierarchy and the use of the Roman ritual. Savonarola had denied the authority of the pope and denounced the corruption of the Church.

PART III. THE MODERN PERIOD.

(A. D. 1517— —.)

CHAPTER I.

THE RISE OF THE REFORMATION.

AMONG the other works which Leo X., in his zeal to adorn Rome with good art, had undertaken, was the completion of the church of St. Peter. The building of this magnificent structure had been begun by Julius II. in 1506, but was interrupted and threatened with failure for lack of funds sufficient to carry it through. Leo X. resorted to a mode of financiering previously used by other popes under similar circumstances. This was the raising of funds by the sale of indulgences. Germany seemed to offer a specially inviting market for indulgences. Under the weak rule of the emperor Maximilian the papal hierarchy had managed to obtain an undisputed hold on it. The pope divided Germany into three districts, and committed one of them to the care of Albrecht, archbishop of Mainz and Magdeburg. The archbishop was to receive for his services in aiding the sale one-half of the net proceeds for himself. Under the provisions of the scheme, John Tetzel, a Dominican monk, who had gained some skill in the traffic of indulgences by experience, and was moreover a persuasive popular speaker, appeared on the borders of Saxony and set up his trade.

Here, however, he met with unexpected opposition from Martin Luther. In order to enter into Luther's mo-

tives in this course it will be necessary briefly to review his previous life. He was born Nov. 10, Martin Luther's early Life. 1483, at Eisleben. His parents were in humble circumstances. He was educated at the university of Erfurt, where he came in contact with several young humanists, but was not attracted by their frivolous manner of life. Nevertheless, he studied the classics and was pursuing advanced studies, having already received the degree of Master of Arts, when he was alarmed about his religious condition by the sudden death of a friend, and entered with all haste an Augustinian monastery in spite of the protests of his parents.

In the monastery he continued his studies, especially giving attention to the works of Thomas Aquinas and William of Occam. He also here formed the Martin Luther a Monk and Professor at Wittenberg. acquaintance of John Staupitz, a devout man, who directed him to the Scriptures as the source of light. Luther was ordained priest in 1507, and transferred to Wittenberg the following year to connect himself with the new university in that place (founded 1502). In 1511, he was sent by his order on a mission to Rome. It was while in the city of the popes and in the performance of the supposed highly meritorious act of penance—the climbing of the twenty-eight steps of the Scala Santa—that his studies in the Bible, the teachings of Staupitz and his past meditations on the subject of salvation were focused in a vivid impression that the external penance in which he was engaged was unavailing as a means of justification before God. He seemed to realize the Scripture, “The just shall live by faith.” On his return to his post at Wittenberg, he lectured on the epistles to the Romans and to the Galatians, and on the Psalms. His religious experience deepened daily and his powers matured.

When Tetzels made his appearance, Luther had already formed his views on penance and indulgences. He had even preached in 1516 against indulgences. The Posting of the Ninety-five Theses. But the formal way in which the traffic was carried on led him to a distinct act, calling attention to his opposition to it and

the grounds of such opposition. He nailed on the gate of the Castle church* at Wittenberg ninety-five theses or propositions, in which he denounced the papal teaching and proclaimed the Bible teaching on the subject of forgiveness of sin. He invited any one who wished to controvert these theses to a public disputation on a stated occasion. No one took up the challenge; but the fame of the theses went abroad.

Luther was summoned to Rome, but by intercession of the elector of Saxony, it was agreed that his views should be investigated in Augsburg. Here, accordingly, in 1518, he met Cajetan, the representative of the pope. The conference proved fruitless. Another attempt to take him to Rome, in which the pope used the Saxon Miltitz as his agent, resulted in a temporary truce. Luther promised silence on the subject of indulgences if his opponents would also keep silence. But as this was impossible under the circumstances, a disputation was appointed at Leipzig and carried on in 1519. Luther, Carlstadt, an imprudent man and more violent than Luther, and Eck on the papal side, were the disputants. The disputation ended by Luther's planting himself squarely on the Bible and refusing to accept the authority of popes, fathers, or even councils, to which he had previously attributed some decisive weight.

There remained now nothing for the pope to do but excommunicate Luther. This step he accordingly took in 1520. Luther's treatment of the bull of excommunication was symbolical of his final rejection of the Roman yoke. At the head of a procession of students of the university he took the bull out of the city, and together with a copy of the canon law, he threw it into a fire specially prepared for the occasion. About the same time he assumed the task of preparing the laity for the rupture with Rome which he saw was impending. In three documents he laid before the nation the fundamental principles of the new movement. The first of these is the *Address to the German*

Leipzig
Disputation.

Excommuni-
cation.

* *Schloss-Kirche.*

Nobility, and insists on the independence of the German nation from papal rule. The second, on the *Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, is an attack on the papal teaching on the sacraments. It denies the sacramental nature of all but baptism and the Lord's Supper, and on the Lord's Supper it denies transubstantiation and asserts consubstantiation. The third, on *Christian Freedom*, dwells on the nature of spiritual liberty as given by Christ.

The labors of Luther now began to be shared by a group of companions providentially raised, and endowed with special gifts for the task. First among Melanchthon. these stands Philip Melanchthon (1497-1560), a rare scholar, who was destined through his logical acumen and wide scholarship to formulate the teachings of the reforming party. He was the nephew of the humanist Reuchlin, and early showed an aptness for classical studies, mastering the Greek and Latin with great ease. He was made professor of Greek and philosophy in the university of Wittenberg, and at once entered into Luther's ideas and gave him the aid of his accurate scholarship. He was more moderate in temperament than Luther, and could see the good that might exist in an antagonist's position. Another friend Luther found in Ulrich von Hutten (1488-1523), an ardent humanist and too impetuous to be long content with the course of Luther.

In 1521 the movement in the Church headed by Luther had acquired such proportions that the pope appealed to the imperial Diet to put Luther under the ban Diet of Worms. in order that the excommunication might be effectually carried out. As, however, he could not be condemned, according to German usage, without being heard, he was summoned to appear before the Diet at Worms. Luther was given an imperial safe-conduct and made his appearance. On being ushered for the first time before the emperor and the princes of the Diet, he asked for time to consider his answer. But on the next day he made his answer with firmness, closing with the memorable words: "I can and will retract nothing, for it is neither safe nor expedient to act against conscience.

Here I stand; I can do no otherwise: God help me! Amen." The Diet was presided over by the emperor Charles V., a firm Roman Catholic by heredity and training, and as king of Spain, where the extreme blind submission to the Roman Church was the rule, he declared against the toleration of Luther. The Diet put the reformer under the ban.

Thus excommunicated by the Church and outlawed by the State, Luther began his return journey towards Wittenberg. On the way he was seized by a company of men and carried to the fortress of the Wartburg. This step was taken in his interest by the elector Frederick of Saxony on the supposition that a period of absence from the active scenes of labor and conflict would allay the excitement and give Luther a better opportunity to carry on his work later. At the Wartburg Luther was detained for the space of a year, not, however, passing the time in idleness, but in the most useful of all employments, the translation of the New Testament into German.

Meantime, during his absence from Wittenberg, Carlstadt gave utterance to incendiary sentiments and in his zeal even led the reforming party to acts of a violent and destructive kind, such as the breaking of images and pulling down of altars. Reinforced by certain persons who, under the name of the Zwickau prophets, urged the people to deeds of violence, Carlstadt and his adherents had in fact begun a rebellion which imperiled the good cause at Luther's heart. He therefore decided, on learning of these doings, to abandon his seclusion and its safety and restore order at Wittenberg. In spite of the protest of the elector, he came forth and by timely preaching he induced the people to assume a quieter attitude, remaining thenceforth in their midst.

The failure of the decree of the Diet of Worms to produce any practical effect led Pope Hadrian VI. to demand of the next Diet (at Nuremberg) that this decision be enforced, but the Diet simply answered by presenting a list of a hundred grievances against the Roman see. An-

Luther at the
Wartburg.

The Zwickau
Prophets at
Wittenberg.

Diets of Nurem-
berg and
Speyer.

other Diet at Nuremberg two years later, in answer to the same demand made by Clement VII., passed that the decree of Worms should be executed "as far as possible." In other words, the subject was remanded to the several princes of the Diet. Meantime, political troubles were brewing, in the midst of which no decisive action could be taken. Finally at a Diet in Speyer (Spire, 1529), it was resolved to forbid the further spread of the Lutheran movement. Against this action a "Protest" was entered by the elector of Saxony, the Margrave of Brandenburg, the Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, the Landgrave of Hesse, and the Prince of Anhalt and fourteen cities. From this Protest the name Protestant passed on the whole movement. The movement also assumed henceforth a political aspect of great importance.

In this state of affairs the Diet of Augsburg met in 1530. The emperor felt assured of his power to coerce the Protestants; yet he sought by a final peaceful effort to persuade them to return. The Diet was used as a conference seeking for a basis of agreement. Melancthon put forth the Confession—the earliest and most widely accepted of all Protestant creeds—which has ever been distinguished by the name of Augsburg. But compromise and reconciliation were demonstrated to be impossible, and the Diet of Augsburg is significant in history for this conclusion, if for nothing else.

In the meantime Luther's marriage with Catherine von Bora, an escaped nun, followed by the marriage of other clerical adherents of the Reform, caused a scandal and at the same time widened the breach between Protestantism and Rome. Luther further entered into controversy with King Henry VIII. of England. This monarch, in a treatise meant to answer Luther's attack on the Church doctrine of the sacraments, assumed the rôle of theologian and champion of Catholic doctrine. The debate was characterized by the most violent use of language on both sides. Another controversy arose between Luther and Erasmus. The great humanist was not opposed to the reformation

Diet of Augsburg.

Luther's Marriage. His Disputes with Henry VIII.

of the Church; in fact, he was himself doing all that he deemed wise towards this end. But he expected reform to come by way of culture and education, and not by way of theological debate and schism. He lacked the religious fervor necessary to understand and take a share in Luther's work, although at first he sympathized with the end in view. The controversy between the two men had reference ostensibly to the question of free will and predestination, but became a personal dispute in which they exchanged compliments in the unreserved fashion of the day.

Finally the Peasants' War in 1525 threatened to complicate and even imperil the cause of the Reformation.

The peasants of Germany had endured for many years grievous wrongs and were restless when the new religious doctrines and the ferment produced by them stimulated the spirit of rebellion against existing authorities. There were not lacking leaders, too, who pointed to the Scriptures for the warrant of the course proposed by the peasants. Luther steadily resisted every effort to mix up the cause of a spiritual Christianity with political movements. When the rebellion broke out, he advised the princes to put it down with a strong hand. He foresaw that in case it should succeed fanaticism would reign and wild anarchy would result.

But while Luther was guiding the opposition to the papacy in Germany, with wisdom and vigor, another movement in the same direction was growing in strength and importance daily. This was led by Zwingli in Switzerland. Like the reform in Germany, this was also occasioned by the sale of indulgences, though here, as in Germany, the causes lay much deeper than the occasion, and the movement was bound up in the zeal and wisdom of a great leader, Ulrich Zwingli. Zwingli was born in 1484 at Wildhaus, an obscure town in the mountains. His youth was spent at home and his education taken at Basel and Berne. He also became fond of the classics, and was led to examine the Bible and to recognize its absolute authority.

The condition of Switzerland led to his taking a deep interest in military matters, and to a certain extent in the affairs of the State. He was made pastor of a church at Glarus and was thence transferred to Einsiedeln (1516).

It was while here that he came in conflict with the Roman Church in the matters of indulgences, taking a certain Samson, a seller of indulgences, as the object of his attack. From Einsiedeln he removed to Zürich in 1519.

This position was much more favorable for the spread of his views. He began by expounding the Scriptures to the

Spread of His Views.

people, and was listened to with intense interest by multitudes. Here in 1523 he engaged in two disputations, successfully attacking the external polity and worship of the Roman Church. In 1525 he published his *Commentary on True and False Religion*. This served to define his position and gave the keynote to the Swiss reformation. From Zürich the views of Zwingli spread to Basel through the efforts of Ecolampadius. Schaffhausen, St. Gall, and Berne also adopted them and the reform movement seemed well started.

The Swiss movement, however, soon became involved in the political situation. A line of division appeared coinciding with that separating the mountain cantons from the cities. The highlands were conservative. The valley cities declared for reform. The two sides were organized and war appeared inevitable, but was delayed by negotiations and a temporary truce (1529).

Political Complications.

The question how far the Zwinglian and Lutheran reforms were on a common ground could not, of course, fail to be suggested. It was evident that

Lutheran and Zwinglian Reforms Compared. Sacramentarian Controversy.

Zwingli had arrived at his conclusions independently of Luther. The standpoints of the two reformers were slightly different. While Luther took the Bible as a corrective of abuse and would therefore leave untouched all that was not positively contrary to its teachings, Zwingli took the Bible as a source and measure of construction anew, and would

allow nothing to stand that was not directly derived from it. Luther kept his eye single on the religious aspect of the reformation and would not permit its association with political issues; whereas Zwingli aimed at the political as well as the spiritual regeneration of his country. But the most troublesome difference between the German and Swiss reformers had reference to the question of the Lord's Supper. Luther had come to the conclusion that the body and blood of Christ were present in the sacrament, but not by way of the change of the bread and wine into them, but rather by way of the infusion of the real body and blood in the consecrated elements of bread and wine, so that they are permeated and possessed just as red hot iron is permeated by fire. Zwingli on the other hand asserted that the sacrament was nothing more than a commemorative service of the death of Christ.

To bring about an understanding between the reformers on this point, and at the same time to lead them to a personal acquaintance with one another, a conference was held at Marburg. Luther was here accompanied by Melancthon, and Zwingli by Œcolampadius. The subject was discussed, but Luther, choosing the text "This is my body", would proceed no further than the literal interpretation. The conference broke up without having effected the union desired.

The peace patched up between the Catholic cantons and the Protestant cities of Switzerland was never meant by the Catholics to be kept in good faith. The cities, exasperated by the frequent violation of its terms, decided to coerce the cantons. In the war that ensued the Protestants were defeated and Zwingli was slain (1531). But at the peace which was concluded soon afterwards, the right of each canton to decide its own religious questions was conceded. With the death of Œcolampadius, its second great leader, within a week after the conclusion of this peace, the Swiss reformation fell back into a slower pace and began to depend for its life and growth more and more on its association with the movement in the rest of Europe.

One of the sequels of the Diet of Augsburg was the

Marburg Conference.

Religious War in Switzerland. Death of Zwingli.

formation of the League of Smalcald, 1531, for the protection of the Protestants, whose destruction the emperor put before himself as a prime object. But the threatening attitude of the Turks and the greatness of the work of putting down the league, strengthened as it was by the accession of Denmark and of the Duke of Bavaria, led Charles V. to delay his repressive measures and to come to an understanding with the Protestant princes in the Peace of Nüremberg, according to whose terms the religious question was referred to a future Diet or a council. This peace gave Protestantism an opportunity to make new gains. Alarmed by its spread, the Catholics banded themselves together in the Holy League (Nüremberg, 1538).

Once more the idea of a peaceful settlement of the difficulty came to the front, and a conference was held at Ratisbon in 1541. Luther had no confidence in further efforts at reunion with the Catholic Church. Neither was he present at the conference. Those who did participate in it were certainly better qualified by their moderation and pacific temper than any others to effect an understanding, if it were possible. These were on the Protestant side, Melanchthon, and on the Catholic, Contarini, a man of prudent and devout disposition who was ready in some respects to agree with the Protestants. But the conference found no basis of reconciliation and broke up without any other effect than the deepening of the conviction that the gulf between the parties was impassable.

The next five years were passed in a sort of armed truce. The empire was distracted by fears of trouble with the Mohammedans, and the Protestant league was rent with internal dissensions.

Luther died in 1546. His last days were marked by personal despondency induced by waning health. While his faith in the cause to which he had given his life was undiminished, and his personal religious experience grew richer, his view of affairs at Wittenberg became gloomy. He was irritated by petty difficulties,

League of
Smalcald.
Peace of Nü-
remberg.

Conference at
Ratisbon.

Death of
Luther.

and his friends were taxed to the utmost to maintain his confidence in them.

Finally the war cloud burst in 1546. The strife in the ranks of the Protestants resulted in the defection of Maurice, Duke of Saxony. The Protestants were worsted.

The Elector of Saxony was captured and the Landgrave of Hesse submitted (1547). The emperor dictated the Augsburg Interim, according to whose terms, until the whole controversy could be settled by a council, Protestants and Catholics were to live on the basis of a compromise. This was pleasing to neither party, and Maurice with the aid of Melancthon modified it in the interest of Protestantism, and presented it as the Leipzig Interim. But neither was this to last long. The same Prince Maurice, disappointed with the results of his course in forsaking the side of his people and joining forces with the emperor, now suddenly turned against his former ally, and, in a rapid campaign brought the emperor to terms, forcing him in the Treaty of Passau (1552) to refer the difficulties to a Diet in which Protestants as well as Catholics should take part. This Diet, accordingly, met at Augsburg in 1555 and put an

end to the war in the celebrated Peace of Augsburg. The provisions of this peace were, in the first place, that every prince should choose between the Catholic religion and the Augsburg Confession, and the religion thus chosen should be that of the land over which the prince ruled. But, secondly, prelates or ecclesiastical princes must first resign their benefices, if they wished to adopt Protestantism.

CHAPTER II.

THE SPREAD OF THE REFORMATION.

THE first region to welcome the Reformation after it was fairly begun in Germany was that inhabited by the Scandinavian peoples. The unsettled political condition of the Scandinavian countries, however, involved the religious movement in a network of political relations. Christian II. of Denmark (1513-1523) was, no doubt, moved by political considerations when he first favored Protestantism, and later adopted exactly the opposite policy. When he was overthrown and Frederick I., Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, was raised to the throne, this monarch also changed his attitude towards the reform movement, and from an intolerant Catholic became a friend of Lutheranism, and saw this form of belief steadily gaining ground both among the people and the nobility. Under Christian III. the Reformation was formally legalized. Monasteries were secularized, superintendents were appointed over the churches, in place of the bishops, though bearing the name of bishops, and the king himself was crowned at Copenhagen by Bugenhagen a Lutheran divine. Norway was next drawn into the revolution which swept over Denmark, and reduced to a province of that kingdom, and Iceland a few years later joined Norway and Denmark in the column of Protestant countries.

The Reforma-
tion in Den-
mark.

Iceland.
Norway.

The views of Luther were carried into Sweden by two students from Wittenberg, Olaf and Laurence Peter-

sen (1519). The country was, however, under the Danes, and a political revolution was impending which came about in the elevation of Gustavus Vasa, a young noble, to the throne of an independent Sweden. Vasa favored Lutheranism from the beginning. He gave Lutherans high offices, confiscated the vast property of the Church, obtaining thereto the consent of the Diet of Westeras (1527), and, by threatening to resign the throne and plunge the nation into anarchy, firmly established Protestantism in the land. So firmly indeed did Protestantism take hold of Sweden during his long reign (1523-1560), that when his successor Eric XIV. (1560-1568), who was also a Protestant and Calvinist gave place to John III. (1568-1592) and Catholicism was given a full opportunity to regain the land, it was unable to do so, in spite of the efforts of the Jesuits.

In France Francis I. (1515-1547) was reigning when Luther first blew the trumpet of reform. For more than fifteen years the king maintained towards the new movement if not a favoring attitude, at least a neutral one. His sister Margaret, Queen of Navarre, took more openly the side of the reforming party. Lefèvre (Faber Stapulensis) had prepared the way for the reception of the new teachings by his expositions of the Scriptures,* and Briçonnet, bishop of Meaux, appeared to adopt them. But the Parliament and the Sorbonne (a conservative school of thought) opposed these views and succeeded in rousing a storm of persecution before which Briçonnet deemed it wise to bow. Finally the king himself was induced in 1534 to pronounce against the heretics, and even take part in putting some of them to death. There is no doubt that he was led to this course by the belief that the unity of his kingdom and with it its prestige and influence were threatened by the toleration of the Reformation.† He was not averse to a quiet reformation of the Erasmian type, nor did he

* See Pt. II. ch. XIV.

† He was accustomed to use the maxim "un roi, une loi, une foi."

undervalue the importance of the political alliance with the Protestants of Germany in his conflicts with his old rival Charles V., but he feared the revolutionary effect of a reformation after the Lutheran type, on the stability of the French government. Hence to the end of his reign the policy which prevailed in France was that of tacit opposition to Protestantism.

But if the attitude of Francis towards the new movement was vacillating and uncertain, that of his son and successor Henry II. (1547-1559) was clear and determined from the outset. This monarch united with the Sorbonne in the effort to extirpate heresy by burning the persons of the heretics as well as their books. And yet in spite of these efforts Protestantism grew in France at a rate which alarmed its opponents. Persecution seemed to fail in the hands of king and clergy.

In Great Britain Henry VIII. had taken up the cudgels in behalf of the Catholic faith and embroiled himself in a controversy on the sacraments with Luther, in which he was obliged to hear some unkind words from the Saxon reformer; but his zeal was rewarded by Pope Leo X. with the title of Defender of the Faith. But the adherence of Henry to the Roman see was not strong enough to stand the strain of personal interest. As he came to feel that his marriage with Catharine of Aragon should be annulled, and the pope declined, perhaps for reasons political and prudential, to annul it, Henry resolved to declare the independence of the Church in England from the authority of the bishop of Rome (1532). Yet, while the personal desire of the king to be freed from the yoke of a marriage which was contrary to the canons of the Church and distasteful to him, and permitted to wed the woman for whom he had contracted a strong passion—Anne Boleyn—was a potent factor in determining his course, it must be noted that there were other considerations of a political nature pointing in the same direction. The national independence of England from continental European disturbances was intimately connected with the ecclesi-

Under Henry II.

In England under Henry VIII.

astical separation from Rome. It was for this reason that the king found in Cranmer a most willing auxiliary to his plans of divorce and remarriage, and in the Parliament a ready response to his request that the headship of the Church should be vested in the crown instead of the pope. Cranmer declared the marriage with Catharine of Aragon invalid. The Parliament passed the Act of Supremacy, according to which "the king, his heirs and successors were declared the only supreme head on earth of the Church in England, called the *Anglicana Ecclesia*" (1534). The next step was to dispossess the Church of Rome of all rights of property in the land. This was accomplished by the abolition of the cloisters and the confiscation of their possessions.

Rupture with Rome.

The divorce of the king was opposed by Thomas More and bishop Fisher. For this attitude they were seized and thrown into the Tower, where after a year they were taken out only to be led to the block. The pope (Paul III.) now proceeded to excommunicate Henry (1535); the bull of excommunication also declared the subjects of the king absolved from their allegiance to him. Henry had a wise adviser in Thomas Cromwell, who urged the combination of all the Protestant powers along with France, England taking the lead, in a grand alliance against the pope and the emperor. To prepare the way for this, however, it was necessary for the Protestantism of England to organize internally. This was, accordingly, done by the publication of the Great Bible and the adoption of the Ten Articles (1536). But a casual glance at these articles, shows that the reform aimed at was not to be doctrinal; they teach salvation by faith, but declare good works also to be necessary; further, the use of images in worship, invocation of saints, and auricular confession are in them approved, and purgatory accepted as a reality, though the power of the pope to deliver from it is denied. In 1539 the king made up his mind to force the reactionary Six Articles according to which transubstantiation, the administration of the Lord's Supper

Progress of the Reformation.

in one kind only to the laity, auricular confession, the celibacy of the clergy, the obligation of vows of chastity, and private masses were made articles of faith. The leaders, including Cranmer, Latimer, and Cromwell, were opposed to this measure. Thus feelings of alienation grew up between the king and Cromwell; the king was married with Anna Cleves in accordance with the advice of Cromwell, and was much disappointed, a fact which widened the gulf between them. Cromwell did not long remain in favor. He was accused of high treason and beheaded in 1540, and the cause of reformation made no further progress during the remaining years of Henry's reign.

Edward VI. (1547-1553) found himself at the head of a Church which was neither Protestant nor Catholic.

Edward VI. Personally he favored a thorough Protestantism. Cranmer also, who continued, as archbishop of Canterbury, to hold the position of greatest influence in the Church, was drawn into closer and more sympathetic relations with the reformers of the continent and was ready, in accordance with the desire of the king, to resume and push the work of reorganizing the Church of England. The Six Articles were repealed. A Book of Common Prayer was put forth in the English language for use by the English Church (1548). More radical reformers like Ridley, Latimer, and Hooper, came to the front. The last named especially wielded great influence and brought about the abolition of many unscriptural usages, such as the setting up of stone altars and images in the churches. He further opposed vestments and at first declined to wear them when appointed bishop of Gloucester, a step which threatened to cause a serious rupture within the ranks of the reformers, as even men like Ridley favored the use of vestments. Hooper, however, withdrew his opposition to the custom and was consecrated bishop. His influence was instrumental in bringing about a change of opinion among the people, so that by 1552 it was thought necessary to revise the Book of Common Prayer in the interests of greater simplicity and evangelicalism. At the same time, a creed was formulated consisting of forty-two articles, and the

Church seemed to be definitely committed to a thorough reformation. But political disturbances intervened. The Duke of Northumberland, for various reasons dissatisfied with the government of Somerset, who was acting as Regent, or Protector during the king's minority, rose up against him and finally brought about his overthrow and execution. The king himself died at the early age of sixteen (1553).

A new center for the spread of the Reformation was formed in the city of Geneva through the operation of different conditions. Geneva was a semi-independent city governed by a republican constitution. At the beginning of the sixteenth century it passed through a political crisis, the ultimate result of which was to confirm and enlarge its liberties as against the encroachments of the Dukes of Savoy, and associate it more closely with the cantons and cities of Switzerland. Protestantism entered into the community and found the way paved for it in the civil disturbances that had preceded. Gradually its power grew to such a degree that the Catholic bishop was expelled and the Reformed faith was adopted as the religion of the State.

The man who more than others had labored to bring about this result was William Farel, a French Protestant, driven out of his native land by persecution. He fearlessly proclaimed his beliefs by the force of an eloquence growing out of unshaken conviction, and carried conviction in his audiences. But he lacked the calmness and balance necessary for the administration of affairs. When therefore the time came for the Church of Geneva to be organized, a different type of man was needed and Farel knew this. Such a man he secured for the Reformed Church of Geneva in the person of John Calvin.

John Calvin was born at Noyon, in France, in 1509. His father was one of the notaries of the place and secretary to the bishop. The education of Calvin as a boy was committed to able teachers, and when he was ready for profes-

sional studies he was entered as a student of law in the universities of Orleans and Bourges. His habits of study and acuteness of mind early attracted attention. He was led to examine the Scriptures and became convinced of the truth of the Reformed views. Upon declaring this conviction in an address prepared for the rector of the university of Paris, he aroused such a storm of opposition that it became necessary for him to fly in order to escape arrest. Going to Basel he continued theological and Biblical studies, and presently put forth his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. His motive was apologetic. By setting forth clearly before the Catholic public and especially before Francis I. to whom the work was dedicated, the beliefs of Protestants, he designed to show that the Reformed were not the same as Anabaptists and fanatics whose efforts tended to destroy confidence and undermine the social order.

Calvin's
Institutes.

Thus, he hoped, the king might be induced to prevent the persecution of his subjects of the Reformed faith. The force and clearness of the presentation in this treatise of the views he held and expounded as the teaching of Scripture commended the system at once, and have given it a vast influence in the world ever since. Beginning with the absolute perfection of God and the absolute dependence of all his creatures on his will, he builds up a system of theology with the divine decree as its center, and predestination, election, total depravity, irresistible grace and everlasting perseverance of the elect, as its necessary corollaries. On the sacrament of the Lord's Supper Calvin struck a middle way between the Lutheran doctrine of consubstantiation and the Zwinglian of mere commemoration. He taught that in the Lord's Supper Christ is really, but spiritually present to impart special grace in a manner different and more direct than in any other ordinance.

It was Calvin's desire and purpose to continue a life devoted to study and seclusion. From this purpose he was diverted by Farel, when passing through Geneva he stayed in the city for a night, apparently. Farel on this occasion convinced

Calvinism at
Geneva

him that it was his duty to stay in Geneva and take the lead of the movement for reform there (1536). For the next two years, accordingly, we find him along with Farel exercising a rigid authority in Geneva and perfecting the organization of the community on a theocratic basis. But the city was not yet ready for his strict and pure ethical system. He was banished with Farel, and withdrew to Strasburg and his studies. The people of Geneva meantime attempted to conduct their affairs without the disciplinary and other provisions devised for them by Calvin, and found the results disastrous to the cause of order and peace. They resolved after a period of three years to recall the banished preachers and once more commit the care of affairs into their hands. This was done in 1541, and from that date Calvin stayed in Geneva until his death (1564), taking an active part in the management of the Church and of the State through the advice and admonition he administered to the civil rulers.

Calvin was opposed in Geneva by a political party known as the Libertines. This party was made up of two elements: a religious element, of which the chief characteristic was a system of pantheistic beliefs accompanied by a lax view of the marriage relation. This element passed more particularly under the name of the Spirituels. The other element was the political one, strictly consisting of such natives as fretted at the prominence of Frenchmen in the affairs of the city, and the concentration of power in the hands of the magistrates, with the retrenching of the liberties of the people that this implied. These elements of opposition found vent from time to time on occasions furnished by the life of the State.

The most famous of these occasions was the affair of Servetus. Servetus was a Spanish physician who had devoted some attention to studies in natural science, philosophy and theology, and published two books, one on the *Errors of the Trinity* (1531), and another on the *Restoration of Christianity* (1553). While residing at Vienne he was arrested on the charge of heresy contained in these books. The

doctrine of the Trinity especially, he attacked in language deemed blasphemous in those days. He first denied that he was the author of the books. But as he saw that the case was to be proved against him, he escaped from Vienne, and being recaptured in Geneva, was brought to trial before the magistrates there. Trusting in the power of the Libertine party, he boldly reasserted his views and defied Calvin. The charges against him being sustained, he was condemned and burned October 27, 1553.

CHAPTER III.

THE COUNTER-REFORMATION.

THE Roman Catholic Church did not long remain unaffected by the great movement which swept so many out of its communion. The influence of Protestantism on it was twofold—direct and reactionary. As a direct influence it acted by a sort of contagion, producing in the first place a more intelligent piety within the hearts of many, who still wished to adhere to its old form, then, a stronger desire for purity in morals, and lastly, a clearer exposition and defence of doctrine. As far as Protestantism produced a reaction against itself in the Roman Catholic communion, the tendency manifested itself simply in the effort to suppress its spread in those regions where it had not obtained a footing, that is, Italy, Spain and France, and to counteract its power and restrain it in those countries where it was apparently in the ascendant. The coöperation of these two tendencies resulted in the Counter-Reformation.

The local center of this movement was Italy. This country was peculiarly the battle-ground of forces calculated to draw it both into and away from the Reformation. The forces which worked in the direction of a reformation in Italy were the natural dissatisfaction of a people oppressed for centuries by an ecclesiastical system of absolutism, and the intellectual awakening accompanying the Renaissance. Both of these forces were felt in Italy more than elsewhere in Europe, because for both this country was a center and its people lived nearest, so to speak, the

Effects of the Reformation on the Catholic Church.

Italy and the Reformation.

fountainhead of the influence. But on the other hand there were stronger forces at work designed to draw Italy away from Protestantism. These were the intimate association of the papacy with Italian nationality. With all its hatefulness, the tyranny of the papacy was after all the tyranny of an institution belonging to Italian soil and bound up with Italian pride and Italian interests. The leading men of the country, moreover, found the papacy a means of personal gain. Promotion came through it and the act of cutting one's self from it amounted to official suicide. And as to the Renaissance, it had brought so much of skepticism and religious indifference that the fervor necessary for entrance into the reform movement was lacking. Finally Italy had settled to a more stolid conservatism than Northern Europe. The result of these counterworking forces was a new departure in Catholicism.

The earliest significant symptom of this new departure was the Oratory of the Divine Love. This was an organization consisting of fifty or sixty devout Catholics for the purpose of cultivating personal piety. Its members were agreed in feeling the need of a change for the better in the hierarchy of the Church. They differed, however, widely in their doctrinal views as well as in reference to the methods to be used in bringing about the moral purification of the clergy and Church.

The Oratory of the Divine Love issued in two divergent tendencies; on the one hand, in the direction of a more biblical basis of doctrine, and on the other, towards a more radical opposition to the doctrinal and administrative changes proposed by the Protestants. The leader of those who promoted the first of these tendencies was Contarini. Contarini held and taught that justification was by faith, but did not see the inconsistency of this doctrine with the system of the Roman Church. He established himself at Venice, which was politically somewhat more independent than other cities in Italy, and gathered a band of followers about him. But in 1537 Pope Paul III. offered him the cardinal's hat, and his

Oratory of the
Divine Love.

efforts for reform thenceforth blended with zeal for the preservation of the Church system.

Contarini's influence combined with the influence of Protestant literature imported surreptitiously to Venice gave rise to a more open positive current towards Protestantism. Churches began to be organized independently and gifted men began to devote themselves to the work of purifying the religious atmosphere. Juan Valdez, a high official in the government of Naples, earnestly supported the evangelical views. Bernardino Ochino began as a Capuchin, but adopted the reformed doctrines and was compelled by persecution to fly to Geneva for safety. Pietro Vermigli (Peter Martyr), an able scholar and canon regular, for similar reasons fled first to Zürich, thence to Strasburg, and finally, being joined by Ochino, went to England. A book entitled *Del Beneficio di Cristo Crocifisso* was put forth, expressive of the views of many who had yielded to the Reformation. To the question, "How can one be saved?" this book gives the answer, "Through Christ alone," that is, by faith in his merit working in a holy life. The book was condemned, all the copies of it in circulation that could be gathered together were burned in heaps at Rome, and its reputed author, Paleario, suffered martyrdom.

At the head of the second or anti-Protestant wing of the Oratory was Caraffa. This leader found more followers than Contarini. He was raised to the cardinal's position at the same time with Contarini and joined with others in advising Pope Paul III. to institute reforms, a proposition which the pope seriously took under consideration; he even called on the leaders of the Oratory for a plan (*consilium*) which he readily adopted. But nothing was done until this pope yielding to the general desire convened an ecumenical council. The emperor had repeatedly called for this action but without avail. Local synods now began to clamor for it, as at Sens (1528) and Cologne (1536) and the pope issued the bull calling it together in May 1542.

Contarini and his Party.

Caraffa.

The council met three years and a half after the summons for it had gone forth, being delayed meantime by unforeseen and insuperable obstacles. The place of meeting was the city of Trent. As soon as the sessions were opened it was evident that the members represented conflicting interests. There were in it Gallicans and Ultramontanes, Franciscans and Dominicans, Moderates and Conservatives. The papal party, however, obtained control by the distribution of money among the poorer prelates. It was determined to take the vote not by nations, but by individuals. As the Italians were numerically in the preponderance they dictated the decisions. The conclusions were put in three rubrics, viz. doctrines, canons, and decrees regarding reformation.

The first subject taken under consideration was the canon of Scripture and the conclusion arrived at on this point was "that unwritten traditions, which have been received either from the lips of Christ himself, or transmitted in the Church, are all to be accepted with respect and veneration equal to that which is due to the Scriptures," and further "that the books of Holy Scripture, including the Old Testament Apocrypha, should be used only in the Vulgate version and interpreted not by private individuals, but by the Church."

The subjects of original sin, and justification, were then taken up, and after animated debate, justification was defined as a subjective, progressive process, not an instantaneous declarative act. When the subject of the sacraments came under discussion, before action could be taken the city of Trent was visited by contagious disease. It was proposed that the council be transferred to Bologna, but many, including the emperor, were opposed to this plan and preferred to have the sessions suspended for a time; this was accordingly done in 1547. After an interval of four years the council was reconvened by papal decree (1551).

An effort was made, as the council reopened its sessions, to obtain a representation of Protestantism in it.

In fact Protestant delegates were ready to take their seats should any be given them. But it was evident that the animus of the dominant council was against the concession of any rights whatever to Protestants, and the council was carried on as before, as a vehicle of papal ideas. The subject of the sacraments was again taken up. The Eucharist was defined in the old sense. Transubstantiation was reaffirmed. The doctrine of Penance was formulated under the head of the Sacrament of Penance and defined as consisting of contrition, confession and absolution. Finally, under the subject of the sacraments, Extreme Unction was defined. About one year after the resumption of its deliberations the council was again interrupted, this time by the successes of Maurice. The sessions were therefore suspended for ten years.

Meantime cardinal Caraffa ascended the papal throne under the name of Paul IV. (1555-1559). His most important act was the strengthening of the Inquisition, thus setting up the machinery that was to fight Protestantism. He estranged Ferdinand I., however, by opposing his elevation to the empire, and exhausted the patience of the Roman people by his tyranny. His successor, Pius IV. (1560-1565), adopted a radically different policy, and enjoyed the assistance of his nephew Carlo Borromeo, a man of pure and upright character, as well as of splendid gifts. During the pontificate of Pius IV. the Council of Trent resumed its sessions (1562) and concluded its labors. The sacraments of Orders and of Matrimony, involving the question of papal authority and the marriage of the clergy, were disposed of to the satisfaction of the papal side, and the council ended its work of doctrinal definition by reasserting its belief in purgatory and the necessity of the invocation of saints, the worship of images and relics, and the dispensation of indulgences.

In the matter of practical reforms, the council insisted that the discipline of the Church should be stricter, and that a better education should be required of the clergy. This latter measure resulted in greater care in teaching from the pulpit. In-

The Sacraments. Suspension of Sessions.

Paul IV. Resumption.

Practical Reforms.

stead of the gross and sometimes impious and revolting speculations of medieval monks, the subject matter of preaching was made the doctrinal system of the Church as cleared up and condensed by the council. Thus the Council of Trent became a vigorous agent as well as result of the Counter-Reformation. Ranke has said that the "Dogma of Trent was not the doctrine from which Protestants seceded." It is much nearer the truth to say that the Dogma of Trent is the offspring within Catholicism of Protestant influence. The whole effect of the council was strengthening to the Church. The hierarchy was improved in moral tone, the doctrinal system was put into clear and concise form, vastly more satisfactory than the diffuse conflicting statements of the fathers in which only it might be found previously in authoritative form. The decrees of the Council were confirmed by papal bull in 1564. They were accepted in Spain, Italy and Portugal without reservation, and partially in France, Hungary and the Catholic regions of Germany.

Another instrument of the Counter-Reformation was the Inquisition. This institution was reorganized by Caraffa in Italy and placed on an independent footing, amenable directly to the pope's authority. It was established as a tribunal with power to institute proceedings and execute sentence against heretics. Six cardinals, entitled Inquisitors General, were empowered to constitute branches, or subordinate tribunals in different locations, and to exercise the functions belonging to the central office. Whenever guilt of heresy was established, they inflicted torture and even death, irrespective of the class of society or employment of the culprit.

From the persons of heretics the inquisition proceeded to their books. Caraffa made a list of all the books that should be suppressed. This was called the Index and included all the publications of more than sixty publishing houses, besides many individual productions, among them the very *Consilium* submitted by the Oratorians to Paul III. out-

The Inquisition
in Italy.

Index Expur-
gatorius.

lining reforms, a document of which Caraffa himself was one of the authors. Under Sixtus V. (1585-1590) this Index was so amended as to include not only whole books but objectionable passages in books also. Thus it grew to be the *Index Expurgatorius*.

In Spain the methods of the Inquisition were more thoroughgoing than elsewhere. Here the extermination of heretics assumed the form of religious service or act of faith (*auto da fé*). A day was set apart in which heretics were examined, and if found guilty, burned with public ceremony.

The Inquisition
in Spain.

Protestantism had made some converts in the cities of Seville and Valladolid; in these cities, accordingly, two most remarkable *autos da fé* were celebrated in 1559 and 1560. The king and royal court solemnized the occasions by their presence. The condemned were given the opportunity to submit to the ministry of the Catholic priests. If they did so, they were strangled before being burned, otherwise they must endure the tortures of being cast alive into the flames. There was no safety even for a suspect, except in flight to other lands. Thus Spain lost some of her most valuable sons.

Simultaneously with the revival of zeal in the Catholic Church, and growing out of it, there was a revival in monasticism. Old orders were reorganized and given a new impetus. Matteo de Bassi put new life into the Franciscan order by raising within it the Capuchins. Jean de Barriere stimulated the Cistercians to new activity. A new society was founded by Gætano de Thiene in conjunction with Caraffa, and called the order of the Theatins, having as its main object the education of the clergy. Filippo Neri organized the priests of the Oratory, chiefly for the purposes of studying the Bible, and prayer.

New Monastic
Orders.

But by far the most important and aggressive of the new organizations was that founded by Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556). Loyola was a Spaniard who, while serving his country against the French, received, in the siege of Pampeluna, a wound and was compelled to spend some time in con-

The Jesuits:
Origin.

finement. He read during this period the history of the saints, and was moved to dedicate himself as a spiritual knight to the service of the Holy Virgin. He moreover conceived the plan of a new order and laid it before his friends and associates at Paris, among whom were Xavier, Faber, Lainez and others.

These men banded themselves together under the headship of Loyola, and resolved to spend their lives in the Holy Land in the effort to convert the Saracens. They took pledges to observe poverty, chastity and obedience to the pope. The order was sanctioned in 1540; but instead of being allowed to go to the Holy Land, inasmuch as they had put themselves under the direct control of the pope, they were assigned the task of fighting Protestantism in Europe. They were ordained to the priesthood, and undertook to preach, hear confessions, manage consciences, and educate the young.

The constitution of the order was matured upon the basis furnished by Loyola himself in his book, *The Spiritual Exercises*. In order to enter the Constitution. Society a candidate must, for the space of four weeks, train himself to the habit of withdrawing from the world, resisting its enticements, realizing through the imagination the value of spiritual exercises, and renouncing one's own will. After this preparation the candidate must pass through four stages into full membership, viz., the novitiate, the scholastic stage, the coadjutorship, and the full profession. Within the society every member must yield absolute and unquestioning obedience to his superiors. But the whole society is more than any member, even the president, and for sufficient reasons the president himself might be disciplined or deposed.

The ethical principles of the Jesuits are: (1) The doctrine of probabilism, or that it is sufficient to act upon an opinion of probable truth. (2) The sanctification of the means by the end. (3) The right to make mental reservations. (4) The distinction between theological obedience and philosophical obedience, and (5) The power of the people. This last principle laid them open

to suspicion of working against the princes, and brought them into political conflict with rulers.

In obedience to the pope's desire the Jesuits began to work against Protestantism at once. They chose Sweden as their base of operations. By intrigue and deception they drew king John III. into a secret Romanism which he tried to impose on the country, under their direction. But the popular feeling was too strong for the success of the scheme. Charles IX. put an end to the work of the order in Sweden by legislation against Roman Catholicism. In Germany the success of the order was greater. In Bavaria, especially, they managed to arrest the progress of Protestantism, and fixed that country in the Roman Catholic faith. But the Jesuits did not limit their activity to political intrigues. They realized from the beginning the importance of early impressions on the mind, and systematically labored to obtain control of the educational centers of Europe. Besides elaborating a strong scheme of lower grade education, they took possession by degrees of the universities of Vienna and Prague and exerted thence a vast influence.

The ambition of the early Jesuits, however, was not bounded by the limits of Europe; they outlined a plan of foreign missionary work, which looked forward to nothing short of the conversion of the whole world to the Roman Catholic faith. Mohammedans, Pagans, Christians of every name were to be brought, according to this grand conception, into subjection to the master of the order, the pope. They planted their mission stations among the Oriental churches of the Nestorian, Armenian, Coptic, and Abyssinian communions. They entered India through the trading-stations of the Portuguese. The leader at this point was Xavier. Between 1542 and 1552 he baptized scores of thousands at Goa, Travancore and through the southern portion of India in general. The reasons for this success were, probably, first the emotional mode of Xavier's presentation of Christ as the great sympathizer with human woe. The religion of Buddha, by cultivating this

Labors.

Missions.
Xavier.

side of Indian character, had paved the way for the missionaries' success. But Xavier also used a large degree of accommodation to heathenism in his preaching. So long as the heathen took upon himself the name of Christ and submitted to the ordinance of baptism, he was allowed to retain practically the whole of his heathenism.

From India Xavier passed into Japan, and in a short time reported a church of 600,000. Thence he passed into China; where, dying, he left the work in the hands of successors who carried it on into the seventeenth century. Early in the seventeenth century (1622) the Congregation *De Propaganda Fide* was formed in order more systematically to carry on this work. A school for training missionaries was soon attached to the Congregation, called the College of the Propaganda, and proved a most efficient means of reinforcing the mission stations.

CHAPTER IV.

STRUGGLES OF PROTESTANTISM ON THE CONTINENT.

IN 1555 Charles V., wearied by constant wars and unremitting cares, laid aside the responsibilities and honors of public life and betook himself to a monastery. The empire passed into the hands of Ferdinand I. (1556-1564) and the domains which he ruled by virtue of dynastic control in Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands, were inherited by his son Philip II. (1555-1598). So long as Charles held sway in the Netherlands the only incidents to which the Reformation led in those provinces were the persecutions of those who declared their adherence to it. Charles issued a series of edicts called placards, aiming at the extinction of the Reformation.

Philip II. was more rather than less inclined than Charles to exterminate Protestantism from his dominions. Moreover in the Netherlands, unlike his father, he was not popular, but as a Spaniard and on account of his personal peculiarities, distrusted and feared. He ruled the country through regents, and made the mistake of selecting not some of the native nobles to act in this capacity, but Margaret of Parma jointly with Granvelle, bishop of Arras. To aggravate the alienation between himself and the nobles and people caused by this step, Philip further resolved on the creation of a large number of new bishoprics. These bishoprics were to be clothed with inquisitorial functions. What the king aimed at was the utter extirpation of heresy, and he could only depend on such representatives of his

policy as the new regent and the bishops to execute his will.

Of the native nobles the most prominent were William, Prince of Orange, and counts Egmont and Horn.

William was the offspring of Lutheran parents, but his training had been altogether Catholic.

He was befriended by and returned the friendship of Charles V. He broke away from Philip, however, when he discovered that the king was intent through fair means or foul to overrule the will of the people and nobles of the Netherlands, and reduce the land to a mere dependency of Spain. His course was thus determined at first by patriotism. Later he adopted the Reformed faith.

The occasion for the open break between the nobles and Philip was the establishment of a branch of the inquisition in the land. Some five hundred of

The Princes of
Holland.

them banded themselves in the Compromise, a compact whose sole aim was resistance to the Spaniard (1566). William, unable to indorse the plans of his fellow nobles, withdrew from the country; but when Philip by the use of false promises enticed Egmont and Horn into his power and had them beheaded, William returned and was put at the head of the movement. Meantime a wave of iconoclasm swept over the land and lashed both parties to open war. Philip sent the Duke of Alva with an army of 10,000 Spaniards to put down the nobles. Alva established the Bloody Council and resorted to horrible atrocities in order to intimidate the people. But though he destroyed and persecuted, he was unable to quell the spirit of rebellion. He was recalled and succeeded by Requesens, and later by Don John. But neither were these leaders able to suppress the rising spirit of nationality, now distinguished by the additional trait of a new faith. William obtained several victories by land and by sea, and in 1576 managed to unite the provinces under the Pacification of Ghent. According to the compact so called, the Catholic and Protestant provinces made common cause against the Spaniards.

Break with
Philip.

Alexander of Parma was now appointed by Philip to retrieve some of the losses of Spain under the preceding regents. He did indeed succeed in breaking the Pacification of Ghent by drawing the Catholic provinces out of it, but this only led to the formation of the Utrecht Union, 1579, which ultimately grew into the Dutch Republic. Meantime William himself was outlawed. Six attempts to assassinate him were made under the stimulus of the promise of a bonus to be paid by Philip to his murderer. A seventh proved successful.

But William had laid the foundations deep and strong, and his son Maurice carried on the work of building the superstructure. After twenty-five years, mostly of bloody war, this prince succeeded in 1609 in ridding the land of the Spaniards, and in the Treaty of Westphalia Holland was recognized as independent (1648).

In France, just as Henry II. was making a determined effort to annihilate Protestantism, his life was cut short by accident. With the accession of Francis II., Catherine de Medici and the house of Guise came into prominence. The king fell completely into the power of the two brothers, Francis Duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine. The Bourbons and the Chatillons, whose voice in the government should have had more weight than that of the Guises, were drawn into the Protestant fold. Political motives became inextricably mixed with the religious situation. The Huguenots came forward as a political party. In the conflict which naturally followed, the heroic qualities of the admiral Coligny came into play. But the king was on the side of the Catholics and the Guises, and was preparing for a definite and vigorous effort at the suppression of Protestantism when he suddenly died (1560).

With the accession of his brother to the throne, the aspect of affairs was slightly altered. Charles IX. (1560-1574) was not of age, and his mother, Catherine de Medici acted as regent. She was jealous of the power of the Guises and not

Formation of
the Dutch
Republic.

Prince Maurice.

France under
Henry II.

Charles IX.

over scrupulous about the means she used in securing her ends. The Protestants could help her in her plans to obtain complete control as against the Guises. For some time therefore Protestantism was unmolested. At a conference held at Poissy, 1561, an attempt was made to bring the parties to a peaceful reunion. Beza here presented the cause of the Reformed; and while the conference did not accomplish the end sought through it, the edict of St. Germain, which closely followed it, officially recognized Protestantism and legalized it within certain narrow limitations.

But the Guises would allow no toleration to the Huguenots. Scarcely two months had passed since the issuing of the edict of St. Germain before they violated it treacherously in the massacre of Vassy. Thus the civil war was renewed with greater violence than ever. The Huguenots were defeated at Dreux (1562), and the Duke of Guise was assassinated by one of their number. Twice the war was interrupted and twice renewed by the violation of the terms of peace. Finally in the treaty of St. Germain (1570), the terms of a lasting agreement were reached. Coligny returned to the royal court and was well received by the king and by Catherine de Medici.

The noble qualities of the great Huguenot began to draw the admiration and respect of the young king. The jealousy of the queen mother, allayed for a time by the lapse of the Guises, was roused and directed against Coligny. She was reconciled to the Guises and by their aid planned the memorable massacre of St. Bartholomew. On Sunday the 24th of August, 1572, which was the day of St. Bartholomew, at a concerted signal, a general massacre of Protestants was begun in Paris and spread to most of the cities of the realm. Henry of Guise took upon himself the murder of Coligny and executed his purpose in a most brutal manner. The number of Protestants slain has been estimated at from twenty thousand to one hundred thousand. The Catholics throughout Europe did not attempt to conceal their approval of and joy at this infamous

Treaty of St. Germain.

Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

piece of treachery. It was even celebrated with *Te Deums* at Rome, by order of the pope.

The king Charles IX., who had against his will given his consent to the massacre, died two years later (1574), insane with remorse. His brother Henry III. (1574-1589) began as an implacable enemy of the Huguenots and an active participant in the plot of St. Bartholomew. But he changed his policy for a neutral or comprehensive one, and became the fast friend of his kinsman, Henry of Navarre, who was now the leader of the Protestants. Henry of Guise organized the Catholic League to put down Protestantism. When, in 1584, by the death of the direct heir to the throne, Henry of Navarre was left next in line of succession, the League made it its object to prevent his ever reigning. The king became jealous and caused the assassination of Guise. But he was himself assassinated by a partisan of Guise, and thus the crown came to Henry of Navarre.

Henry IV. (1589-1610) pressed his claim to the throne successfully, in spite of the Catholic League, but wishing to rule over a contented people, he yielded to the entreaties of his Catholic friends and advisers and went over to the Catholic communion in 1593 without formality. But Henry wished his Protestant subjects to be content also, and in the edict of Nantes (1598) granted them the liberties for which they had fought so heroically. Under this document as a Magna Charta they enjoyed toleration for nearly a century.

In Germany both Catholics and Protestants manifested dissatisfaction with the terms of the Peace of Augsburg. The Calvinists especially could not live content under this peace. Their very existence was of doubtful legality, as the peace only recognized the adherents of the Augsburg Confession. These tokens of discontent remained, however, below the surface for fifty years or more. The first occasion on which open hostilities between Protestants and Catholics broke out was in the case of Donauwörth. This free city was put under the ban by the emperor

Rudolph II. because its citizens had broken up a Roman Catholic procession. Maximilian of Bavaria seized the city in execution of the ban and annexed it to his own domains (1607).

Anticipating further troubles, the Protestants formed the Protestant Union (1608). The Catholics followed the example by organizing the Catholic League (1609). During the same year Rudolph put forth the Letter of Majesty, extending materially the privileges of the Protestants of Bohemia. He allowed the inhabitants of this country to adopt the Utraquist confession of 1575, and bestowed on the knights, the lords and the royal cities the right of building churches. But Rudolph was being gradually supplanted by his brother Matthias (1612-1619), who was bound by oath not to molest the Protestants of Bohemia. Yet in violation of this oath, he forbade the building of a Protestant church. The Protestant Union interfered in behalf of the Bohemians, and a war was begun which in various parts and phases lasted for thirty years.

The first phase of the Thirty-Years' War lasted from 1618 to 1623, and was concerned with the status of Protestantism in Bohemia. The Protestant Union, under the generalship of Mansfeld, obtained some decided advantages at first, but were worsted and the struggle seemed about to end in the transfer of the electoral power from the Palatine to the Duke of Bavaria. At this point the king of Denmark interfered in behalf of the Palatine and Protestantism. This ushered the second phase lasting till 1629. The brilliant Wallenstein was secured to conduct the war against Christian of Denmark and the Protestants. The Catholics seemed again on the point of obtaining the final decisive victory when the emperor saw fit to conclude peace with Christian and issue the Edict of Restitution, reënacting the Peace of Augsburg and definitely limiting it to the adherents of the Augsburg Confession.

The execution of the Edict of Restitution was com-

mitted to Wallenstein. It was no easy task, as the Protestants began to regard it as the first step in a process which would end in the extinction of their form of faith. Accordingly when Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden landed in Germany, they rallied about him and in the battle of Leipzig obtained a victory over Tilly. Gustavus Adolphus was an earnest Protestant and was led as much by religious zeal as by political motives in coming to the succor of German Protestantism. The third phase of the 'Thirty-Years' War, ushered by his appearance on the scene, was a triumphal march in so long as he lived. But unfortunately he fell in the battle of Lützen (1632), and the Protestants saw themselves compelled once more to submit to an ill-defined *modus vivendi* in the Peace of Prague (1635).

Meantime Richelieu perceived that the successes of the house of Hapsburg were to prove injurious to the advancement of France in Europe. Catholic as he was, therefore, and strenuous within France to put down Protestantism, he threw the weight of the foreign policy of France into the scales against Catholicism and in favor of the Protestants in the empire. In the fourth and last phase of the 'Thirty-Years' War (1635-1648), which degenerated into a barbarous pillaging expedition, the French statesman succeeded in reducing the empire to the necessity of closing the struggle permanently in the Treaty of Westphalia.

The Treaty of Westphalia (1648) provided first of all for the designation of a year which should be considered the "normal year." This was fixed as 1624. Whatever the faith of a state was during the normal year, it was to remain thenceforth. Lutheranism and Calvinism were to be recognized as equal in rights to Catholicism. The imperial power was limited by the enlargement of the powers of the Diet to which Sweden was admitted as a member. Holland and Switzerland were recognized as independent, and finally France was given territorial concessions in Alsace and access to the Rhine. This Treaty could not fail to make

Gustavus
Adolphus.

Richelieu.

Treaty of
Westphalia.

an epoch in European history. Its chief consequence, however, was the establishment of the Reformation on a strong foothold.

The Oriental churches remained in a stationary condition theologically throughout the Middle Ages. The Nestorians settled in Persia, especially in the region around lake Oroomiah; the Jacobites in Syria, and the Coptic and Abyssinian churches continued in the beaten paths opened by their respective predecessors in antiquity. The patriarchate of Constantinople also, after the schism of the eleventh century, lapsed into lethargy. When Protestantism arose in the sixteenth century an effort was made to find a common platform for union with the Greek Church in the common opposition of both the systems to the supremacy of the pope. But the essential differences between Greek Catholicism and Protestantism were too great to admit of the union desired.

A definite effort was made, however, to introduce Protestantism into the Church of the East by Cyril Lucar, patriarch of Constantinople (1568-1638). Lucar was a native of Crete and a member of the Greek Church; but having traveled extensively in Western Europe he came to the conviction that the beliefs and practices of the Reformed churches of the Calvinistic type were more in accordance with the teachings of the Scriptures than any other form of Christianity. On his return from his travels his learning and experience won for him the position of patriarch of Alexandria (1601). From this position he was later promoted to the higher patriarchate of Constantinople (1621). He now sought to introduce the Reformed doctrines into the Greek Church. But the Jesuits who were quick to perceive the consequences to the Roman Catholic cause from the conversion of the Greek world to the Reformed faith, if it should ever occur, compassed his deposition, and finally his execution, on the charge of high treason, by the sultan of Turkey.

The Oriental Churches.

Cyril Lucar,
Patriarch of
Constantinople.

CHAPTER V.

CHURCHES OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

WHEN Edward VI. died, in 1553, the crown reverted to Henry VIII.'s oldest daughter, Mary. As the daughter of Catherine of Aragon, she was not only a Catholic, but must have looked at the whole movement as a source of personal offence, since it made her own status a doubtful one. She lost no time in putting forth efforts for the restoration of Catholicism. She displaced the married clergy, abolished the Prayer Book, renounced the supremacy of the national Church, and took measures to enforce the laws against heresy.

The last of these steps led to a series of persecutions which justly fastened the adjective *Bloody* to Mary's name. Among the most distinguished victims of these persecutions were such men as Ridley, Latimer and Hooper, all of whom were burned at the stake. Cranmer was soon to follow, but did not, like them, in enduring his martyrdom, display the spirit of heroism. He was induced to sign a recantation, but withdrew this later and was burned. The queen surrounded herself with Catholics, made Cardinal Pole archbishop of Canterbury, and seemed to be on the threshold of a career of violent work in the extermination of Protestantism, when she died in 1558.

It was with great relief that England saw Elizabeth ascend the throne. Elizabeth was a Protestant of a very conservative type. Parliament immediately passed an act restoring the supremacy over the Church to the crown. Later (1563), the

Accession of Elizabeth.

Forty-two Articles were revised and reduced to the Thirty-Nine which ever since have constituted the Anglican creed. The Act of Supremacy had been closely followed by an Act of Uniformity, according to which dissent from the State Church was not allowed. A Court of High Commission was further established (1583) to take cognizance of the infringement of these and other religious laws.

The English Church, however, had not yet come to one mind with respect to all religious forms, and the attempt to coerce uniformity was bound to result in the development of dissenting forms. These now began to show themselves in the movement which afterwards grew into Puritanism. Puritanism was the natural unfolding of Hooper's ideas. It began with the denial of the necessity of certain external forms and ceremonies, such as the wearing of vestments, the making of the sign of the cross in baptism, kneeling at the Lord's Supper, and the like. The Puritans averred that these formalities were too closely allied with the papal idea of the priesthood of the ministry, to be allowed with safety in a church that had broken loose from papacy. With Thomas Cartwright another point of difference manifested itself. This was as to the true scriptural form of Church government. The earlier Anglican leaders held that episcopacy was convenient and to be preferred, but not obligatory. Cartwright became convinced by the study of the Scriptures that Presbyterianism was the only form of polity known to the New Testament. As against this teaching, the Anglican Bancroft now came forward with the view that episcopacy was of divine origin, while Hooper, on the other hand, taught within the Anglican Church that the Church was endowed with the right and the duty of legislating regarding its own form of polity and might change it from time to time.

All the above, however, held that the State should be associated with the Church in the exercise of authority, at least to the extent of taking cognizance of and punishing religious offences, such as blasphemy, heresy, and disobedience. A new

Origin of
Puritanism.

Independency.

branch of Puritanism now appeared and disputed this point. This was Independency. The Independents have sometimes been called Brownists, from Robert Browne (who is the first known leader to teach their system), and Separatists because they advocated separation from the state Church, a step which the other Puritans considered as yet in the light of schism. John Robinson further unfolded the Independent plan, as vesting authority only in the local church or congregation. Thus Puritanism was differentiated into three varieties—that which accepted episcopacy and remained in undisputed connection with the state Church; that which held to presbyterial government and still remained in connection with the Church, but in a doubtful relation; and that which broke loose from the state Church. The last was made the first subject of persecution. It was obliged, in the persons of its adherents to flee from the country. John Robinson and a congregation of Independents emigrated to Holland.

The controversy between Puritans and Episcopalians was bequeathed by Queen Elizabeth to her successor, James I. (VI. of Scotland, 1603–1625). James I. was the son of Mary of Scots and Darnley, and had been brought up as a Presbyterian by the Scottish nobles. He prided himself on his knowledge of theology, and was intolerant towards those who differed from him. One thousand Non-conformist (Puritan) ministers presented him a petition (called the Millenary petition from the number who signed it) on his way to London to assume the government, complaining of the “burden of human rites and ceremonies,” and asking for a purer doctrine and a more godly ministry. He set it aside unceremoniously, and began his reign on the principle that monarchy in the State requires episcopacy in the Church. “No bishop, no king,” was his motto. At the Hampton Conference, held the year following his accession, he plainly showed his partiality for episcopacy, and called on the Puritans “to conform or they should hear of it.”

Yet out of a suggestion made at this conference grew

the version of the Bible in English, which has been known as the Authorized or King James's version. The king was not well pleased with the Geneva Bible, because in certain marginal notes it exhibited some disrespect to the royal office. The new version was finished in 1611, and was based on Tyndale's translation, other translations also being used to correct and improve it. Scholars of the best type were charged with the work, and the result proved a lasting monument to counterbalance many unfavorable features of James's reign.

Authorized
Version of
the Bible.

James was not severe towards the Puritans only. He was quite as harsh with Catholics. Several of these combined in a plot to blow up the house of Parliament with gunpowder while the king was within. It was discovered in time and prevented. Another Catholic rebellion in Ireland, in the county of Ulster, was put down, and the properties of the Catholics were confiscated by order of the king, and bestowed on Presbyterian colonists from Scotland. Thus arose the Scotch-Irish Church of the county of Ulster, or more properly of the North of Ireland.

Severity against
Catholics.

In England, the king's policy began to take practical shape when Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, and Bancroft, of London, afterwards successor of Whitgift at Canterbury, undertook, with the king's approval, to suppress Puritanism. But Puritanism had grown and found expression in Parliament, and every effort to put it down met with the opposition of the House of Commons. Bancroft advised the king to do away with this branch of the government. This was a result which James could not reach at one step. He therefore simply bent his course in the direction of the prelate's advice. Finally, in 1620, he deemed the time ripe for the decisive step, taking absolute authority into his own hands. He openly denied the right of the people's representatives to interfere in the government, and dissolved Parliament. The storm of opposition which arose in consequence of this course convinced him of his mistake. He died five years later, leaving the problem of dispensing with Parliament, to his son, Charles, to solve.

Conflict with
Parliament.

Charles I. (1625-1649) was better qualified than his father to deal with difficulties. He was a more dignified, skillful and courageous man. His views of government were the same as those of James, and in religion he was bigoted and otherwise obstinate and full of dissimulation. He regarded himself bound neither by his word nor by his oath. When he took the reins of government he found an empty treasury, a lost credit, and a Parliament alert to the danger of losing its prerogatives and reluctant to vote him the money he needed. After dissolving three Parliaments between 1625 and 1629, he resolved to govern without that body and for eleven years summoned none to meet.

In his arbitrary and suicidal policy the king found two supporters,—the earl of Strafford and William Laud, bishop of London until 1633, and archbishop of Canterbury afterwards. By advice of Laud Charles revived the Book of Sports. This was first put forth by James I. in 1618 as a strategic means against the Puritans in the matter of Sabbath observance. James alleged that the strictness of the Puritans drove many into popery. He therefore devised that after divine service on Sundays the people should be recommended such recreations as dancing, leaping, archery, the setting up of May-poles and other similar amusements. The Book of Sports was to be read in the churches. Such was the opposition to it, however, at the time, that James suspended its use. This book now Charles commanded all ministers to read in church. Many of the Puritans abandoned the morning service* and held informal services in the afternoon delivering "lectures." Archbishop Laud prohibited these lectures and caused an intense feeling of hostility to his views thereby.

The attempt of the king to rule without Parliament was effectually estopped by the law requiring that all levies of money should be ordered by Parliament. The king

* Others read the book but added at the end, "This is the word of a man;" and then reading the Fourth Commandment remarked, "This is the command of God."

sought by every device conceivable to evade this law and finally came in conflict with Hampden and Oliver Cromwell in an effort on the part of Hampden to resist the illegal taxation. This, with the war with Scotland caused by the resistance of the Scotch to the episcopal system imposed on the country at the instigation of Laud, forced Charles to call the "Short" Parliament, so called because it was dissolved by the king when he found that it would not vote the subsidies he asked for, except on condition that the king redress the grievances of the people.

The "Short" Parliament was followed by the "Long" one. This body passed an enactment, which the king was compelled to sign for fear of something worse, that it should not be dissolved except by its own consent. It then proceeded to impeach Strafford and Laud, and finding them guilty of high treason condemned and executed them. Then the Court of High Commission and the Star Chamber, an ancient court of justice to which arbitrary powers had been granted for the purpose of expediting clear cases, found now abusing its powers in obedience to Laud and the king, were both abolished. The relations of the king and Parliament grew daily in tension.

Charles consented to the measures taken by Parliament, but only in order to mature some plan for a final onslaught on the popular leaders. When he resorted to this step the popular feeling rose so high that he was compelled to fly to York. The Civil War then followed. In this memorable struggle at first the Cavaliers and Roundheads seemed equally balanced; but when Cromwell assumed the command of the Puritans, affairs took a sharp turn. In the battles of Marston Moor (1644) and Naseby (1645), the Parliamentary party defeated the Royalists and the king saved himself only by flying for refuge to the Scots.

A division now arose among the victorious Puritans. Some would have been satisfied to reinstate Charles with new limitations to his power and safeguards against his usurping authority. These were mostly Presbyterians. The Independents

Conflict with
Hampden and
Cromwell.

Long Parliament.
Execution of
Strafford and
Laud.

Civil War.

Execution of
the King.

under Cromwell wished a more radical change. The Royalist party soon determined which of these sides should prevail. By their violent outbreaks they convinced the moderate Puritans that the only safe course lay in radical measures. The king was tried by Parliament, found guilty of high treason and executed in 1649.

In Scotland the attempts at church reform preceding 1557 may be characterized as a series of sporadic outbreaks of opposition against the Roman system by individuals. Patrick Hamilton began preaching reform in 1528 and was seized and burned. George Wishart appeared fifteen years later and met with a better reception on the part of the nobles, but he also was seized by order of Archbishop Beaton and burned. Beaton, however, paid the penalty for this and other persecutions by his life. He was assassinated in his own castle in 1546. John Knox, was seized and imprisoned for alleged complicity in this crime. But being set free in 1549, he fled to Geneva to escape the persecutions of the "Bloody" Mary.

Meantime the Reformed views gained ground in the realm. At the death of James V. in 1542 the government passed into the hands of his wife Mary of Guise as regent during the minority of the infant Mary, afterwards Queen of Scots. As the regent was a strong Catholic it came to pass that the struggle for reform was reduced in Scotland into a conflict for the ascendancy between the crown and clergy on the one side, and the nobles and people on the other. In 1557 the leading nobles and people organized themselves under the name of The Congregation of Christ and made a covenant that they would aid each other in the exercise of their religious rights. The marriage of the young queen with Francis of France threatened not only to make Scotland a part of France but eventually to draw England into the same relation. To defend the threatened independence of England therefore, more than for any other reason, Queen Elizabeth interfered with an English army, and compelled the French to withdraw and leave the government in the hands of

Reforms in
Scotland.

Organization
of the Congre-
gation, and the
Covenant.

the Council of Lords in 1560. The regent died the same year, and the Scottish Parliament proclaimed the Reformed faith to be the religion of Scotland.

John Knox (1505-1572) at once became the leader and good genius of the Scottish church. The form of government adopted for the Church was Presbyterian, with which Knox had become familiar in Geneva. The first General Assembly of Scotland met in 1560. A Confession of Faith drawn up by Knox was adopted by Parliament and the organization seemed complete. To satisfy the law which required that only bishops should receive certain revenues, certain individuals were designated "bishops" without prelatie authority, being in fact in some instances nothing more than laymen. These were later called "Tulchan" bishops.*

When Mary came to Scotland to reign in her own person she intended to restore Roman Catholicism. But in Knox she found not only an implacable enemy to her plans, but also a private censor of her views, who did not mince his words. She was allowed to celebrate mass in her own chapel, but was plainly told that she was practicing idolatry. She was obliged to center her hopes of giving back Scotland to Catholicism on the triumph of the French over Elizabeth. But even these hopes she was led to abandon when peace was concluded between England and France.

The marriage of Mary with Darnley, the birth of James (afterwards James I. of England), the alienation from Darnley, his murder, the marriage with Bothwell who planned Darnley's murder, all tended to strengthen her enemies, and culminated in the cutting short of her reign in 1567, only seven years from her accession. She abdicated in favor of her son at that date, appointing her half-brother Murray, a Protestant, as regent. Attempting

* The term Tulchan was applied to them from the fiction which they represented, it being the name of the effigy of a calf used in leading cows to the milking shed. John Knox, it may be noted, was not in favor of this legal fiction, but advocated the policy of diverting funds to purposes of education.

later to regain power, she was defeated, and she precipitately fled to England where her treacherous conduct was ended in 1587, leading her to execution.

John Knox died in 1572. But his mantle fell on an able successor in the person of Andrew Melville (1545-1622).

If Knox laid the foundations of Scotch Presbyterianism, Melville built the superstructure.

With his intense zeal and fearless spirituality he combined great learning. He fought vigorously the idea of the control of the Church by the State. Step by step he gained on the opposition until in 1592 a Second Book of Discipline was adopted by Parliament and Assembly which for its thoroughgoing Presbyterianism has been called the "Charter of the Kirk." It abolished all remnants of episcopacy and, with the exception of the right of lay patronage, gave congregations an exclusive control in the matter of selecting their ministers.

When King James became an avowed advocate of Episcopalianism, he resolved that he would impose that system on Scotland also. As a step in this direction he induced the General Assembly of 1610 to appoint permanent moderators of presbyteries. This was followed, eight years later, by the Five Articles of Perth including episcopal confirmation, kneeling at the Lord's Supper, observance of holidays, private baptism and private administration of the Lord's Supper. The churches of Glasgow and St. Andrews were made archbishoprics, eleven others were raised to bishoprics, and all the Scottish bishops were required to be consecrated by bishops of the Church of England.

At this stage of its progress James at his death left the work of turning Scotland into episcopacy. Charles attempted to carry it further. With archbishop

Laud to urge him on, he pressed the Scotch to the limit of their endurance. A wave of reaction came on. In 1637 the memorable "stool-throwing" at St. Giles cathedral gave the signal of the uprising against the service-book and the other emblems of Anglicanism in Scotland. The Covenant was renewed in a

Andrew Melville.

Efforts to Episcopalize the Church of Scotland.

Presbyterianism Restored.

solemn and impressive manner. The General Assembly of 1638 restored Presbyterianism. Then followed the war with Charles which soon became not a war between Charles and England on one side with Scotland on the other, but a war between Charles and the Royalists on one side and the Puritans of England combined with the Presbyterians of Scotland on the other.

CHAPTER VI.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROTESTANT THEOLOGY.

THE Augsburg Confession prepared by Melanchthon for the Diet of Augsburg, which met at Augsburg in 1530, with the full approval of Luther, contains the earliest form of expression given to the theology of the Protestants. Side by side with this document stood Melanchthon's *Loci Communes*. Both of these works were for some time accepted as satisfactory expositions of Protestant doctrine. Luther's own compositions, the *Smalcald Articles* and the *Catechisms*, did not differ much in substance from these.

But the fundamental doctrine of Luther—justification by faith alone—could be easily pressed to yield extreme results. Starting from the position that the law is abolished by the coming of the gospel, John Agricola, of Eisleben, a professor at Wittenberg, taught that the moral law is not obligatory under the gospel dispensation, a view which has been developed into bald Antinomianism and was destined to prove very troublesome to the Reformers.

At the other end of the line arose Mysticism, taught by Osiander, and independently by Caspar Schwenkfeld.

Osiander was repelled by the mere limitation of justification to the external relations of the believer, and held that in some way Christ enters into the believer's being through faith and makes him just within, as well as just at the bar of God. Schwenkfeld taught the same doctrine, but combined with it a peculiar view of the incarnation. He asserted that the human nature of Christ was different from the humanity of other men, being a direct offspring

of God as well as of the Virgin. It is exalted after the completion of Christ's work into perfect participation in the divine nature, and in this state becomes the source of righteousness to the believer by being infused into his nature.

Luther and Melanchthon remained closely associated with one another as long as they were both living. But Melanchthon was gradually moved from the positions first held, especially on the necessity of specific forms in worship, the nature of the Lord's Supper, and the coöperation of the human with the divine will in regeneration. With reference to each of these points he was followed by a number of Lutherans, and thus originated within Germany a series of theological controversies in which the special followers of Melanchthon were called Philippists or Melanchthonians.

The first of these controversies was perhaps that regarding the legality, or permissibility, of Roman Catholic forms. The more rigid Lutherans looked upon these as sinful in themselves, whereas the disciples of Melanchthon thought them indifferent in themselves, but liable to become idolatrous if performed in the spirit of idolatry. This position was termed *Adiaphorism** and the controversy, the *Adiaphoristic controversy*. Consistently with their view of the practices of the Catholic Church, the Philippists also held that it was desirable to unite Protestantism with Catholicism, and, by force of the same reasons holding with greater force, the Lutheran and the Calvinistic or Reformed Churches. The strict Lutherans were opposed to this union.

The *Synergistic controversy* concerned the work of grace in the heart. The Synergists, following Melanchthon, held that there was a remnant of ability in the sinful soul that must be used in coöperation with the power of the Spirit to produce regeneration. The stricter adherents of the Augsburg Con-

* *ἀδιάφορα*, things indifferent.

fession, under the leadership of Amsdorf, opposed this view and maintained Augustinianism in its purity. An opposite extreme was, however, evolved as a consequence of the discussion by Flacius. According to this theologian, original sin was not an accident, but an inherent substance. By promulgating this teaching Flacius hoped to silence those who asserted that there was a remnant of ability in the soul to coöperate with the divine grace. But his partisans repudiated the extravagant doctrine, and he was expelled and died in extreme poverty.

By far the most important development within Lutheranism was induced by Melancthon's slight change of base on the Lord's Supper and was called Crypto-Calvinism. The Philippists favored Calvin's theory of the real spiritual presence of Christ in the sacrament as against the stricter Lutheran theory of consubstantiation. The controversy grew so violent that the State was drawn into it, taking sides at first with the Lutheran view. In 1574 it was made an offense, punishable by the civil law, to hold and teach the Calvinistic theory. When Christian I. assumed the government of the Palatinate, in 1586, there was a temporary reversal of the policy of the preceding administration, lasting till 1591. For the next ten years opposition to Calvinism was very violent. A new wave favoring it swept over the land and brought the states of Hesse-Cassel, Lippe and Brandenburg under its sway. The Lutheran theologians waged a bitter warfare against it, but the question remained for the time an unsettled one.

Meanwhile, the controversies between Philippists and Lutherans had issued in the promulgation of a new creed, intended to unite the contending parties. From this design of it, the creed was called the Form of Concord (*Formula Concordiæ*). It was composed by several prominent theologians of the Lutheran Church in 1577, and sanctioned and published by the elector of Saxony in 1580. It was of the nature of a compromise, and while it found many admirers who accepted it, it was rejected as too lenient by some, and as too rigid by others.

Crypto-Calvinism.

Form of Concord.

The Reformed theology, as distinguished from the Lutheran, may be said to have had two origins. The views of Zwingli found expression in the Helvetic Confessions. First and Second Helvetic Confessions (1536 and 1566 respectively). Martin Bucer, Capito, and Henry Bullinger did what Zwingli himself was not allowed, by his premature death, to accomplish. They presented in systematic form the beliefs that had grown, from a study of the Bible, in the region of the Swiss Reformer's activity. When Calvin put forth his system in his *Institutes*, a theology of a slightly different type appeared. Yet its affinity to the Swiss system was so great and the difference was so slight that an ultimate fusion was not out of the question.

Calvinism distinctively found expression in the Gallican Confession, drawn up by an assembly of Reformed preachers in 1559, in France, the Belgic Confession, composed by Guido de Brès in 1561, with the aid of other divines, and in the Heidelberg Catechism, written by request of the elector Frederick III. of Saxony, by Caspar Olevianus and Zacharias Ursinus, in 1563. The countries represented by these documents show a widespread acceptance of the Calvinistic system. The Confession of Faith adopted by the Church of Scotland, drawn up by John Knox, was not only of the same general type, but incorporated the same system throughout.

The Church of Holland gave its adherence to the Heidelberg Catechism and the Belgic Confession revised by Francis Junius, a professor at Leyden. The Synods of Antwerp (1566), of Emden (1571), and of Dort (1574) formally adopted this creed. But the views it expressed were not cordially received by many of the ministers of the Church. A discussion was started which brought to the front Arminius and the Arminian system. James Arminius (1560-1609) began his labors as a pastor in Amsterdam. At the death of Francis Junius he was appointed to the professorship of theology at Leyden. Here he found Francis Gomarus, one of his colleagues, involved

in a controversy with certain pastors at Delft on the question of the order of the divine decrees. Gomarus was a supralapsarian and was opposed by the pastors, who taught infralapsarianism. Arminius was invited to defend his colleague's views, but found on studying the subject that he must take more radical ground even than the infralapsarians, and totally reject unconditional election.

Throughout the six years of his professorship at Leyden, Arminius developed his views into a system.

His successor in that position—Simon Episcopus—went even beyond him in his opposition to Calvinism. The controversy was complicated by the entrance into it of politics. Prince Maurice advocated Calvinism along with his principles of a rigid civil rule. The Arminians, led by Hugo Grotius, the great jurist, and Olden Barneveld, opposed a more liberal system of political government to Maurice's strictness. Maurice made it a requisite condition for continuance in the ministry that the ministers should accept the national Confession. The Arminians put forth a Remonstrance, and thenceforth were called also Remonstrants.

The Remonstrance embodied the Arminian system in five articles: (1) Conditional election; (2) Unlimited Atonement; (3) Partial Depravity; (4) Resistible Grace; (5) Possibility of a lapse from Grace. Against these five articles were set over the Five Points of Calvinism, embodying in each case the exactly opposite view. Thus the controversy was carried on for eight years (1610–1618). All efforts to harmonize the contending sides proved fruitless.

In 1618 the States-General of the Dutch Republic called together the great Synod of Dort. This was meant to be a general council of all the Calvinistic churches to sit in judgment on Arminianism. In answer to invitations, delegates appeared from Switzerland, Germany and Great Britain. Delegates were also appointed by the Reformed Church of France, but forbidden by Louis XIII. to

attend. The great majority of the representatives were Calvinists. The Arminians were summoned before the Council and given a hearing. Their views were examined and condemned, and they were themselves deposed and excluded from communion, a number of them being even banished the country. The Synod confirmed the Heidelberg Catechism and the Belgic Confession, and framed its own canons enunciating the so-called Five Points of Calvinism. Arminianism was for a time put into the background; but somewhat later it reappeared, was less severely treated and grew in many places, adopting, however, some features that softened it materially.

The theology of the English Church took a definite form in the Thirty-nine Articles resulting from the revision of the Forty-two in 1571. The growth of Puritanism at the beginning of the seventeenth century and the ascendancy of the Parliamentary party necessitated some change at least in the form of the government of the Church. To determine the nature and extent of this change the Long Parliament issued in 1643 an ordinance "for the calling of an Assembly of learned and godly divines and others to be consulted with by Parliament, for the settling of the Government and Liturgy of the Church of England, and for vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the said Church from false aspersions and interpretations."

Westminster
Assembly.

The Solemn
League and
Covenant.

The Assembly thus summoned met the same year in the Abbey Church of Westminster and began on the work of revising the Thirty-nine Articles in the interests of clearness and simplicity. It had spent ten weeks in the consideration of the first fifteen articles when Parliament entered into a Solemn League and Covenant with Scotland, including among other things an agreement that the ecclesiastical system in both countries should be the same, and, though its precise nature was not defined in the Covenant, it was stipulated that "the Word of God and the example of the best Reformed churches" should furnish the models. A new order was issued by Parlia-

ment directing the Assembly to "confer among themselves, of such a discipline and government as may be best agreeable to God's Holy Word, and most apt to procure and preserve the peace of the Church at home, and nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland, and the Reformed churches abroad."

Thus the Assembly left the work of revising the Thirty-nine Articles and turned to that of providing a new constitution for the Church of England.

Work of the Westminster Assembly. The first part of the new work proved comparatively easy. The Directory of Worship was the earliest reported from the committee to which it had been referred, and was disposed of quickly and without much discussion. The next subject was that of a form of government. This was not as easily managed. Four distinct parties existed in the Church, viz.—the Episcopalians, the Presbyterians, the Independents, and the Erastians. Of these the last three were represented in the Assembly, the Presbyterians being the most numerous, and ably supported by the Scottish delegates. The Independents, though few, were able and learned, and exceedingly tenacious. They were moreover assured of strong backing outside of Parliament. The Erastians—so-called from Erastus, a Heidelberg theologian whose views they had adopted—held that the Church should have no government of its own. The ministry should be limited to the functions of preaching and the administration of the ordinances. Discipline both civil and religious should be administered by the State. This theory was pleasing to many statesmen in Parliament. In such a divided state the Assembly consumed much time in the debate on the details of the question before it, recurring over and over again to the same arguments. At the end of nearly four years the debate was closed and the form of government adopted. The Assembly then addressed itself to the task of formulating the doctrinal standards. The Confession of Faith and the Catechisms were agreed to and the work was submitted to Parliament for ratification. The Assembly was then resolved into a court for the trial and examination of

ministers, and thus continued till Cromwell dissolved the Long Parliament, April 20, 1653.

Lælius Socinus (1525-1562), of Siena, was one of the earliest in the Reformation period to push his intellectual objections to the belief in the divinity of Jesus Christ. He did not conceal his views, but, on the other hand, he did not teach them with the design of organizing an anti-Trinitarian sect. His nephew Faustus (1539-1604), inheriting the papers of his uncle, formulated these views more fully, and, taking them into Poland, where there were already a number of Unitarians existing as scattered individuals, he organized a Unitarian community. The beliefs of the Socini were incorporated into the Racovian Catechism, and their system is known as Socinianism. They held to the Bible as absolute authority, but denied that it taught the preëxistence or divinity of Jesus Christ, or the vicarious atonement. Jesus, according to them, is a revealer of truth primarily.

Besides leading into the theological systems already noticed, the Reformation proved to be the occasion for the development of certain anti-ecclesiastical tendencies, which had been smouldering during the Middle Ages. The chief channel through which these now found vent were the views and practices of the Anabaptists. The Anabaptists, however, cannot be regarded as a uniform or compact body with a definite system of beliefs. They agreed in rejecting the validity of infant baptism, and in requiring the rebaptism of all who may have been baptized as infants. But, this doctrine apart, they differed from one another in other essential matters; some were very extravagant in their claims, and immoral as well as offensive in their practices. For these they were naturally held in detestation and punished. Others were quite moderate and scriptural in both belief and practice. One of these latter—The Anabaptists. Menno. Menno Simonis—obtained a powerful hold on the Anabaptists as a body, and softened the harshness of their views, and unified them under evangelical forms of expression and worship. A large section of the body has borne his name as a denomination.

CHAPTER VII.

THE POLITICAL CHANGES AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

THE Treaty of Westphalia was followed by rapid and radical changes in the political complexion of Europe.

States that had held almost unlimited power dwindled and disappeared, while others that had been content to occupy a secondary place rose into the highest rank and acquired great prestige and influence.

The Holy Roman empire was, by the very terms of the Treaty of Westphalia, shorn of its importance, and began to recede into the background, until, towards the end of the period under consideration, it was nothing more than a mere name, and, only a few years after the close of it, became extinct even as a name, by the abdication of Francis II. (1806). Poland, a powerful state, and prominent at the time of the conclusion of the treaty, holding the electorate of Brandenburg as a fief, was, before the French Revolution, prostrated and dismembered, and disappeared from the map of Europe. Sweden, which under Gustavus Adolphus had taken the part of a first-rate nation, fell into a subordinate place again soon afterwards. Spain also steadily declined in consequence of the repressive and tyrannical measures of Philip II. Before the end of the eighteenth century it was involved in wars regarding the succession which further weakened and crippled it.

On the other hand, the Electorate of Brandenburg, breaking loose from Poland under Frederick William (1640-1688), and annexing the duchy of Prussia and part of Pomerania, took a large stride forward. The successor of Frederick William, Frederick I. (1688-1713), assumed

Changes brought about by the Treaty of Westphalia.
Decline of the Holy Roman Empire.

the title of king in 1701. Then came Frederick William I. (1713-1740), whose rule was characterized by strict discipline, and Frederick II. the Great (1740-1786), who by his military genius pushed Prussia still further to the front. The Dutch Republic entered into a career of peaceful prosperity under the guarantees of the Treaty of Westphalia. Even the great Louis XIV. was unable to prevail against it. But the energies of the Netherlands were devoted rather to commerce than to political enterprise, and the republic never played a cardinal part in Europe.

In France, Italy, and England, the changes were more of an internal character, not affecting the external prestige of these nations directly. Louis XIV., in a reign of seventy-two years, was enabled to concentrate the whole power of the government in the hands of the monarch, so that he could rightly say, "I am the State" (*L'état c'est moi*). The danger of this centralization was, however, made manifest when his grandson, Louis XV., began to use the power of the State for his own corrupt and selfish ends. Thus the way was paved for the great upheaval which carried Louis XVI., the grandson and successor of Louis XV., to the block.

In England the Commonwealth established by Cromwell lasted until 1660. Charles II. (1660-1685), who was entrusted with the throne, for which his father had been adjudged unfit, developed all the vices of the Stuarts. His inclination towards Roman Catholicism was but thinly veiled, and when, on his deathbed, he actually professed the Roman Catholic faith, and left his throne to an avowed Romanist, James II. (1685-1688), the end of the Stuart dynasty in Great Britain was inevitable. In the Revolution of 1688, James was supplanted by William and Mary, who were in turn followed by Anne, and later by the House of Hanover.

In the midst of these changes the Roman Catholic Church continued to move in the channel into which it had settled with the Council of Trent. Its even tenor was interrupted by the outbreak of new discussion over some old questions. The

France.

England. Last of the Stuarts.

The Gallican Question.

first of these ripples on its surface was the dispute called the Gallican Question. Louis XIV., though desirous of appearing in the rôle of a good Catholic, claimed the right of exacting from ecclesiastical dignitaries in France the vassal's oath, and of controlling vacant bishoprics, especially the right of appropriating the revenues of such vacant bishoprics. Innocent X. (1644-1655) opposed these claims. Under Innocent XI. (1676-1689) the Four Articles were drawn up as a solution of the difficulty. According to these the pope's right to rule kings was denied. It was stipulated that the pope was bound by canon law, also that, in France, French law was above the word of the pope, and, finally, that even his decisions regarding doctrine might be reviewed and corrected by the whole Church. The matter was compromised at the end by the surrender of the Four Articles by Louis, and the retention of the prerogatives he originally claimed.

Another debate within the Roman Catholic fold was caused by the revival of strict Augustinianism. The beginning of the debate dates from the publication of a work under the title of *Concord of Jansenism. Grace and Free Will*, in 1588, by the Jesuit, Luis Molina. The tendency of Molina was semi-Pelagian, and he was opposed to the Dominicans. Pope Clement VIII. called a small council (*Congregatio de Auxiliis*, 1597), to examine the question, and reconcile the parties. This council failed to accomplish the end for which it had come together, and broke up in 1607. About this time Cornelius Jansen, a native of Holland, and bishop of Yprés, appeared as an opponent of Molina's views. He had studied Augustine, and wrote a voluminous work entitled *Augustinus*, advocating a return to the teaching of the great father. In this he had the aid and hearty support of St. Cyran, who also published a work advocating Augustinianism, under the title of *Petrus Aurelius*. The Jesuits now came out in defense of the views of their associate, Molina. The controversy waxed fierce. The original disputants disappeared from the scene. Molina had died in 1601; Jansen in 1638; St.

Cyran in 1643; but the controversy was carried on by a new band of men on the Jansenist side—the Port Royalists.

Port Royal was an ancient convent which, owing to the revival of life introduced by Angelique Arnauld, was overcrowded and abandoned for a more spacious home for its inmates in one of the suburbs of Paris. The convent was then occupied by a band of gentlemen, at whose head stood Angelique Arnauld's youngest brother, Anthony. They were men devoted to letters, philosophy, and religion. Some of them won places for themselves in French literature. Such are Pascal, Racine, Boileau, Lafontaine and others. These men took up the defense of Jansen's views against the attacks of the Jesuits. As the debate progressed the Port Royalists were accused of holding seven heretical positions contained in Jansen's *Augustinus*. These were afterwards reduced to five as follows: (1) Men are commanded by God to do certain things which they cannot do. (2) Divine grace is irresistible. (3) To render an action meritorious, it is not necessary that it should be free from necessity, but simply that it should be free from coercion. (4) The semi-Pelagians erred in ascribing to the human will the power to cooperate. (5) Redemption (atonement) is not universal. These errors were condemned by Innocent X. in 1653. The Jansenists denied that they were to be found in the *Augustinus* in the sense condemned by the pope. The pope responded that he condemned them, "as of Jansen and in the sense of Jansen." They claimed that this was a question of fact, and that papal infallibility could not certainly extend to facts. Arnauld continued to maintain the condemned views, and was censured by the Sorbonne and deprived of his doctorate.

Arnauld was not, however, to lead Jansenism into popular favor. His style was too abstruse and technical.

The task of popularizing the movement fell to Pascal. His course was indirect. Instead of expounding Jansenism, or defending it against the attacks made on it, he issued a

Pascal and the
Provincial
Letters.

number of *Provincial Letters*, in which he administered in a realistic and vivid manner a most stinging and thorough castigation to the Jesuits. The Jesuits were now roused to the pitch of fury. They procured a new condemnation of Jansenism from Pope Alexander VII., in 1656. This the French Church adopted, and constructed a formulary based on it. Opposition to these measures, or even refusal to accept the formulary, including the condemnation of Jansenism, was punished by imprisonment. Port Royal was taken from the Jansenists, and many of these fled the country.

But the controversy was not destined even thus to be permanently settled. Clement IX. offered a pacification

by the terms of which Jansenism was given a certain standing, and continued to be held for some time longer. When, however, Paschasius Quesnel published his *Moral Reflections*,

opposition against the system broke out with new vigor. The pope issued the bull *In Vincam Domini*, ignoring the pacification under which the Jansenists were living. Finally Quesnel's book was condemned in 1705, and Port Royal was demolished. But to make the overthrow complete, the pope issued five years

later the bull, *Unigenitus*, in which he singled out one hundred and one propositions out of Quesnel's book and declared them heretical. The Jansenists were persecuted and fled to Holland. They appealed from the bull *Unigenitus* to a general council, and continued till the Vatican Council, under the name of appellants or old Catholics.

Another ripple on the surface of Roman Catholicism, but of much less serious nature, was Quietism. This was a form of Mysticism propounded by Molinos, a Spanish priest (1627-1696), in a book called *The Spiritual Guide*. In this treatise Molinos attempted to give instruction as to the source of peace and true spiritual life. He held that these blessings are to be found only in complete renunciation into the hands of God. The principle seemed to render superfluous the rites, ceremonies and institutions of the Church, and

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roused the opposition of the Jesuits. The views of Molinos were condemned, and he was himself thrown into prison, where he died.

Mysticism, however, appeared in another quarter and threatened a more serious struggle in the Church of France. Madame Guyon (1648-1717) was a lady of great refinement and piety, who was married by her parents, for worldly reasons and against her own will. Giving herself to religious meditation, she came to frame a form of thought essentially identical with that of Molinos. Fénelon, the great French writer, examined her system, and not only found nothing objectionable in it, but was so much attracted by it that he adopted it. The eloquent Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, also examined it, but came to the conclusion that it was heretical. Thus the debate was transferred into high ecclesiastical circles. Bossuet was undoubtedly a pure-minded and able ecclesiastic, and entertained broad and liberal views on the rights of the papacy with reference to the Gallican question. But he was moved by consistency to take the attitude of intolerance towards Fénelon and Madame Guyon. The question was referred to the pope, Innocent XII., who in 1669 pronounced against Mysticism, and Fénelon retracted his acceptance of it.

A vaguer form of Mysticism also made its appearance and escaped condemnation. This was the Mysticism of Francis de Sales (1567-1622), nominally bishop of Geneva, and author of *Philothea* ("The Friend of God"). His work became the favorite with devout Catholics, and he was himself canonized.

The Jesuits continued through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to carry on their work of bringing everything into subjection to the will of the pope. In Europe their power increased day by day, and became a standing menace to the stability and independence of the governments within whose jurisdiction they carried on their work. Abroad their policy of accommodating Chris-

Madame Guyon
and Fénelon.

St. Francis de
Sales.

The Jesuits on
the Mission
Field.

tianity to the heathen notions of the peoples of their missions became offensive. Complaints were preferred to the pope against them. The pope sent Tournon (1668-1710), a legate, to investigate and correct the evil of accommodation. Tournon was seized by the native authorities with whom the Jesuit missionaries had gained great influence, and cast into prison, where he died. Communication between the pope and the mission field was thus broken except through the missionaries. It was only after the lapse of forty years that the system of accommodation was stopped. But with its cessation came a decline in the missionary work and dissatisfaction with the missionaries.

From another source Jesuitism received a check of a different nature. This was the popular disfavor created by the exposure of its methods and principles in the conflict with Jansenism. Not only did the *Provincial Letters* show in a vivid manner its morally unsound principles, but the actual course of the Jesuits in the crusade against Port Royal, the excesses to which they resorted, and the needless oppression of innocent and unoffending men brought about a reaction against them.

Under these circumstances Jesuitism, was called upon to struggle for its own life. The members of the order began to be excluded from European countries whose adherence to the papal system never had been and could not be questioned. Portugal first expelled them in 1759; Spain and Sicily in 1766, France in 1764. The conflict grew desperate. Papal elections began to hinge on the question of the treatment of Jesuits. Finally Clement XIV. (1769-1774), who was elected as the leader of the anti-Jesuit party, formally suppressed the order in 1773. He died the next year under suspicious circumstances. Meanwhile the Jesuits took refuge in Protestant countries and continued to exist and work until their restoration in the following period.

Unpopularity
at Home.

Suppression of
the Order.

CHAPTER VIII.

LUTHERAN ORTHODOXY AND DISSENT.

LUTHERANISM flourished in Northern Germany and the Scandinavian countries. In other places it never became more than an occasional and exotic system.

Lutheranism in Germany and Scandinavia. The Thirty Years' War put the Lutheran system on a sound and firm foundation ; but this, instead of proving a pure blessing, turned out to be the source of many evils. With the sense of safety from attack came a looseness in moral and spiritual life very detrimental to the welfare of the Church. And side by side with moral and spiritual laxity sprang up and grew a finished and formal theology.

The first break with cold orthodoxy in the Lutheran Church was made by the Pietists. Philip Jacob Spener (Pietism. Spener. 1633-1705) was a zealous and devoted pastor at Frankfort-on-the-Main. Impressed with the need of more spiritual life, he organized in 1670, a system of meetings, for persons of the same mind with himself, for the purpose of studying the Scriptures. Removing to Dresden a little later, and still later to Berlin, he carried the germ of similar associations for spiritual culture into these places. The Wittenberg theologians looked upon this movement with apprehension, and as it grew they openly opposed it. Thus the Pietistic controversy arose.

One of the foremost among the Pietists was August Hermann Francke (Francke. 1663-1727). With other learned men he undertook to lecture on the New Testament, but being obliged by the theologians of Leipzig to leave that city he was called by his associates in Pietism to the newly established university of Halle, which was to be the fountain-head of a new in-

fluence. The Pietists also founded the orphan asylum at Halle, and in other ways spread among the people a purer and more Biblical conception of the Christian religion.

The influence of Pietism was perpetuated and spread through the remarkable personality of Count Louis Zinzendorf (1700-1760), who was educated at the Zinzendorf. Halle Orphan Asylum. Being a man of means and having heard of the sufferings of the Moravian Brethren (Hussites), in Bohemia, Zinzendorf offered them a refuge in his own estates in Upper Lusatia. Here they founded the village of Herrnhut (1722). Here also Zinzendorf after joining them was appointed their bishop. But he was not left to administer the affairs of his colony of Moravians unmolested. The Saxon government stepped in and sentenced him to banishment. This led to extended wanderings on the part of Zinzendorf which, however, he used as the occasion of missionary work. Thus there arose a number of communities in the wake of Zinzendorf's travels in Holland, England, and America. In the last-named land Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Litiz, in Pennsylvania, and Salem in North Carolina became flourishing colonies of Moravian Brethren.

Meanwhile the British government recognized the Moravian Brethren as a Protestant Church in 1749, and the Saxon government did the same as soon as the Moravians accepted the Augsburg Confession. The way for Zinzendorf's return to Germany was thus opened. He resumed his place of bishop at Herrnhut and labored there until his death. His spiritual life found expression in many ways, the most permanent of which was hymn-writing. He composed a large number of classical hymns, some of them used to this day. The missionary churches he planted were carried on by the Moravians after his death.

The Moravian theology was threatened at one time with a number of coarse and extravagant features, the whole drift of which was the literal interpretation of the figures of the fatherhood and sonship in which the relations of the Trinity are

The Moravian
Brethren.

Moravian
Theology.

expressed in the Bible, and the marriage relation as typical of the union of Christ and the Church. The Moravians also separated between the human and divine elements in the nature of Jesus Christ in order to exalt the divine and depreciate the human. The system was, however, purged of these features, and continued to act as a leaven of spiritual and practical Christianity through the eighteenth century.

Another departure from Lutheran orthodoxy of a much more radical character was that led by Emmanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772). Swedenborg was a Swedish gentleman of great learning who held a place under the civil government in the College of Mines, and was thus led to studies in natural science. But turning his attention to religious subjects, he gave up all secular employments and removed to London, where he elaborated his peculiar system and wrote his works. At the age of fifty-five he claimed that he had acquired the power of spiritual insight, whereby he saw spiritual realities, understood the language of angels, and even beheld the Lord. The information that came to him through this channel he wrote down in numerous books, especially the *Arcana Cœlestia*.

The system of Swedenborg is based on the principle that the spiritual world is identical with the material.

The universe is one whole existing in two halves, of which the outward and visible is a counterpart of the inward and spiritual. God is infinite and his essence is love and wisdom; but he exists in human, though not material form. God manifests himself sometimes as the Father, sometimes as the Son, and sometimes as the Holy Spirit. Jesus was a mere man bodily in whom God the Father had taken his abode temporarily. There is no original sin, hence no justification by faith is possible, and no vicarious sacrificial atonement necessary. Resurrection is spiritual, not of the body. The Bible (excluding, however, some of the books of the Old Testament and some of the epistles) must be accepted as containing a revela-

Swedenborgian-
ism.

tion, but must be interpreted in a threefold sense: the literal, the spiritual, and the celestial.

The organization of the Swedenborgian Church was based on the claim that the last judgment took place in 1757 and the "New Jerusalem" of the Apocalypse descended at that time from the heavens. This New Jerusalem is the church of believers in the system of Swedenborg. The system found adherents partly because of its reactionary tendency against rationalism, and partly because of the concessions to rationalism in some particulars.

Of purely theological controversies, the earliest was that in which the theologians of Giessen on one side and those of Tübingen on the other engaged regarding the nature of Christ's humiliation. The theologians of Giessen held that in the humiliation the eternal Logos had laid aside all divine powers and attributes. This was called the doctrine of the Kenosis. The Tübingen men on the other side taught that the humiliation consists not in the laying aside, but in the concealing of the divine attributes, and in using them according to the direction of the Holy Spirit. This view is called the Cryptic. Jesus Christ according to them was possessed of the divine powers even as man (*secundum carnem*). The controversy was never settled officially.

Another controversy of a more practical nature arose out of the efforts of George Calixt or Calixtus (1586-1656) to bring about a reunion of all Christians in one great Church. Calixtus proposed to ignore differences and combine the various Christian churches on a broad basis. This was called Syncretism, and was opposed by the Wittenberg theologians, especially Calovius (1612-1686). Calovius charged Calixtus and the Syncretists with the error of considering the Apostles' Creed a sufficient expression of the Christian faith. He further accused them of holding that the Roman Catholics and the Reformed had enough fundamental truth in their systems to secure the salvation of the souls of those who accepted them. Still further he found fault with them for teaching that the

The New Jerusalem Church.

Kenotic-Cryptic Controversy.

Calixtine Controversy. Syncretism.

doctrine of the Trinity was first revealed in the New Testament, and that sin is a negative thing and not a separate entity. This debate also, like the Kenotic controversy, was carried on without a definite result. Neither side received formal approval or condemnation.

CHAPTER IX.

THE ANGLICAN AND REFORMED CHURCHES.

AFTER the establishment of the Commonwealth in England, for eleven years the Independents controlled Church and State. In spite of the principle of separatism professed by the Independents, Cromwell and the Independents. Cromwell, their political leader, found himself under the necessity of drawing a sharp distinction between the religious denomination in the ascendant and all others. Roman Catholics were disfranchised. Episcopalians were not allowed to use the Prayer Book. Presbyterians and Baptists, though more favored, were kept in check in other ways. A board of Triers examined and passed on candidates for the ministry. And this board was kept closely under the control of the Independents. The ministry was supported by tithes, and religion as understood by the governing body was sustained and advanced by the State.

When the Commonwealth gave place to the royalty under Charles II. the Episcopalians once more took up the work of coercing the whole realm to their views and practices. In 1662 the Act of Conformity was passed, requiring every minister to recognize the supremacy of the king in the Church, and declare against transubstantiation. Two thousand ministers refused to do the first of these and were ejected from their livings. As the ejected ministers undertook to hold meetings in other places than the churches, a Conventicle Act was passed two years later, forbidding all meetings for worship except at the recognized churches. The following year the lines were made faster by the passing of the Five-mile Act forbidding any non-conform-

ing minister from residing within five miles of any corporate town, or from teaching school.

Scotland also was called upon again to struggle for its Presbyterian government. The laws enacted for England were of course to be enforced also in Scotland. While there was no open outbreak against these laws, there was, on the other hand, no disposition on the part of the Scotch to relax in their adherence to presbytery, or give up the Covenant under which their fathers had lived and fought. The consequence was a series of bloody persecutions. For a time the Covenanters were driven to the remote and desert places, and even here they were tracked by armed cavalry under John Graham of Claverhouse (1650-1689), shot down or cut down, and their possessions plundered and destroyed. But all these barbarities, instead of extinguishing the flame of Presbyterianism, only fanned it to greater brightness. Richard Cameron and the Cameronians openly defied the government and propounded the doctrine that a Christian should not acknowledge allegiance to a government unless Christ was recognized as its head.

James II. was an avowed Catholic. He reinstated the Court of High Commission, made the infamous Lord Jeffrey presiding judge, and brought Richard Baxter to trial. Baxter, after being shamefully abused by the judge, was convicted; and the king, encouraged by seeming success in this case, went on to Romanize the Church by issuing indulgences, with the ultimate end in view of reinstating Roman Catholics in office. But in this he overstepped the limits of the people's patience. The bishops refused to publish the indulgences, and the attempt to punish them for this refusal brought about the overthrow of the Stuart dynasty and the revolution of 1688.

William III. was a Presbyterian, but did not, like his predecessors, attempt to foist his personal creed on the nation. He exempted non-conformists from all unfavorable legislation, but required the approval of the Thirty-nine Articles, the oath

William and
Mary.

of supremacy, and repudiation of transubstantiation. Queen Anne favored Episcopalianism and established the Bounty Fund, which bears her name, out of the revenues sequestered by Henry VIII. from the pope. This fund was used to build parsonages and to supplement the income of the poorer parishes.

It was during Anne's reign that the peace of the Church was disturbed by the Sacheverell case. Dr. Sacheverell charged the Whig ministry with partiality to the non-conformists. They resented the charge and treated him with some severity. Queen Anne. The sympathies of the queen and people were enlisted on his side, and at the Parliamentary elections the Whig party were put out of office and a Tory ministry took their place. The Tory Parliament also enacted some legislation drawing the lines more rigidly against non-conformists.

With the accession of the Georges, the English Church fell into a state of inactivity. Convocation was dissolved for censuring an Erastian sermon preached by Hoadly, bishop of Bangor, on the "Nature of the Kingdom of Christ," and did not meet again till 1834. The administration of the affairs of the Church passed exclusively into the hands of the civil government. The suppression of all opposition to the existing order of things, whether on the part of non-jurors (those who would not take the oath to maintain the supremacy of the crown in the Church) or Roman Catholics was attempted. The latter especially became the subjects of oppressive measures. Walpole, in 1722, raised the sum of £100,000 by a tax on the estates of Roman Catholics and non-jurors. He also established the *Regium Donum* as a bonus to dissenting ministers.

The Reformed Church on the Continent was legalized in Germany by the terms of the Treaty of Westphalia, but in the very country of Richelieu, who was above all others, instrumental in securing the treaty, the privileges of the Reformed were made the object of a steady series of onslaughts.

First, by peaceful efforts made to induce the Protestants

Reformed
Church in
France.

to give up voluntarily the edict of Nantes. This edict stood in the way of the policy of centralization inaugurated by Louis XIV. When it was found that the Reformed Church would not surrender its Charter voluntarily, the king simply revoked the edict of Nantes (1685), and at one stroke outlawed a large section of his kingdom. The Reformed was once more a persecuted church. Under the name of the Church in the Desert it continued, in spite of the laws against it, for over one hundred years. In 1787 Louis XVI. restored legal recognition to it, but the Revolution was too near its outbreak at that date to allow the Protestants to make immediate use of their restored privileges.

In Switzerland the drift of thought was against the strictest forms of theological definition which had prevailed in the preceding ages. Francis Turretin had put Calvinism in his *Institutio Theologicæ Elencticæ* into very precise terms. His son, Jean Alphonse ("the Younger Turretin"), quietly but effectually modified his father's system. He also entered into the less successful movement of bringing about a union of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches in Germany and Switzerland. In this he was supported and encouraged by the king, Frederick I. of Prussia. But the theological difficulties in the way proved insurmountable.

In the Netherlands a controversy arose on the question of Sabbath observance, involving naturally other moral and religious practices. William Teellinck (1629) was the originator of a pietistic movement which was carried on by Voetius. The pietistic views were systematized and even presented in academic lectures at Utrecht by Voetius, under the title of *Ascetical Theology*. Cocceius advocated the abolition of the law of the Old Testament, and opposed Voetius. Both the Cocceians and the Voetians took extreme ground during the course of the controversy, the first verging on antinomianism and the latter bordering on the Roman Catholic doctrine of meritorious works.

Cocceius also formulated a system of theology which has been known sometimes after him as the Cocceian

Cocceians and
Voetians.
Federal
Theology.

system, and sometimes after its fundamental principle, the Federal or Covenant Theology. The idea of religion as a covenant between God and man was suggested by Bullinger. Cocceius took the suggestion and, searching the Scriptures, discovered three covenants in them, around which all of God's work might be grouped as about centers. The first was the Covenant of Redemption between the Father and Son; the second the Covenant of Works between Adam, as the representative of the human race, and God; and the third the Covenant of Grace. This last was to be found in successive historic forms as (1) the pre-Mosaic Covenant, (2) the Mosaic law, and (3) the Gospel Dispensation, which again was unfolded in seven periods according to the cycles of seven in the book of Revelation. While the system, in its detailed form, runs into arbitrary and unhistorical interpretations of the Scriptures, to Cocceius must be conceded the credit of having at least, with partial success, transferred theology from the scholastic basis to the scriptural data.

After the Synod of Dort Arminianism was allowed to exist in the Reformed Church only by sufferance. Attempts were not lacking, however, to find a middle ground on which Arminianism and Calvinism might fraternize. Such an attempt was the Amyraldian or Placean theology taught in the school of Saumur, in France. Placeus (LaPlace 1605-1655) denied the direct and immediate imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity, and asserted that each individual appropriates this sin for himself in the first voluntary or responsible act. Amyrault (also of Saumur, 1596-1664) proposed, in addition to the view of Placeus, the doctrine of Hypothetical Universalism, or that God predestinates all men to salvation on condition of faith. He gives to all men grace to coöperate with his Spirit; but this grace is resistible. All men would reject his offer and be lost. He, therefore, by an absolute decree, elects some, predestines them to salvation unconditionally, and endows them with irresistible grace. These views were rejected in the *Formula Consensus Helvetica* in 1675.

CHAPTER X.

PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY.

IN order to understand with some degree of fullness the theological movements that have not thus far been spoken of, it is necessary to obtain at least a general view of the cycle of philosophy which begins with Bacon and ends in Kant. Francis Bacon of Verulam gave a new turn to the course of thought by criticising the scholastics for their neglect of natural science and introducing the inductive principle into logical method. The father of modern philosophy, however, is DesCartes (1596-1650), who set aside all previous systems, no matter how hoary, seductive, and infixed in the minds of men they might have seemed to be, and began with an attempt to find the surest element of knowledge as a new beginning. This he reached in the proposition "I think, therefore I am" (*Cogito, ergo sum*). From this as a beginning he then proceeded to the knowledge of the world and of God.

But whereas DesCartes reached positive conclusions consistent with Christian faith and even auxiliary to it, starting from the point of absolute doubt, others landed elsewhere on following the same course. Benedict Spinoza (1632-1677), a renegade Jew who lived in Amsterdam, built on a few fundamental premises which he assumed as axioms, a most consistent and thoroughgoing system of pantheism. John Locke (1632-1704) propounded the view that the mind is a blank on which knowledge comes through the senses, a doctrine that was destined to exert

Des Cartes.
Spinoza.
Locke. Leib-
nitz.

a far-reaching influence. Locke's philosophy was not, however, allowed to pass unchallenged. It found a severe critic in Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz (1646-1716), who aimed in his own system to combine the best points in the philosophies of DesCartes and Spinoza, avoiding what he deemed their errors. He propounded the theory of "monads," working together by a law of "preëstablished harmony," which God has ordained with the creation. He also touched on the problem of evil and put forth the view that the world is the best possible.* Leibnitz's philosophy was reduced into a system of rationalism when rigidly applied to religion by Christian Wolf (1679-1754).

From another side the sensationalism of Locke provoked Bishop Berkeley (1684-1753) to resort to an explanation of the world, which has been called idealism. According to this view matter has no real external existence. It is only a creation of the mind. The apparently objective phenomena of matter are produced in the consciousness according to a settled order fixed by the divine mind. This philosophical cycle, which began with the new start of DesCartes, was closed by Immanuel Kant (1724-1804). Kant's philosophical work is twofold. It has a critical and destructive

side and a positive or constructive side. In the critical part of his philosophy Kant attempts to drive back thought from the dogmatism where Wolf had led it. He strives to show that by the use of the pure reason man cannot reach certainty on the simplest and most fundamental questions. The ideas of God, of substance, of freedom, of immortality, are necessary, he argued, for the purpose of thought. They keep together, when assumed, the complex subjective world. But they cannot be used as a basis of reasoning without leading to contradictions. In the constructive side of his work Kant rebuilt the structure he had demolished in the critical. Starting from the sense of duty (the "categorical imperative" which issues in the "Thou oughtest" of the

* Optimism.

conscience) he argued the freedom of man, the immortality of the soul, and the existence of God. Kant was not an evangelical thinker, but his influence on Christian theology has been, both directly and indirectly, very great.

Side by side with the philosophical movement and produced by the same causes, perhaps, a philosophy of religion made its appearance with a purely naturalistic basis. Its ultimate standard and source was the human reason, a feature which gave it the name Rationalism. In England, where it first came into vogue, this rationalism took the form of deism. Edward Herbert, Lord of Cherbury (1581-1648), the first of the deists, sought to reduce all religion to five simple and primary beliefs reached directly by reflection. These are (1) the existence of God, (2) the duty of reverencing him, (3) the obligation to live an upright life, (4) atonement for sin by genuine repentance, and (5) rewards and punishments in a life after death. All else is, according to him, superstition.

Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) wrote the *Leviathan* (by this term he designates the State), taking the ground that the necessity for morality and religion is to be found in the constitution of society. Each individual is governed by self-love. When the interests of one clash with those of others there arises the need of a power over all to preserve peace. This power is vested in the State. In order to perform its functions the State must have unlimited authority. The ground of all right is therefore expediency. Religion is a result of social organization and must be controlled by the State.

Charles Blount (1654-1693) attempted to institute a comparison between Christianity and ancient pagan philosophy, with the intention of exalting the latter above Christianity. John Toland (1669-1772), starting with the principle announced by Locke in behalf of revealed religion, "that there is nothing in Christianity contrary to reason," attempted to prove that there is nothing in it above rea-

Deism.
Herbert of
Cherbury.

Thomas
Hobbes.

Charles Blount.
John Toland.
Anthony Collins.

son, and that therefore the mysteries now found in it are derived from the Jewish system, or from pagan philosophy. Anthony Collins (1676-1729) made a plea for free thought as a necessary condition for a wise choice of the true religion, and was effectually answered by the great scholar, Richard Bentley (1662-1742), under the assumed name of Phileleutherus Lipsiensis. Bentley claimed that freedom of thought must include freedom from the presuppositions of the skeptics. Lord Bolingbroke (1678-1751), held that natural religion is the original truth about which tradition and priestcraft and statecraft have gathered superstitious growth that must be set aside. Similar positions were held by other deists, such as Matthew Tindal (1657-1733), Thomas Morgan (1743), and Thomas Woolston (1669-1733).

A shade different was the mode of reasoning adopted by David Hume (1711-1776), who elaborated the sensationalism of Locke into a philosophical skepticism. In his *Essay on Miracles*, Hume takes the ground that miracles cannot be proved. Belief is founded on experience; since we have no experience of miracles, but have the experience of the untrustworthiness of testimony, no testimony can establish the truth of miracles.

English deism passed over into Europe and spread in France and Germany. In France, views similar to those of the English deists had been entertained as early as Rabelais and Montaigne, but the suppression of Protestantism checked all freedom of expression until the appearance of Voltaire (1694-1778). Voltaire was a versatile genius and a brilliant literary man, much admired and feared by his contemporaries. He was lacking in finer spiritual insight and failed to appreciate the greatness of the works of Shakespeare, and the still more refined spiritual life of the religion of the Bible. His only article of faith, so far as known, was belief in God. His influence on the France of his generation was, however, vast and pernicious.

Bentley.
Bolingbroke.

Hume.

French Deists.

Voltaire.
Rousseau.
The Encyclo-
pedists.

Rousseau (1713-1778) was more original than Voltaire, but did not go beyond the English deists. Finally, in the Encyclopedists, Diderot, D'Alembert and Baron d'Holbach, deism passed into materialism and atheism, relegating the ideas of God, of immortality, and of duty, into the world of evil superstitions that must be done away with.

In Germany rationalism developed a character of its own. The philosophy of Wolf had paved the way for it.

It was called the Illumination (*Aufklärung*) because it seemed to its advocates to dispel the darkness of superstition and usher in a period of intellectual and spiritual light. It was different from English deism in that it did not remain within the narrow circle of a few learned men, but passed into the masses. It was moreover adopted by the Church leaders and leavened preaching and religious thinking. It was made a rule for the interpretation of Scripture, and finally for judging of the validity and value of the teachings of the Scriptures. In this form it secured a permanent hold in German theology, and persisted as a constant factor when in England and France deism had disappeared as one of the passing fashions.

The period of the Illumination in Germany coincides with the reign of Frederick II. (1740-1786). Frederick

was a deist and gathered in his court the leading free-thinkers of France. Beginning with a plea for freedom of worship for all religions he ended by harassing the evangelicals like Francke. Under his patronage Voltaire, La Mettrie and others issued their attacks on the Christian religion. The publishing house of Nicolai became the fountainhead of skeptical literature, and the stream seemed to break up and diffuse itself into the whole community. The pulpit degenerated into a platform for lectures on philanthropy, on health, agriculture, gardening, and everything except the gospel, which on the other hand was the butt of open attacks. The ritual part of the church service was also altered to conform to the change.

The poet Lessing appeared as one of the partisans of

German Ration-
alism.

Frederick II.
Degeneration
of the Pulpit.

the movement. Certain literary remains of Herman Samuel Reimarus having been put into his hands by the family of the deceased, he edited them under the title of *The Wolfenbüttel Fragments*. They contained a plea for the toleration of deists, an argument against the supernatural, and an attack on the credibility of the Gospels. Naturally they created a sensation. Lessing himself held that charity and toleration should be preferred to orthodoxy, and that the pursuit of truth is better than its possession. The last point served as the ground of the teaching that all the historical religions are anticipations of the truth which comes in its entirety to the reason little by little as a result of a process.

As a consequence of the discussions both in philosophy and in reference to the political relations of the various forms of Christianity current in England about the middle of the seventeenth century, there was a revival of humanitarian views regarding the person of Jesus Christ. This tendency gradually took more definite form and eventually resolved itself into Unitarianism. Samuel Clark (1675-1729) was one of the first to teach in his *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity* a subtle form of Arianism, so succinct that though accused before Convocation, he could not be proved guilty of the heresy and was allowed to continue in the established Church. Nathaniel Lardner (1684-1768), an eminent Presbyterian and strong defender of the historical character of the miracles of the Gospels, also acknowledged himself a believer in the Unitarian view. William Whiston, in his *Primitive Christianity Revived*, attempted to prove that the ante-Nicene theology was Unitarian. Theophilus Lindsay (1723-1808) was proved an Arian and withdrew from the Anglican fold and founded a Unitarian church in London. Finally more clearly than all others, Joseph Priestley, an eminent scientist (1733-1804), in his *History of the Corruptions of Christianity* and his *History of Early Opinions about Jesus Christ* denied that the Bible teaches the doctrine of the Trinity.

Lessing.

Unitarianism in
England.
Samuel Clark.
Nathaniel
Lardner.
Whiston.
Lindsay.
Priestley.

In opposition to these Trinitarianism was defended by Bishop George Bull (1634-1710) in a *Defence of the Nicene Creed*, a work for which the Roman Catholic Bossuet thanked him in behalf of the Roman communion. Daniel Waterland (1683-1740) also wrote a reply to Samuel Clark's *Scripture Doctrine*.

As against the attacks on the Christian religion by deists, Locke, the philosopher, Bentley, the scholar, and William Law, writer of devotional works, appeared as defenders of the supernatural. But the ablest defense of supernatural religion was put forth by Bishop Butler (1692-1752) in his *Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed*. In this great work Butler clearly demonstrates that whatever objections hold against belief in the supernatural hold with equal force against the truths of natural religion. The historical evidences of Christianity were presented by Nathaniel Lardner, and by William Paley (1743-1805) in his *Evidences of Christianity* and *Horæ Paulinæ*.

Besides those who were distinguished in the English Church for the defense of the faith, a number of eminent theologians gave their attention to quieter and more positive labors. In Biblical study Robert Leighton (1612-1684) produced his valuable *Commentary on the First Epistle of Peter*. In ecclesiastical history Bishop Burnett (1643-1715) wrote a *History of the Reformation*; Humphrey Prideaux, *The Connections Between the Old and the New Testaments*, and Bingham, his *Antiquities of the Christian Church*. In theology more strictly, John Pearson (1613-1686) wrote an *Exposition of the Apostles' Creed*, and Bishop Burnet an *Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles*. Isaac Barrow (1630-1677) and Robert South (1633-1716) were eminent and influential preachers, and Jeremy Taylor (1613-1667) wrote devotional works of permanent value. Though his *Ductor Dubitantium*, a treatise on casuistry, has lost its interest, his *Holy Living* and *Holy Dying* are among the most precious religious classics. He has also been called "the Shakespeare of preachers."

Trinitarian De-
fenses. Bull.
Waterland.

Bentley, Law,
Butler, Lard-
ner, Paley.

Scholars and
Theologians.

The Puritan divines were voluminous writers, and wrote in a prolix style. The most prominent among them are: Richard Baxter (1615-1691) whose Puritan Divines. *Saint's Everlasting Rest* and *Call to the Unconverted* have been extensively used. Baxter was noted for moderation and breadth of view. John Owen (1616-1683) adopted the Cocceian theology, and expounded it with clearness against the claims of the Arminian system. John Howe (1630-1705), the author of the *Living Temple* was one of the most genial of the Puritans. John Selden (1584-1654) was styled by Grotius "the glory of the English nation." John Milton (1608-1674) embalmed Puritan theology in the greatest epic poems in the English language, besides contending staunchly for independence against both Episcopalians and Presbyterians.* Finally, John Bunyan (1628-1688), the "Tinker of Elstow," living during the stormy days of Stuart rule, and suffering severe persecution for his views, embodied the course of Christian experience in the immortal *Pilgrim's Progress*, and in a number of minor works.

Midway between Puritans and Anglicans, between deists and believers in the supernatural, stood the Latitudinarians. These were connected largely with the university of Cambridge, and cultivated the study of Plato, whence they were also called the Cambridge Platonists. They appealed to the reason without recognising it, as the deists did, as the sole guide in religion. They belonged to the Anglican Church, but did not insist on the divine right, or absolute necessity of episcopacy. They were charged with laxness in view and their breadth or effort to include varying elements earned for them the name of latitudinarian.

The chief exponent of the latitudinarian system was Ralph Cudworth (1617-1688) who, in a treatise on *The Intellectual System of the Universe*, advocates a revival of the Platonic philosophy as against atheism and pantheism. John Tillotson

Latitudinarianism.
Cudworth.
Tillotson.

* Milton was Cromwell's Latin secretary. He was the author of the phrase, "Presbyter is only priest writ large."

(1630-1694), archbishop of Canterbury, presented latitudinarianism in the pulpit, accompanying it with a reform in the style of preaching. He aimed to be direct and simple, as well as practical and ethical. His theology, however, is weak and vague.

Mention must be made also of the English hymn-writers, who towards the end of this period enriched the hymnology of the Christian Church at large.

Hymn-writing.
The Wesleys.
Watts. Top-
lady. Dodd-
ridge.

These represent different types of theology, but agree in expressing the same devotional feelings. Augustus Toplady (1740-1778) was a staunch Calvinist. John and Charles Wesley were Arminians. Isaac Watts held peculiar views regarding the Trinity, and taught that the soul at death falls into a perfect sleep, from which it awakens only at the resurrection. Philip Doddridge (1702-1751) held to Calvinism, but rather loosely.

CHAPTER XI.

QUAKERS AND METHODISTS.

THE spiritual life which was one of the marked features of the early Reformation age ebbed during the course of the post-Reformation period. And this ebb was characteristic not only of one locality or form of faith, but of all. Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Anglicans, Puritans in England, Germany and Holland were more or less affected by the diminution of spiritual earnestness. Morals degenerated, especially in high places, and the Church and its institutions were pervaded by the spirit of secularism. Such at least appears to be the conditions depicted in the literary productions of the age and in some of the art, as, for instance, that of Hogarth in England.

Out of this condition of spiritual torpor efforts were made to rouse the Church at different times and in different places. The most significant of these were the preaching of the "inner light," by the Friends, and the great evangelical revival of the latter half of the eighteenth century. The Society of Friends owes its origin to the efforts of George Fox (1624-1690). Fox was the son of a Presbyterian weaver residing at Drayton. He had received a good religious training in his youth, and was employed as a shoemaker when the conviction came to him that the world with all its pursuits and pleasures was an empty show. He became further convinced that God visits every man with his renewing and quickening power. This work of the Spirit he called The Inner Light. He began preaching these views and, though persecuted

Decline of
Spiritual Life.

Origin of the
Friends. The
Inner Light.

and imprisoned, met with success among the common people.

The followers of Fox increased steadily and rapidly. Others imitated his example, going from place to place, and inculcating the doctrine of the inner light. But the tendency of the movement was at first towards extravagant claims and unseemly conduct. One of their number particularly, James Naylor, went to the extent of enacting in public the second coming of the Lord Jesus Christ in a sort of dramatic representation. For this he was seized, branded with a "B," as a blasphemer, his tongue was pierced with red-hot iron, and he was cast into prison.

These extravagances were, however, done away with, and the followers of George Fox, organized as the Society of Friends, disseminated their views in England, Holland and America, insisting only on the return to primitive simplicity of speech, apparel and manner, on the equality of all members, and, therefore, the abolition of a separate ministry, and the abandonment of all outward forms and ordinances not excepting the sacraments, because they claimed none of these ordinances were based on the word of God.

The great Evangelical Revival began with a group of young men at Oxford University who were called the Oxford Methodists, because they undertook to cultivate personal piety in a methodical way. They entered into a compact with one another to read the Scriptures, engage in meditation, read devotional works, such as Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living*, Thomas à Kempis' *Imitation of Christ*, etc., engage in prayer, participate in the Lord's Supper, and to do these things with regularity at stated times. The leader in this group of young men was John Wesley (1703-1791), the son of an Episcopal rector at Epworth. Charles Wesley, his brother, and George Whitefield (1714-1770) were also prominent members of the group. The organization formed by these men was called the Holy Club, and was made soon after Wesley's taking up his residence at Oxford as fellow in 1728.

The Oxford
Methodists.

A few years later (1735), John and Charles Wesley went as missionaries to Georgia. During the course of the voyage across the ocean they became acquainted with two prominent Moravians—Spangenberg and Nitzschmann. From them they learned the peculiar beliefs of the Moravian Brethren, especially with reference to the internal testimony of the Holy Spirit. But as the work in Georgia did not move to the satisfaction of the missionaries, they returned to England after two years, and immediately sought to learn more about the Moravian community, and that in a more direct way. It was in one of the meetings of the Moravian community in London that John Wesley heard the exposition of Luther's doctrine of justification by faith and was at once enlightened and assured of personal salvation.

In order to deepen his knowledge of truth thus acquired, Wesley next made a visit to the headquarters of Moravianism,—Herrnhut. But he had evidently reached as far as possible in this direction, for the visit did not prove as satisfactory as anticipated, and he returned to England to take up what was now to prove his life-work. He began to preach in London in 1738.

Whitefield's experience was more subjective and independent of external influence. He struggled for some time in his own strength, to lead a better life, and finally threw himself on the mercy of God, thus finding peace of mind and assurance of salvation. He then began to preach in the open field in the neighborhood of Bristol. Wesley would not at first conduct religious services outside the walls of churches. But his growing audiences on the one side, and, on the other hand, the difficulty of securing churches from the regular clergy, whose prejudices and suspicions were being awakened by his style of preaching, compelled him to follow Whitefield by holding meetings in the open air.

The style of preaching of both these evangelists was direct and forcible. They represented God's grace as

Preaching of
the Evangelists. sufficient, upon the exercise of faith to save the sinner immediately. They pressed their hearers to make an immediate decision. Their message came to the multitudes like a new revelation. They were heard with eagerness and the result of their labors was the conversion of many thousands. For a time they kept together. But their doctrinal differences proved irreconcilable. Whitefield was a believer in the Calvinistic system, while Wesley was an Arminian and a violent opponent of Calvinism. They were obliged to part company and carry on their work separately.

Wesley found it necessary also to close all negotiations for a union with the Moravians, although for a time such a union was thought feasible. Tempera-
Wesley's Work. mental and national differences in this case put positive bars to the amalgamation proposed. Thus about 1740 Wesley began his own work and pressed it with an organizing talent whose effectiveness was soon made manifest.

Wesley's aim was to reach the whole of the realm and even the world ("The world is my field"). To this end he organized his followers into a great association. This he subdivided into societies. The societies were again subdivided into classes under leaders and held meetings for the purpose of stimulating one another to spiritual life. He divided the country into circuits and assigned these to preachers who should visit them and hold services in them. The year was also methodically divided into parts and some form of religious service was appointed to each part. Thus were instituted a series of daily devotional services, weekly class-meetings, monthly watch nights, quarterly fasts and love feasts, and annual consecration and covenant meetings. For use in these services Charles Wesley composed hymns of genuine liturgical merit.

It was not the intention of the Wesleys to break off from the national Church. They protested to the end that their purpose was not to found a separate church but a society within it. But the logic
Wesley's
Society becomes
a Church. of their conduct led to the rupture. John

Wesley came to the conclusion that in the New Testament the offices of bishop and presbyter were identical, and thus though only a presbyter himself, undertook, contrary to the canons of the Church to which he belonged, to ordain presbyters and even a bishop for the church in America. This could issue only in the separation of the Methodist society and its organization into a church, an event which was, however, brought to a consummation after the death of John Wesley in 1791.

The revival led by Whitefield continued as a movement within the English Church. Whitefield enlisted the friendship and support of the influential Countess of Huntingdon. His labors proved especially successful in Wales. Here the lady Huntingdon erected a large number of chapels in which the Methodists could hold their meetings. She also established a seminary for the education of ministers, at Trevecca (1768). This institution was put under the supervision of John William Fletcher (1729-1785), a man of amiable disposition and sterling Christian character. But the doctrinal differences between Wesley and Whitefield led to his parting from the latter and joining himself to the former. He declared himself an Arminian in belief, and lady Huntingdon refused to maintain him as the head of the school at Trevecca.

Whitefield also engaged in labors in America where his preaching attracted vast crowds and won the admiration, if not always the assent, of prominent men, many of whom were at this period avowed deists. On both sides of the ocean his eloquence was recognized by such men as Chesterfield, Bolingbroke, Hume, and Benjamin Franklin. He was a greater orator than Wesley, though far inferior as an organizer. The great majority of his converts were absorbed by the English Church, forming the nucleus of the evangelical or low-church party in it; a large number, however, joined the dissenting evangelical bodies. In Wales the Calvinistic Methodist Church remained a permanent result of his labors.

Whitefield in
Wales.

In America.

The effect of the preaching of both Wesley and Whitefield was the rise within the Anglican Church of an evangelical party destined to exert a mighty influence later. Calvinistic theology also received a new statement and defense as against the attacks of Wesley and Arminianism at the hands of William Romaine (1715-1795). John Newton and William Cowper expressed the new devotional spirit in hymns. Henry Venn engaged in preaching in association with Whitefield and the lady Huntingdon; and finally Thomas Scott (1747-1821) and Adam Clarke (1762-1832) wrote commentaries on the Bible.

CHAPTER XII.

THE NEW CONDITIONS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

IN order to understand the history of Christianity in the contemporaneous era it is necessary to cast at least a cursory glance at the new conditions under which the Christian religion exists. The political situation in the civilized world is totally different from that of any other age that the world has witnessed. On the other hand, philosophy, which in the middle ages was only a part of religious thought and learning, and which in the Reformation age and the post-Reformation period was allied to theology, and worked as an avowed friend and auxiliary, assumes an independent attitude with the end of the pre-Kantian cycle and develops in a new line, sometimes directly atagonistic to Christian thought. It is essential, therefore, that the new political condition and the new philosophic movement should be clearly understood in order to grasp the meaning of the movements within Christendom.

The political situation is the result for the most part, if not altogether, of the French Revolution, from which event the contemporaneous period dates its beginning. The revolution was, no doubt, the inevitable result of the abuse of power centralized in royalty during two extraordinarily long reigns, extending together from 1653 to 1774. The classes which during this long period had become accustomed to the possession of the power felt secure in its possession, and lost all scruples as to its improper use. They

Philosophy and
Politics potent
Factors.

French Revolution. Its
Causes.

indulged in extravagances, and resorted to taxation to procure the means of paying for them. A vast debt was accumulated, the people were impoverished, monopolies of the most offensive kind were established in order to extort the money which no other means was sufficient to secure, and thus a condition of discontent was created which the ruling classes neither would nor could realize or allay.

In the natural antipathy created by this condition of things between the ruling class and the masses, the Church and clergy were ranged on the side of the aristocrats. Their privileges, therefore, became objects of attack, like the prerogatives of all the privileged classes. On the other hand, the king (Louis XVI.) in all his efforts to avoid the revolution was unwilling to make any concessions involving the Church and its privileges. In any other direction he seemed inclined to meet the popular demand, but not in curtailing the prerogatives of the clergy. Thus the religious question entered into the conflict, and the status of Christianity must be affected by the result, whatever this might be.

The revolution broke out in 1789. It began with the organization of the Third Estate as the National Assembly. This was an act of defiance to existing authorities. It proved to be, also, the first step in a process of disorganization which went on for four years, reaching its culmination in the execution of the king and the inauguration of the Reign of Terror (1793-1794). The revolutionists reached their extreme positions. In Paris a new era was proclaimed. Religion and all its institutions were abolished. Atheism was publicly proclaimed to be the truth. The goddess of reason was formally enthroned in the cathedral of Nôtre Dame in the person of a dissolute woman. Priests and bishops were coerced to abjure their faith at the peril of their lives, and to declare themselves atheists. The division of time into weeks was displaced by a division into periods of ten days. Every other vestige of the former dispensation was wiped out.

But this condition of affairs could not, in the nature of things, continue very long. The crisis came soon. The leaders of the Reign of Terror fell to suspecting one another. The people lost all fear of death when bloodshed and horror became the rule. The Reign of Terror was ended by the triumph of the moderate republican party. At this juncture there appeared on the scene the genius who was to lead France out of this chaos into a brief period of military glory and prestige. This was Napoleon Bonaparte. Slowly, and step by step, Napoleon gained complete control of the government. First the directorate (1794-1799), then the consulate (1799-1804), furnished him with the steps whereby he climbed to the height of power and was finally crowned emperor (1804).

Even before his accession to the empire, Napoleon had shown his disposition to restore the Roman Catholic Church in France, as one of several forces tending to preserve order and bring about reorganization. The Concordat of 1801 had reinstated the Church into the possession and enjoyment of most of the prerogatives conceded to it before the revolution. This was a measure of statecraft, and not the result of a personal conviction with Napoleon. When, as emperor, he tried to force the "Continental system" on Europe, whereby he hoped to exclude England from all commercial relations with the rest of Europe, Pope Pius VII. refused to enter into the plan. Napoleon, therefore, seized the papal estates and annexed them to the empire. The pope retaliated with the old weapon of excommunication, for which he was seized and imprisoned at Savona. But Napoleon was not destined to hold Europe under control. When he was finally displaced an effort was made to swing Europe back to the course from which it had been forced by Napoleon. But, though it did return to a more peaceful and normal condition, it could not again become what it had been.

The effect of the revolution has been most clearly visible in the history of France since the fall of Napoleon.

The attempt to reëstablish the absolutism which preceded Louis XVI. was doomed to failure from the beginning. Louis XVIII. (1815-1824) and Charles X. (1824-1830) tried to rule by right divine, but in the Revolution of 1830 the last hope of the success of this system vanished. Neither was the attempt to plant a popular monarchy made by Louis Philippe to issue in a permanent result. Louis Philippe, after eighteen years of mild rule (1830-1848), even though enjoying the confidence and acting upon the advice of able ministers, like Guizot, was unable to continue longer. The second republic (1848-1852) and second empire under Napoleon III. (1852-1870) followed, and in the third republic, since 1870, the net result of the Revolution of 1789 seems to have been realized.

The rest of Europe, however, has also been altered by the influence of the great popular movement in France.

A few months after the Congress of Vienna, which undertook to readjust the affairs of Europe after the fall of Napoleon (1815), the Holy Alliance was formed, consisting of Prussia, Russia, and Austria. Its aim was to treat all parties on the basis of Christian justice and charity. This alliance was later enlarged so as to include all the states of Europe, except Turkey and the papal states. England, however, refused to enter into it, and the result proved that the alliance was capable of abuse. The three sovereigns who originated the idea were men of a religious turn of mind, and believers in the divine right of kings; they interpreted the object of the alliance favorably to the promotion of this idea. The alliance thus turned out to be a slight reaction from the direction towards which the French Revolution had turned European politics. Nevertheless, as a reaction it was checked by popular uprisings in different places, and the trend of affairs has neutralized its tendency towards absolutism.

Nowhere, perhaps, has the progress of popular ideas been more marked and steady, and yet peaceful, than in

Restoration of
Church Affairs
in France.

Changes in the
Rest of
Europe.

Great Britain. The Catholic Emancipation law was carried through in 1829, after severe struggles. The Reform Bill, abolishing "pocket boroughs" (precincts represented in Parliament, but having no population), was passed in 1832. Slavery was abolished in the West Indies in 1833. The Poor Laws were enacted in 1834. The Municipal Corporation Law bestowed the right of self-government upon cities of a certain class, in 1835. The Civil Marriage Law in 1836 was in the direction of leveling religious differences. Since the accession of Victoria in 1837, the course of progressive legislation for the benefit of the common people has been even more rapid. Penny-postage was established in 1840. Jews were admitted to Parliament in 1858. The electoral system was again reformed in 1867, enfranchising more than a million of householders. The Irish Church was disestablished in 1869. The same year membership in the governing bodies of grammar schools was made open to all denominations. The universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Durham were opened to all, without the necessity of subscribing to any creed. The parochial churchyards were made accessible to dissenters in 1880, and finally the headships and fellowships of Oxford and Cambridge universities were freed from clerical restrictions in 1882.

But if the political movement has been so radical during the nineteenth century, the philosophical movement has also been very remarkable. With Kant as a starting-point this movement seeks for truth in a new direction. The first to build on Kant was Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814). In imitation of Kant he constructed a *Critique of all Revelation*. But his interpretation was questioned by Kant's other disciples and disowned by Kant himself. Nevertheless he built his system as pure science, taking the ground that only the Égo could be known scientifically. His philosophy is thus of the same type though not identical with Berkeley's. J. F. Herbart (1776-1841) followed also on the basis of Kant, but with an entirely different result. He held that experience must serve as

Progress in
England.

Philosophy
until Hegel.

the beginning of philosophy; that doubt must be a necessary stage, but must issue in the refashioning of the data of experience into a system of the universe. On this basis he propounded the doctrine of "Reals" as the constituents of the world. Schelling (1775-1854) probably builds on Fichte's doctrine of the Ego when he makes this the coming into consciousness of the World-soul, and then constructs a system according to which the universe is a living being whose spiritual nature manifests itself in the phenomena of intellect, and whose material side is shown in the physical world.

Fichte.
Herbert.
Schelling.

The most potent stream of influence going forth from philosophy over religious thought is that which was exercised by Hegel (1770-1831). Hegel's is the most consistent system of idealism. The essence of the universe is thought. This externalizes itself and evolves in the world of nature. Through this world it comes to selfconsciousness in the world of mind. The system was taught and embraced by many theologians as the most rational explanation of Christianity. Hegel's followers, however, divided into two sections. The section that attempted to adhere to a Christian theistic belief was designated the Hegelian Right wing, and the section which carried out Hegelianism to a strict pantheistic extreme was called the Hegelian Left.

Hegel.

Meanwhile, other forms of philosophizing also found favor. Arthur Schopenhauer (1788-1860) taught that the world is the manifestation of blind unintelligent will, and therefore as bad as possible. Auguste Comte (1798-1857) claimed that the effort to know anything beside mere appearances is vain. All such ideas of the inner relations of things, as well as belief in spiritual realities, he discarded in his Positivism as antiquated theology and metaphysics. But he also tried to satisfy the religious nature by establishing the worship of humanity, with a ritual patterned after the Roman Catholic.

Schopenhauer.
Comte.
Spencer.

Herbert Spencer (1820 —) separates between the

knowable and the unknowable, then relegating the latter to a department by itself in which investigation is futile, he limits himself to building a theory as to the origin and inward life of the knowable. This he finds in the doctrine of evolution. From its doctrine of the unknowable this philosophy has been called Agnosticism, and from its view of the origin and growth of the world, Evolutionism.

But while these systems have been propounded, regardless of the facts of the religious consciousness, and have issued in antagonism with Christian thought, other systems have also been taught all along in harmony with the Christian faith. Such is the so-called Scottish philosophy first elaborated by Thomas Reid (1710-1796), and subsequently supported and entrenched by Thomas Brown (1778-1820), Dugald Stewart (1753-1828), Sir William Hamilton (1788-1856), and James McCosh (1811-1894). This system is based on the "common sense," that is, the intuitive knowledge that all unbiased minds agree in holding. The ideas of power, substance, cause, time, space, are innate and correspond with realities outside of men. The senses are trustworthy. The world perceived by them has a reality. There are two spheres, that of matter and that of mind. Hamilton, however, taught that knowledge is relative, and led Mansell (1820-1871) to deny the philosophic validity either of dogmatic theology or of rationalism.

In Germany, Jacobi (1753-1819) was repelled by the destructive elements of Kant's philosophy. Against Kant's negations he asserted that God, immortality, and freedom are known by a direct intuition which he called faith. Herman Lotze (1817-1881) put forth a spiritualistic realism opposed to Hegelian idealism on one side, and materialistic realism on the other. The world is, according to him, the expression of moral ends, and these ends are the expression of the nature of a Supreme Person—God.

Scottish Philosophy.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

THE French Revolution began during the pontificate of Pius VI. (1775-1799). The rupture between France, under the Revolution, and the papacy, made Pius VII. during this pontificate, was healed by the Concordat of 1801, agreed to by Napoleon and Pius VII. (1800-1823). But these two quarreled and the pope was cast into prison, whence he was delivered only at the fall of the emperor. On his return to Rome, as if making a thank-offering for restoration to the Holy See of the estates which had been confiscated by Napoleon, Pius issued the bull *Sollicitudo omnium*, by which he rehabilitated the order of the Jesuits, in response, as he claimed, to the desire of all the faithful. This measure was followed two years later by the condemnation of Bible societies and of translations of the Bible for the use of the people. Thus from the outset the policy of the Church was bent in the reactionary direction.

Leo XII. (1823-1829) reasserted his predecessor's condemnation of Bible societies. Pius VIII. (1829-1830) did not hold the papacy long enough to do Gregory XVI. much, but his successor, Gregory XVI. (1830-1846), not only continued in the reactionary course inaugurated by Pius VII., but went further in the effort to revive the ideas of Hildebrand and Innocent III. He opposed science and all liberal views, and strove to establish the supremacy of the hierarchy, using to this end even violence. At his death he left more than two thousand persons condemned and lodged in imprisonment for opposing his will.

Pius IX. (1846-1878) began by treating with great leniency those whom his predecessor had sentenced to punishment. In fact his early years were signalized by a policy of tolerance. He seemed to have abandoned the repressive course of previous pontiffs, and to be aspiring for the establishment of a confederacy of Italian states under the presidency of the pope. But the disturbances of 1848 made him aware that such a plan was a pure vision which could never be realized. He fell back into the path opened by Pius VII., and wielded his authority with increasing rigor. In 1854 he pronounced *ex cathedra* in favor of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, thus closing a question which had been discussed ever since the days of Aquinas and Scotus. Ten years later he issued an encyclical letter with a syllabus of errors appended. This document enumerated among others, as errors condemned by the Church, such matters as civil marriage, secular education, toleration of heterodox beliefs, and freedom of conscience.

This policy culminated in the calling of the Vatican council, the twentieth ecumenical, in 1870. The real object of this council, though denied at the time, was the formulation of the doctrine of papal infallibility. The council was largely attended, but the preponderant influence was that of the Italian branch of the Church, closely allied with the pope. The business was arranged by the pope's friends in accordance with his wishes. Three rubrics (*schemata*) were proposed under the captions respectively of The Faith, The Church, and Missions. The first rubric or schema entitled The Faith gave an account of and denounced prevalent forms of error, such as atheism, materialism, etc. This was adopted unanimously. The second consisted of three articles. (1) A definition of the legal status of the Church with relation to the State. (2) The reassertion of the supremacy of the pope over the whole Church. (3) A catechism to be used in the instruction of the young. To these was added, ostensibly at the request of 400 members of the council, but in reality

Vatican Council.
Dogma of
Infallibility.

by prearrangement at the desire of the pope, (4) the affirmation that the pope is infallible in every utterance on a point of faith duly submitted to his judgment. This article evoked strong opposition on the part of learned and liberal men like Bishop Hefele, Archbishops Dupanloup, of Orleans, and Kenrick, of the United States. But it was passed at first by a large majority, and on a second vote with but two dissenting voices out of 550. Before the council could enter upon other business of importance the war between France and Germany broke out and the council dissolved.

While the Catholic clergy, both higher and lower, acquiesced in the dogma of the Vatican council, a few theologians recorded their protest against it. These held a conference at Nüremberg in the summer of 1870, and declared that the Vatican council was not truly ecumenical and its dogma, therefore, was not binding. The most eminent of these theologians was Ignatius Döllinger, of Munich. Having refused to subscribe to the decree of the council, he was excommunicated. Under his leadership the Catholics who could not accept the new dogma held a second conference in Munich, and organized the Old Catholic Church. The Old Catholics claimed that they were the true adherents of the historic faith, while those who accepted the dogma of the Vatican had departed from true Catholicism. They recognized the Appellants of Holland (Jansenists), and proposed amalgamation with the Greek and some of the Protestant churches. At a third conference, held in 1872, they went further from Romanism in abolishing the celibacy of the clergy and in making it optional with the priest administering the Lord's Supper whether he shall offer the cup to the laity or not. The Old Catholic movement did not, however, gather much strength, as it lacked fervor and popular features to commend it to the masses.

In France the movement found a representative in Père Hyacinthe, a Carmelite monk (Charles Loyson), who has been laboring against great difficulties since 1878 in building up a national Gallican Catholic Church independent of the pope.

Old Catholic
Movement.

When Napoleon III. was dethroned after the defeat of France in 1870, the troops maintained by him at Rome in support of the pope as a temporal sovereign were withdrawn, and Victor Emmanuel II. marched into Rome and took possession of the city, making it the capital of the kingdom of Italy. From the date of this event to the time of his death, Pius IX. assumed the roll of a prisoner and refused to leave the Vatican. His successor, Leo XIII. (1878—), took up the papal policy left by Pius, though he has intimated to the Italian government that he would prefer to live on a peaceful understanding with the royal government, but must have some concession of temporal authority made to him.

During the last half century two opposite tendencies have developed in the Roman Catholic Church. The first of these is a tendency towards superstition, credulity, and slavish obedience to the Vatican; the other a tendency towards radicalism, socialism, and rationalism. The first finds expression in easy belief in miraculous phenomena, such as those produced by Hohenloe and Sabina Schæfer, or at Lourdes and Marpingen; the second is to be discerned in the revolutionary teachings of Martin Boos in the diocese of Augsburg, of Theiner at Breslau, and of Lamennais at Paris.

The disposition to yield to the claims of Rome and obey the pope rather than the government has been called Ultramontanism. It has manifested itself in Kultur-Kampf. France, and especially in Germany, where it has led to the famous Kultur-Kampf. This was a conflict between the papacy and the German imperial government. It was caused by the entrance into the new German empire of the Catholic German States of the old Confederacy. The occasion of the outbreak of the conflict was the appropriation of money for the support of the Old Catholics by the government. As the Old Catholics had gone out of the Roman communion, in making an appropriation for them, it was necessary to cut down the appropriation made for the Roman Catholics. This was called an act of persecution, and resented.

The Pope, Leo XIII., as a Prisoner at the Vatican.

Diverging tendencies in Romanism.

In another locality the question of education proved to be the bone of contention. Ledochowski, the primate of Poland, tried to exclude the German language from the schools of his diocese in Prussia. This led to the passing of the imperial School Inspection law of 1872, by which the control of schools was transferred from the Church to the State. The bishops protested against this measure as persecution, and denounced it as dechristianizing education.

Still another question, arising out of the two preceding, was the status of the Jesuits. It was found that the members of this order were active in fomenting opposition to the legislation of the empire. Two laws were passed directed against them. The first forbade the use of the pulpit for political purposes on penalty of imprisonment for two years. The second suppressed the order of Jesuits, closed their schools, and provided against their reappearance under another name.

Finally, the May Laws (1873-1874) furnished another subject of dispute. These laws required citizenship in Germany, as a qualification for holding ecclesiastical office. In addition they required an educational qualification of the equivalent of a three-years' course in some German university, with due preparation preceding. And further they prescribed close supervision by the government of all ecclesiastical offices and the manner in which they were filled. They called forth an encyclical letter from Pius IX. (*Quod nunquam*) alleging that they were tyrannical and that no one was under obligation to obey them.

At this stage the controversy remained to the death of Pius and for some time after. But political conditions compelled the German government to compromise the matter with Leo XIII. and a reconciliation was effected in 1887.

CHAPTER XIV.

PROTESTANTISM IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

SOON after the confusion created in Europe by the French Revolution and the doings of Napoleon was settled, the Lutherans and Reformed of Germany united in one state Church. Prussia led the movement for union. King Frederick William III., a devout and earnest man, suggested the plan on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of the Reformation in 1817, and it was successfully carried out within his domains in 1829. A small fraction of the Lutheran Church, however, refused to enter the reunited state Church, and remained independent. From this smaller body the Immanuel Synod later seceded, on the ground of Romanizing tendencies in it, and thus eventually there came to exist three Protestant churches instead of two in Germany.

In France an Appendix to the Concordat of 1801 guaranteed freedom to Protestants and equality with the Roman Catholics. When the Bourbons were restored in 1815 the Catholics in the south of the country undertook a series of persecutions against the Reformed, which, however, the government was constrained by popular opinion to prevent. A theological school for Calvinists at Montauban and one for Lutherans at Strasburg were established, and since 1830 further legislation has confirmed and enlarged the privileges enjoyed by the Reformed as a free Church.

In Italy the Waldensian Church, surviving the troubles and changes of three hundred years, came to the front

Waldensians
in Italy. with the agitations of 1848, and secured formal recognition and civil rights. But as the language used by the Waldensians of Piedmont was French, the Waldensians of Italy separated into the Free Church of Italy in 1854, aiming at the same time under De Sanctis (1808-1869), and Gavazzi (1809-1889), at a more thoroughly evangelical spirit.

The Reformed Church of Holland has been disturbed by the rise of a rationalistic tendency within it. As a result of the conflict with rationalism the Church was divided in 1839 into the evangelical Christian Reformed Church and the rationalistic Reformed State Church. Within the latter body a reaction towards evangelicalism has developed three parties—the Calvinistic wing led by Kuyper, the Rationalistic led by Kuenen and Scholten, and the Middle evangelical party led by Van Oosterzee. There has also existed in Holland a small Lutheran Church.

In Scotland the system of lay patronage, abolished in the revolution of 1688, was restored by Queen Anne in 1712. But the Church never acquiesced in this restoration. A constant feeling of opposition was cherished for over a century, and found vent in frequent protests. Finally the Assembly of 1834 passed the Veto Act, conceding to each congregation the right of rejecting ministers placed over them by lay patrons. But the advocates of lay patronage appealed to the civil courts and were sustained by them. Its opponents appealed to Parliament for redress, and failing to get it, seceded in 1843 and organized the Free Church under the leadership of Thomas Chalmers. The nucleus of the new organization consisted of 451 ministers who relinquished their places and emoluments without any other resources, but such as the free-will offerings of those who were like-minded with themselves. But with the learning and ability of wise leaders, of whom Chalmers was the chief, they soon put the Free Church on a sound basis. In 1876 the Cameronians and Reformed Presbyterians joined the Free Church. In 1847 the United Secession Church and the Relief Church, which had existed

as separate bodies for a century, amalgamated in the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and thus the number of Presbyterian churches in Scotland has been reduced to three.

The theology of the period has been affected, as already intimated, by the course of philosophic thought. The mediator between philosophy and theology in Germany was Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834), a man of keen analytical and critical genius, and at the same time of warm glowing piety. He laid down the fundamental propositions, that religion is the sense of dependence, that dogmatic theology is the consciousness of the Church put into expression, that sin is the dominion of the flesh over the spirit; Christ came, as the only miracle in the world, to reverse this order and establish the dominion of the spirit over the flesh, and, finally, that Christ does this by overcoming evil and making those who trust in him sharers in his victory and rule over evil. Christ thus realizes the God-consciousness. He will ultimately restore all things to their proper sphere.

The influence of Schleiermacher was immeasurable and wholesome. Although he did not lead theology back to the strictest evangelicalism, he restored it to a respected place and stimulated discussion, so that in modified forms his system has reappeared within evangelicalism. Some of his most eminent followers in Germany have been Neander, J. P. Lange, Twisten, Julius Müller, Dorner, and R. Rothe.

Hegelianism also issued in important theological speculations. David Friedrich Strauss (1808–1874) tried under its subtle pantheistic influence to resolve the Gospel history into a web of myth, spun unconsciously by the apostolic generation, but found himself at the last constrained to drift into pantheistic atheism. Ferdinand Christian Baur (1792–1860) sought with greater care to construct a philosophy of history on the Hegelian basis and apply it to the early ages of Christianity. He founded the Tübingen School of Criticism, which worked on the basis that

Strauss.
Baur and the
Tübingen
School.

the Church arose out of a conflict of tendencies. But the theory after being elaborated by a group of brilliant scholars was seen to be unsatisfactory.

Finally, Albrecht Ritschl (1822-1889) rebelled against the domination of philosophy in theology, and founded a new non-metaphysical system. Accepting the supernatural, as well as the authority of Jesus Christ, but separating all metaphysical elements and excluding them as extraneous, and at the same time applying a rigid criticism to the sources of Christian thought, he attempts out of the residue to construct the primitive teaching of Christianity. His system has been welcomed by some as a reaction from rationalism, and has exerted an increasing influence on the theological thought of Germany and Great Britain.

The influence which has leavened theology in England, however, has been that of the elder philosophy passed through the refining mind of Samuel Taylor S. T. Coleridge. Coleridge (1772-1834). Coleridge taught that belief in God is a dictate of the conscience, and that it is therefore a duty to believe and a sin not to believe. Faith in Christ follows belief in God on the presentation of Christ to the mind. But to the believer in Christ the next step is quite as natural, being faith in the Scriptures. Original sin consists in the choice of a sinful earthly life in a previous condition of existence.

Coleridge's views, animated by the spirit of the latitudinarian movement of the previous age, produced the Broad Church party in England. The earlier phase of Broad Churchism was represented in the writings of a group of writers called the Earlier Oriel School. The main aim of these writers was to make the Established Church as comprehensive as possible. They taught accordingly that episcopacy was justified by expediency, but not necessarily by divine appointment. Most prominent among the Early Oriel men were Richard Whateley (1787-1863), and Thomas Arnold (1795-1842). The later Broad Church party includes men like Frederick D. Maurice (1805-1872), Charles Kingsley (1819-1875),

Broad Church
Party in Eng-
land.

Henry H. Milman (1791-1868), Arthur P. Stanley (1815-1881), F. W. Robinson (1816-1853), and Julius C. Hare (1795-1855), who not only adopted the comprehensiveness of their predecessors of the Early Oriel School, but also departed from the common beliefs of the Church in theology.

The most marked movement in the Anglican Church during the present age has been the rise of the High Church party. This movement began with a Tractarianism. revival, especially at Oxford University, of the study of history. The theology of the middle ages attracted men and begat a desire for a return to it, purged, of course, of its objectionable features. John Henry Newman (1801-1890), Henry E. Manning (1808-1892), John Keble (1792-1866), Edward B. Pusey (1800-1882), and Frederick W. Faber (1814-1863), all men of great talents and fervent imaginative temperament, as well as sincere piety, banded themselves together in the publication of a series of *Tracts for the Times*. In these they made an attack on the growing laxity of the Church in matters of doctrine and polity. *Tract No. 90*, written by Newman, created a special stir by its advocacy of Romanizing tendencies. In other productions the Tractarians insisted on the apostolic origin of the episcopate, and the necessity of apostolic succession. They taught baptismal regeneration, and the real presence, in a transubstantiation sense, of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist.

Their effort was, in a word, to find a middle ground between the Lutheran or rather Anglican Reform and the Roman Catholic Church. But this they found impossible. One by one their leaders, Newman, Faber and Manning, joined the Roman Catholic communion. Keble and Pusey remained with the High Church party and led it in its warfare against Broad Churchism and evangelicalism.

The evangelical party in the Church, meanwhile, under the name of the Low Church party, has engaged in practical labors looking to the advancement of the gospel and spread of spiritual ideals.

Low Church
Party.

A new church sprang up under peculiar circumstances in Scotland. Edward Irving (1792-1834), a former colleague of Chalmers at Glasgow, was in 1833 deposed from the ministry by the Presbytery of Annan for heresy. His peculiar views were that Jesus Christ took on himself sinful human nature, with inborn predisposition to moral evil and corruption; that through the Holy Spirit he kept this nature from breaking out in open sin, and gradually purified it through struggle and suffering and death; that the atonement consists in this purification; men become partakers of the purified humanity of Christ by faith. The work of the Holy Spirit in the Church was exemplified in the apostolic age and the Church must return to the exact type of life of the apostolic Church, including the restoration of the apostolate and of extraordinary manifestations of the Holy Spirit. Upon the basis of these views The Catholic Apostolic Church was organized.

Edward Irving
and the Catholic
Apostolic
Church.

The chief characteristic, however, of the contemporary period, is its devotion to practical Christian work. It is during this age that Bible societies, Sabbath-schools, tract societies, Christian alliances, and a world-wide missionary effort have been undertaken by the evangelical churches. All of these have been attended with remarkable success, and given a peculiar character to nineteenth-century evangelicalism which cannot fail to remain on it as its permanent badge.

Practical
Tendency.

The first of these practical enterprises of the Protestant churches was the foreign missionary work. Up to the end of the eighteenth century missionary labors by Protestants were sporadic and individual. At the beginning of the present era a new principle was brought into this field, that of organization into local and private societies of evangelicals who had the conversion of the heathen at heart. The initiator of the new stage of missionary life in this manner was William Carey (1761-1834), who persuaded twelve Baptist ministers to contribute the sum of £13 2s. 6d. (\$65), and organize themselves into the

Missions.
William Carey

Particular Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen. This was in 1792. Carey went to Calcutta as the missionary of this association.

The Missionaries.

The experiment proved a perfect success.

Marshman and Ward followed Carey, and within twenty five years another Baptist organization was started under the name of the "General Baptist Missionary Society" (1816). Both of these societies have had ample support and encouragement through their history since.

The new idea was taken up by the other evangelical bodies. In 1795 the London Missionary Society was formed, and Robert Morrison (1782-1834) was

Morrison,
Williams, Ellis,
Moffat, Livingston.

sent to China, where he translated the Bible

and paved the way for all subsequent mission work by composing a grammar and dictionary

of the language for the use of future missionaries. The same society sent John Williams (1796-1839) to the South Sea Islands and William Ellis (1794-1872) to Madagascar, which was ultimately Christianized, giving occasion, however, during the process of its conversion for the manifestation on the part of native converts of the highest type of Christian heroism under persecution. Robert Moffat (1795-1883) spent his life in South Africa, and David Livingstone (1813-1873), his son-in-law, penetrated beyond the boundaries of that portion of Africa which was known, and opened the way for commerce and civilization as well as for the preaching of the gospel to tribes and in regions previously unknown.

In Scotland the Scottish Missionary Society was organized in Edinburgh in 1796. It occupied as its special fields

Scottish Missionaries.

regions of India, China, and the Mohammedan Tartars of Russia dwelling between the Caspian and the Black Seas. The Glasgow

Missionary Society came into existence the same year and chose for its labors Kafraria in Africa. A remarkable episode in the life of this society was the diversion of the gift of Robert Haldane from the cause of foreign missions to home missionary work in Scotland. The gift was turned aside from its original purpose because it had been designated for the support of missionaries in

India, and when the attempt was made to land these missionaries it was not permitted by the authorities.

The Church Missionary Society was in a certain sense an offshoot of the London Missionary Society.

The latter was started as an interdenominational association. But the Anglican members of it deemed it their duty to undertake a work of their own on a larger scale than was represented in a partial interest in the older society. Their anticipations of the greatness of the work they could accomplish have been fully realized. The Church Society has had a remarkable growth, and has occupied fields in Africa, India, New Zealand, China, Mauritius, and the Victoria Nyanza. Another very prosperous missionary society has been that of the Wesleyan Methodists of England. This has also occupied hard and apparently inaccessible fields, such as the islands of Polynesia, South Africa, South India, and South China.

But the missionary idea also crossed the English Channel and resulted in the formation of a large number of societies in almost all the Protestant countries of Europe. At the same time the Moravians and the Danish Halle Mission, in existence previously, received a new infusion of life.

Among the fruits of this revival of evangelistic zeal are to be numbered missionary organizations in such lands as the Netherlands, harassed as it was by rationalism, and France, with its persecuted Reformed Church.

The main work of preaching the gospel, it was soon found on the mission fields, was not only strengthened by work in education, medicine and special ministrations to special classes, but in many instances it could not very well be accomplished without such special ministrations. Thus arose medical missionary societies, like that of Edinburgh founded by Dr. Abercrombie in 1841; women's missionary societies were also formed first in 1854 to penetrate into the Zenana system of India. Finally, the Jews were chosen as a special class needing a course of dealing different from any other subjects, and organizations were

Church Mis-
sionary Society.

The Missionary
Idea crosses
the Channel.

Special Mis-
sions.

established having as their special work the Christianization of Israelites.

The last step forward in the growth of the missionary idea was taken in 1830 when Thomas Chalmers persuaded the Church of Scotland to resolve itself practically into a missionary society. The work belonged, he claimed, to the Church as such, and not to any number of its members as private individuals. The proposal was accepted and Alexander Duff (1806-1878) was sent to India as the missionary of the Church of Scotland. When the Free Church broke away from the Establishment in Scotland Duff attached himself to the new branch. Both the branches have continued their missionary work on the basis of the principle of Chalmers, besides furnishing an example to other churches in the same direction.

The call came from the mission field quite early for the Bible in the vernacular languages of the peoples to whom the missionaries were taking the gospel. To meet this demand the British and Foreign Bible Society was formed in 1804 as an undenominational organization. The question, however, presently arose whether the Apocrypha of the Old Testament constitutes a part of the Bible which this society was to distribute. After an agitation of two years (1827-1828) this "Apocrypha controversy" was closed by the exclusion of the disputed books from the society's printed Bibles. But this conclusion was not satisfactory to the branches of the society in Germany, and these accordingly seceded and formed the Berlin Bible Society.

The Bible began to be taught to the children, especially of the poor and destitute, also, with the beginning of the contemporary period. The founder of the Sunday-Schools. Sunday-school was Robert Raikes. He gathered together, in 1781, some poor illiterate children and began to teach them reading and writing in order that he might later instruct them in the Bible and the catechism. The evangelical churches seized upon the idea and soon the Sunday-school became one of the indispensable agencies for imparting religious knowledge

to the children of the rich and poor alike. As first projected it was naturally crude. It was reformed, or rather improved, in 1820 by James Gall, who introduced the element of instruction in place of a large amount of memorizing, previously constituting the main work. Later uniform lessons were introduced, and finally the International system now in use was adopted in 1872.

The feeling of internal unity among evangelicals in spite of outward differences led, at the opening of the century, to various efforts at amalgamation which

The Evangelical Alliance.

were partially successful. In the Evangelical

Alliance, however, there was found an instrument for expression and at the same time promoting this feeling in view of the growth of Roman Catholicism on the one side and of unbelief on the other. One of the first promoters of the Alliance was Thomas Chalmers. It was organized in 1846 with the threefold end in view of promoting fraternal relations among evangelical Christians, of defending and disseminating the fundamental truths of the gospel, and of defending and promoting toleration and religious liberty everywhere.

Its constitution includes the following articles as the basis of belief accepted by the covenanting evangelical

bodies: (1) The divine origin and inspiration of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments; (2) the doctrine of the Trinity; (3)

the doctrine of the Incarnation or the divinity of Jesus

Christ; (4) the doctrine of original Sin; (5) justification by faith alone; (6) the necessity and obligatory

nature of the two sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper; (7) the resurrection of the body; (8) the

future judgment; and (9) everlasting rewards and punishments. The Alliance has strictly adhered to this

basis and has therefore not included Unitarianism, the Society of Friends, or any other bodies which are only in

general sympathy with its objects, but cannot accept these fundamental positions. It has held conventions at

irregular intervals and has striven to realize the ends of its founders.

its founders,

Its Constitution and Works.

CHAPTER XV.

CHRISTIANITY IN AMERICA DURING THE COLONIAL ERA (1492-1789).

THE first century after the discovery of the Western hemisphere was taken up with exploration. With the opening of the seventeenth century begins properly the period of colonization. But during the period both of exploration and of colonization the Christian religion made its advance on the continent side by side with the explorer and colonist. Columbus himself alleged three motives for his enterprise of discovery, viz. : (1) desire for wealth, (2) love of adventure, and (3) search for new fields where the Church might be planted. Gain and adventure took a more important part in molding the course of those who followed him, but the religious motive was never altogether lost sight of.

When the Spaniards under Cortez entered Mexico on their campaign of conquest they had in the invading army the missionary who was to be known as "the apostle of Mexico"—Bartolomé de Olmedo. They finished their conquest in 1520, and within twenty years after this event the natives had nominally accepted Christianity throughout Mexico and California up to the line of the future State of Washington. This conversion was naturally superficial. It substituted Roman Catholic ceremonies in place of the human sacrifices and other abominable practices of the Aztec religion. But this in itself was a vast gain.

Another Spanish missionary of the early days was Bartolomé de Las Casas (1471-1566), who spent his life in

efforts to improve the condition of the Indians, often inter-posing between the Spaniards and the natives and saving the latter from cruel massacre. To keep the Spaniards from inflicting slavery on the Indians he suggested the idea of importing African slaves and lived long enough to regret that he had made the suggestion.

Closely following the Spaniards in order of time came the French. They directed their course to the north-east and occupied Canada, founding Montreal and establishing a seat of Jesuit influence.

From this center the Jesuits reached the Indians of a vast tract extending over the States now lying between Maine and New York. Pressing into the interior, the French, accompanied by Jesuit priests, came to the Mississippi valley. Joliet and Father Marquette penetrated to the very headwaters of the great river, and then down the valley to the mouth of the Arkansas. Wherever they went they established missionary stations. LaSalle went even farther, reaching the Gulf of Mexico and proclaiming the whole territory a possession of King Louis XIV. of France, whence it was called Louisiana. The Protestants of France also took a share in settling the new continent. As early as 1562 and 1564 colonies of Huguenots were sent by Coligny; but their experiences were generally quite as unfortunate here as in the Old World.

English explorers were among the very first to set out for the new Western continent. Under the Cabots—John and Sebastian—the English touched at Cape Breton and skirted along the coast from Newfoundland to Florida. Later came Martin Frobisher, Captain John Smith, Sir Walter Raleigh and others. Wherever these landed, without regard to previous explorers or colonists, they proclaimed the land a possession of the king of England. To substantiate this claim it was deemed advisable to resort to the scheme of colonization. Sir Walter Raleigh repeatedly attempted to take possession of the coast of North Carolina in this way but without success. The first successful

Spanish Mis-
sionaries.

French Jesuits.

English
Colonies.

colony from England was that sent to the James River in 1607. It consisted of English cavaliers under Captain John Smith, all enthusiastic members of the Church of England, which accordingly was fixed as their church. Efforts were made to convert the Indians, but they simply led to conflicts and massacres. The colony, however, prospered materially and increased in numbers.

In 1620 the Plymouth colony landed on the coast of Massachusetts under very peculiar circumstances. It consisted of Brownists or Independents, who had sought for many years for a place where they might hold and practice their religious beliefs unmolested. They had taken up their residence in Holland for twelve years as a church of three hundred communicants under their pastor, John Robinson, but hearing of the New World and finding life in Holland only a little less objectionable than in England, they determined to face the dangers and trials of emigration. They embarked in two vessels, the *Mayflower* and the *Speedwell*. The latter was found unseaworthy and returned to port. The *Mayflower* crossed with her passengers and landed them on Cape Cod, November 9, 1620. The next month they removed to the western side of Massachusetts Bay. They endured great hardships and lost half their number from the severity of the first winter; but they founded a town and called it Plymouth, from the last place they had seen in the Old World.

A third English colony landed on the shores of New England in 1628, under John Winthrop. This consisted of eight hundred Puritans, and was equipped with a charter given them by Charles I. Among them were some very able men, such as John Cotton, Thomas Hooker and Roger Williams. They established themselves near the Plymouth (Pilgrim) colony, and founded the town of Salem. They came into direct contact with the Pilgrims, and in organizing their ecclesiastical and civil government they imbibed many ideas from the earlier settlement, and ultimately adopted Independency as their permanent form of church polity.

Winthrop and
the Puritans.

In 1636, owing to differences on the question of the civil government, three settlements, led by Thomas Hooker, withdrew from Massachusetts and established themselves in the towns of Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield, and thus made up the nucleus of the future State of Connecticut. A colony at New Haven (Rodenburg) founded as an independent Puritan settlement, joined these river towns, and the Connecticut colony was thus fully organized in 1662.

Hooker and
the Connecticut
Colony.

A fourth English colony was founded by Charles Calvert, Lord Baltimore, in Maryland, in 1634. Lord Baltimore had been a Protestant, but became a Roman Catholic and determined to leave England. He secured the grant of a charter, and with a number of others like-minded with himself, he settled on the present State of Maryland. This colony, though chiefly consisting of Roman Catholics, was organized on a liberal basis. Protestants were tolerated and welcomed into it. It was provided in its organic law "that no person within this province professing to believe in Jesus Christ shall be in any way troubled, molested, or discountenanced for his religion or in the free exercise thereof." This was a matter of policy. It was intended to draw colonists, but it proved ruinous to Roman Catholic interests. The Protestants came in larger numbers than the Catholics, and soon, finding themselves in the majority, refused that liberty to "papacy, prelacy, and licentiousness," which the papists had granted them in 1688. With the revolution in England, the provincial government was overthrown, and the Church of England was made the established Church in Maryland.

Calvert and
Maryland.

Still another English colony came over with William Penn, bringing a charter granted by Charles II. in 1681. These were members of the Society of Friends, and purchased from the Indians a large tract of territory. They established the colony of Pennsylvania, and made it the refuge of persecuted Quakers. But its constitution was the most liberal and tolerant hitherto known. All forms of religious be

Pennsylvania.

lief were put on an equality. Only matters of conduct were made subjects of legislation, but in these matters strictness of discipline was exercised.

The last of the English colonies was that founded in Georgia by Oglethorpe in 1732. He brought over a company of unfortunate men, who in England had incurred punishment for inability to pay their debts, as the laws of the country were on this matter severe to the point of cruelty. These were joined by a company of persecuted Protestants from Austria.

Besides these large colonies, Great Britain contributed to the settlement of the land a number of smaller companies of Scotch and Irish, and Scotch-Irish Protestants, who fled before the persecutions of the reign of Charles II. (1665-1685). These scattered over eastern New Jersey, Pennsylvania (especially the Cumberland and the Allegheny valleys), Maryland, Kentucky, and North Carolina.

The English colonies in Virginia prospered and attracted emigrants in such a way as to suggest the sending out of colonies from the province into the less thickly settled regions of the country further south. Thus arose the Carolinas. The new settlements were, however, soon reinforced by emigrants directly from Europe, among whom were some from France of Huguenot affiliations, and some Lutherans from Germany.

Next to the English in commercial enterprise during the sixteenth and seventeenth century were the Dutch. Under the auspices of the Dutch East India Company in 1607, Henry Hudson started on a voyage of exploration, seeking especially for the northeast passage (the channel which unites the Atlantic and Pacific oceans). In the course of his travels he came to the mouth of the river which now bears his name. Thus Manhattan Island was settled in 1615 by a few straggling traders, who established their posts along the river. The most important of these trading stations was the village of New Amsterdam. It was here that the first church

was organized on the Western hemisphere. All other religious organizations had come either as branches of churches existing in Europe, or as independent organizations with a corporate life before they landed on the western shores. The church at New Amsterdam was patterned after the model of the Reformed Church in Holland, and was Presbyterian. During the course of the seventeenth century the English gradually encroached on the original settlers and gained on them until Peter Stuyvesant was finally forced to surrender the New York colony to them. The name of New Amsterdam was changed to that of New York, and the Church of England was put in place of the Reformed Dutch in the position of established state Church.

As the era of colonization advanced, it became evident that the new hemisphere was to be divided into two sections, corresponding approximately with its natural division into North and South America, and that the northern section was to be controlled by Protestants, while the southern would come under the domination of the Roman Catholic Church. The Catholic element in the North was reduced to a secondary place, partly by a series of wars between the Catholic French and the English Protestants, in which the latter ultimately obtained the upper hand, and partly by purchases and concessions, as at the time when Napoleon sold the province of Louisiana in order to replenish his empty exchequer. The territory of Texas was much later won from Mexico.

Within Protestantism various principles as to the relations of religion to the State made their appearance. In New England the basis of organization was at first theocratic. Church membership was a qualification of citizenship. It is true, statutes to this effect were abrogated by Charles II. in 1662, but public sentiment kept the line between citizenship and church membership invisible. Laws were enacted excluding Quakers from the Massachusetts and New Haven colonies, and severe penalties were attached to the violation of these laws. For simply bringing a

Catholicism
and Puritanism
in America.

Forms of
Protestantism.

Quaker into New Haven, for instance, a fine of £50 was imposed. Quakers coming on their own account on business were punished for the first offense by whipping, hard labor, or seclusion. If the offense were repeated the transgressor was branded with a hot iron on one arm, as a heretic, with the letter H. Upon again repeating the offense he was branded on the other arm in the same manner, and on the fourth recurrence of the offense he had his tongue pierced with a red-hot iron. These penalties, though severe, were not any more so than penalties attached to similar laws, either in England or in Virginia, where the relations of Church and State were not based on the theocratic, but the Erastian principle.

One of the earliest victims of strict theocratic rule in Massachusetts was Roger Williams (1600—1683). He was expelled from the Salem colony for denying the validity of the charter of the colony and for teaching that the oath should not be administered to the unregenerate. He betook himself to Rhode Island and founded (1636) the city of Providence. Here also he joined himself to the Baptists for a time, but withdrew from their fellowship later. The new colony founded by him was the first to practice universal toleration. Yet even here a law was enacted in 1663 denying Roman Catholics civil rights and liberties.

Meanwhile the Massachusetts colony grew steadily. It was felt as early as 1637 that some attention must be given to the question of organizing the Church and furnishing it with laws of discipline. A synod was accordingly convened but did not reach definite results. The legislature of the province called another synod in 1647 which appointed three divines—Cotton, Partridge, and Richard Mather—to draw up a platform for the churches. The result of their labors was the famous Cambridge Platform. The doctrinal standard in this document was the Westminster Confession. The articles referring to the administration of the government were generally on the Presbyterian basis. The churches were to have a pastor, a teacher and an elder chosen by the congregation and

Roger Williams
in Rhode
Island

Church Govern-
ment in Massa-
chusetts. Cam-
bridge Platform.

ordained by the laying on of hands. Synods were to decide controversies and cases of conscience.

When the New Haven and the Connecticut colonies united in 1665, it appeared that differences existed between them which might be removed. But no action was taken in the direction of altering the earlier practices until 1708, when a synod was convened by the government and agreed on the Saybrook Platform. The influence of Presbyterianism on this section of New England is distinctly perceptible in the provisions of this Platform. It prescribed the creation of consociations or permanent councils within the districts of the colony. These consociations were to consist of ministers and delegates and to act as final courts of appeal. A difference of opinion, however, arose as to the powers of the consociations, and with the wave of Independency which presently swept over New England, the Presbyterian tendency of the Platform was counteracted.

It has been noted already that civil privileges were granted in New England only to members of the Church.

Church membership was conditioned on profession of the experience of a spiritual change.

When the number of those who could not give a satisfactory account of such change increased, a movement was made to secure some recognition and standing for them in the State. It was proposed that they be regarded as full members of the Church, and given the right of presenting their children for baptism. After a controversy this proposition was adopted by a synod at Boston, and was called the Half-way Covenant. It remained in force until the middle of the eighteenth century, but its effect was felt by many to be detrimental to the spiritual life of the Church.

The early colonists, both in New England and in other regions, were themselves mostly well educated men who

had a keen appreciation of the advantages of education. They, therefore, no sooner built themselves houses to live in, than they also established free common schools for their children.

Saybrook
Platform.

Half-way
Covenant.

Education
in the Colonies.

It was further among them an absolutely indispensable qualification of their ministers that they should be well versed in the best learning of the day. As they could not and did not wish to depend on the universities of England for this training, they very early planted institutions of higher learning on the new soil. Harvard University was started by a gift of John Harvard in Newtown (afterwards called Cambridge) in 1636. It secured a regular charter in 1650. In Virginia efforts Harvard, Yale. to establish a college proved unsuccessful until the last years of the seventeenth century, when William and Mary College was founded (1693). Yale College arose in consequence of the loss of Harvard to the cause of a strict orthodox theology in 1701.

The year 1746 was signalized by the founding of two of the most successful institutions in the land. The first of these was Columbia College in New York ;
 Columbia, Princeton. the second, the College of New Jersey. The latter was started by the Synod of New Jersey in Elizabethtown with Jonathan Dickinson as its president. When the first president died the college was removed to Newark in order to be under the presidency of the pastor in that town—the Rev. Aaron Burr—giving him an opportunity at the same time to continue in his pastoral relation. Presently, however, funds were raised and an offer of land for a permanent site was made by Princeton and the college was removed thither in 1757.

Connected either directly or indirectly with these educational institutions there arose a line of eminent religious thinkers and writers. Many of these
 Theologians. have been incidentally named in association with their special labors. John Cotton (1585—1652) was the great theologian of the Puritan colony in Massachusetts. Thomas Hooker (1585—1647) was a master mind whose influence in organizing the colony of Connecticut was destined to be felt throughout the whole land. He gave the idea to the framers of the constitution of the colony, of the people governing themselves in the true sense. The Mather family furnished a succession of three men in three generations, all of whom contributed

richly to the intellectual growth of the nation. Richard Mather (1596-1669) helped to frame the Cambridge Platform. Increase Mather, his son (1639-1723), was president of Harvard College and the writer of many works. Cotton Mather (1663-1728), son of Increase Mather, was a most prolific author whose works, especially the *Magnalia* and the *Wonders of the Invisible World*, constitute a mine of information concerning the early history of New England. Jonathan Dickinson (1688-1747) and Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758) were both presidents of Princeton College, and without doubt two of the greatest theologians that this country has produced. Edwards especially displayed in metaphysics a power that has not been surpassed. He was at the same time effective as a preacher and took part in the great revival of the middle of the eighteenth century; he opposed the Half-way Covenant and was instrumental, perhaps more than any other, in bringing about its final abandonment. In many other ways he has left the permanent impress of his wonderful personality on New England Theology.

The theology of the Puritans was Calvinistic; and as such it was maintained throughout the colonial era.

Attempts to innovate in some essential particulars were, however, not wanting from the beginning. One of the most peculiar of these was the view proposed by Anne Hutchinson, and defended by her brother-in-law, John Wheelwright. According to these persons justification is produced by direct revelation or divine impression on the justified soul. The Holy Spirit by this impression establishes a union between himself and the Christian, and makes him incapable of sinning thenceforth. They further taught that there is no bodily resurrection, but that the doctrine of the Scriptures involves only a spiritual rising of the dead soul from sin by faith in Christ. For these views Anne Hutchinson was banished from the Massachusetts colony and later excommunicated on the charge of falsehood. Her followers who in some particulars, perhaps, went beyond her teachings and rightly incurred the charge of being Antinomians,

Hutchinsonians.

were silenced, and the controversy ended without the serious results feared from it.

Another innovation attempted in New England was the view of the Lord's Supper propounded by Solomon Stoddard. This divine held that the sacrament being a means of grace should be administered to the unregenerate with a view to their spiritual improvement and preparation for the regenerating influence of the Holy Spirit. Naturally this theory became associated with the Half-way Covenant. It never found much favor, however, beyond a small local circle in Boston.

The religious life of the colonies varied naturally with the type of Christianity prevalent in each locality. While in the regions where the English Church had been brought over bodily with all its features, there was considerable looseness in discipline, wherever the Puritans had established themselves the severer and more sober elements were emphasized. Church services in such surroundings were characterized by extreme simplicity, though not by brevity. The sermon was made the main feature of the service, and consisted frequently of the discussion of some topic of dogmatic theology, which the preacher was expected to "improve" at the conclusion. The Old Testament was a favorite resort for texts. Special occasions were observed by fast and thanksgiving days, on which attendance at public service was required by civil statute.

One of the most unique episodes in Church history is the Witchcraft Delusion of the closing years of the seventeenth century in Massachusetts. The belief in witchcraft was common in Europe during the middle ages, and had been preserved down to the time of the outbreak in New England. Here, however, it appeared as an epidemic. The belief gained ground that some women had formed an alliance with the devil and practiced magic arts by his aid. They were publicly accused of this, and in many instances, in spite of their protests, were put to death on slender and insufficient testimony of any misdeed. The delusion

Solomon
Stoddard's View
of the Lord's
Supper.

Religious Life.

Witchcraft
Delusion.

reached its acme in 1692. The Mathers have been criticised for encouraging and fomenting it. The truth, however, is that they were simply the victims of the delusion, like their contemporaries, and the suggestion made by one Mather (Increase) that the accusers of the witches might be the real allies of the devil certainly had the effect of arresting the epidemic.

In the effort to obtain a foothold on the land and build necessary institutions, the Christian colonists did not lose sight altogether of their duty to the heathen

Missions.
Eliot.

Indians by whom they were surrounded.

Efforts were put forth at every point to bring them to the knowledge of the gospel. The most significant of these were those of John Eliot (1604-1690), "the apostle to the Indians." Born in England, this zealous missionary came over in 1631, and set himself to the task of mastering the Pequot language with the aid of a native. He then began his labors among the Pequots, and became so enthusiastic that he was able to persuade his friends in England to organize themselves as the Society for promoting and propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England. He reduced the language of the aborigines to writing, composed grammars and primers, and translated Baxter's *Call* and Bayly's *Practice of Popery* into it. His principal work was a translation of the Bible into the Indian language (1661-1663).

Many others took up the work, among them Sargeant, who established the Stockbridge Mission, and David

Sargeant-
Brainerd.

Brainerd (1718-1747), who, in 1742, began at Kinderhook, near the Hudson River, and thence removed to the Susquehanna. His

career was brief; he labored for only four years, but his work was characterized by such Christian devotion that his example raised up and inspired many active Christian laborers.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CHURCH IN AMERICA DURING THE NATIONAL ERA (1776-).

THE war of Independence, for the time that it lasted, absorbed the whole energy and attention of the colonies and paralyzed activity in every other direction, the religious not excluded. It is true that the clergy, even of the Episcopal Church, which was directly allied and affiliated with the Church of England, declared themselves for the independence of the Colonies; but the reflex beneficial effect of this attitude in popularizing the cause of religion was counteracted by the natural evil result of a condition of war. At the end of the struggle the churches were in a much weaker state than for a generation before.

At the same time deism was introduced into the colonies, both in its English and in its French forms. The French type became especially popular. It spread into the colleges. A contemporary calls the college of William and Mary "a hot-bed of French politics and religion." Yale College was, at the time when Timothy Dwight, the elder, assumed the presidency of it, full of societies and clubs of atheists. The students fell into the habit of taking on themselves the names of French infidels whom they specially admired. From the colleges the evil spread into politics. Many prominent men were pronounced adherents of deism. Dearborn considered churches as obstacles in the way of good government. Edmund Randolph was a deist, and Thomas Jefferson very nearly approached the same standpoint. Thomas Paine's *Age of Reason* was accepted as an oracle of truth by many, in spite of its superficiality and the many convincing answers that had been written in

rebuttal of its positions. Under the power of these influences the legislature of Kentucky dismissed its chaplain, and many of the towns of that colony went to the extent of changing their names for those of French unbelievers. The Church was numerically reduced and appeared to be on the verge of a collapse. The total number of Christian churches of every name was under two thousand, and of ministers under fifteen hundred.

Out of this state of depression the Church was lifted to a healthier and more vigorous state by the great revival of 1796-1803. This awakening was not characterized by the special prominence in it of any individual or individuals, but seemed to come spontaneously among the people. It began in Connecticut and spread throughout the whole land. In Yale College, President Dwight promoted the movement by his personal efforts. The number of professing Christian students in the college was increased from twelve to nearly ninety, and one-half of that number determined at once to enter the ministry. The other colleges of New England showed a similar change of complexion after the revival. Spreading to the westward, the movement led to home missionary work, the organization of Sunday-schools, Bible and tract societies, and the system of annual camp-meetings.

When the colonies cut loose from the mother country, all the conditions favored the development of the feeling for an absolute separation of Church and State. The impossibility of a national established Church, on account of the differences of denominations in the various colonies, the indifference of many of the leading men in politics to all churches, the equal strength of many denominations in some of the colonies, all worked in favor of the system of free churches, which ultimately prevailed. Yet the change did not come without a struggle. In Virginia, the Baptists petitioned the legislature for liberty to exist as a free church, that is, to maintain their own ministry, observe their practices, and be exempt from taxation for the support of any other church. This was in 1775. The

Revival of
1796-1803.

Free Church
Systems.

Presbyterians followed with a similar petition and were backed by the Quakers. But it took several years before the law securing the desired end could be framed and passed. This was finally done in 1785 as a result of the exertions of Thomas Jefferson. The other States followed the example of Virginia, though it was more than half a century later that the complete change from state to free churches could be made in some instances.

Since the adoption by the Nation of the free as distinguished from the established system, the history of the Christian Church in the country resolves itself into the survey of the denominational life of the various denominations of Christians.

Denomina-
tionalism.

The Episcopal Church acquired a national independent existence in this country with the consent of the English Parliament in 1785, and the consecration of William White (1748-1836) and Samuel Provost (1742-1808), in 1787, as bishops, respectively, of Philadelphia and New York. The previous experiences of the Church were different in the different regions of the land. In Virginia and Maryland, and the settlements emanating from these, it was the state Church. In New York it became the established Church, with the transfer of the control from the Dutch to the English. In New England it was barely tolerated. By dint of active efforts, however, the Church made steady progress even here. In 1722, Timothy Cutler, president of Yale College, was won over to it, and with another Congregational minister—Samuel Johnson—made the journey to England to obtain reordination at the hands of a duly consecrated bishop in apostolic succession.

During the War of Independence the Episcopal Church suffered more than any other Christian church in the country, because so many of its clergy were loyalists and out of sympathy with the people whom they served. So strong did the sentiment grow against the affiliation with the Anglican Church, that when the war was ended many were thinking of establishing an independent American Church without an accredited episcopacy. But this dan-

The Episcopal
Church.
Timothy Cutler.
White. Seabury.

ger was averted by the wise management of William White. At the same time the extreme High Church party had secured the consecration of Samuel Seabury (1729-1796) as bishop of Connecticut, in an irregular manner by the non-juring bishops of Scotland, and in spite of the refusal of Parliament to sanction the measure. This step created other complications, out of which the good judgment of White brought the Church safely.

The prayer-book of the Episcopal Church was first radically revised in 1785. Later there was a return to a more conservative revision. The High Church, Low Church and Broad Church parties of the English Church have naturally had their branches on this side also. The Broad Church party has furnished one of the ablest preachers in the land in the person of the late bishop Phillips Brooks of Massachusetts.

The most important event in the life of Congregationalism since the beginning of the national era is the rise of Unitarianism within it. The first Unitarian church in America, however, was drawn from the Episcopalian fold. There were, indeed, many Unitarians in New England before the date of the change in this Episcopal Church (1785). Ebenezer Gay, Charles Chauncey, and Jonathan Mayhew held to Unitarian views, but they enjoyed the fellowship of the Trinitarian Congregationalists, and Unitarianism had no separate denominational life until James Freeman (1759-1835) renounced his belief in the Trinity, and drew his church out of the Episcopal communion. Joseph Priestly (1733-1804) established another Unitarian church in Philadelphia, but without much apparent effect in the way of drawing others into the same views. It was otherwise in New England. The organization of a distinctively Unitarian congregation in Boston was the signal for a conflict. Fuel was added to the fire by the appointment of Dr. Henry Ware to the professorship of theology in Harvard University in 1805. Jeremiah Evarts and Professor Leonard Woods led the attack in behalf of the Trinitarians, and William E. Channing and Henry Ware took up

Low Church
and Broad
Church.

Rise of Uni-
tarianism.

the defense. The rupture was completed by the refusal of the Trinitarians to hold fellowship with the Unitarians.

Among the ablest in the latter body have been Parker. William E. Channing (1780-1842), distinguished for his noble personal character, his Channing. moderation, and literary style; Theodore Parker (1810-1860), also a master of style, and James Freeman Clarke.

Unitarianism, however, proved only a transitional stage for some of those who adopted it. The denial of the

divinity of Jesus Christ was to them a step Transcendent- towards the denial of the supernatural origin alism. of historic Christianity. But as they were un-

willing to reject the moral and religious ideas of the Christian system, they took the position that historic facts are of no consequence as a basis of religion. Ideas are the all-essential elements and these transcend facts. From this the movement was called Transcendentalism. Its originator was Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882), who, as a Unitarian minister, was associated with Henry Ware. He found himself out of sympathy with the teachings of the denomination, and left its ministry in order the more freely to propagate his views through the medium of literature. A group of bright intellects joined Emerson to form the Concord School of Philosophy, but the older Unitarians, like Channing and Ware, opposed Transcendentalism.

Trinitarian Congregationalism, in the meantime starting on the basis of the Calvinism of Jonathan Edwards, built

on it the New England theology. The New England special features of this system were the denial Theology. of the imputation of Adam's sin to his poster-

ity, the teaching that man is born with a depraved nature, which may be called sinful because it inevitably leads to sin, but is not itself the ground of condemnation, as only a voluntary act can be such ground, the doctrine of moral inability in place of natural inability of the sinner to do good, and a universal atonement. Samuel Hopkins (1721-1803), a pupil of Edwards, asserted most emphatically the Calvinistic doctrines of election and the sovereignty of God. He reduced all sin to selfishness

and placed repentance at the beginning of all good. Without it no one can perform any good deed. He further made conversion the unconditional surrender or resignation of the will to God. The younger Edwards (1740-1801) adopted the Grotian theory of the atonement. Nathaniel Emmons (1745-1840) elaborated Hopkinsianism in a pantheistic tendency and offended many moderate theologians. Joseph Bellamy (1719-1790) attempted to solve the problem of evil by asserting that evil is the means of the greatest good. Timothy Dwight (1752-1817) opposed some of the more striking features of New England theology, and stood on more moderate Calvinistic ground. Nathaniel W. Taylor (1786-1858) passed over to semi-Pelagian ground and was opposed by Bennet Tyler (1783-1858), an adherent of the covenant theology. Finally Horace Bushnell (1802-1876) elaborated with great literary taste the moral theory of the Atonement, and the Oberlin theologians, Asa Mahan and Charles G. Finney, taught Christian perfectionism.

The Congregational churches have been active in foreign missionary work, especially since the opening of the present century. In conjunction with many Presbyterian churches, they founded the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1810. This organization has been instrumental in the complete Christianization of the Sandwich Islands and in the spread of the gospel among the native Indians as well as abroad in China and Japan, in Syria, in Turkey and elsewhere.

During the whole of the colonial period the Baptists were proscribed and persecuted through the larger portion of the country. Roger Williams (1606-1683) is generally regarded as the founder of the denomination in America, and it is true that he was rebaptized as an adult and opened a refuge, so to speak, for Baptists when he founded the colony of Providence; but he did not continue to hold fellowship with them to the end. In Massachusetts, Obadiah Holmes was publicly whipped for preaching against

Missions of
Congrega-
tionalists.

Baptists.

infant baptism in 1651 at Boston. In New York, Baptists were liable to fine, imprisonment, and banishment. They were somewhat more mildly treated in Pennsylvania, Maryland and South Carolina. During the War of Independence they were staunch supporters of independence, and soon after the end of the war they obtained the freedom of conscience for which they had struggled so long, and entered on a career of growth and earnest activity.

They have been distinguished for missionary labors, inferior in their extent and success to those of no other denomination. Their missionary society, The American Baptist Union, has a larger roll of communing converts than any other missionary association. The accession of Adoniram Judson (1788-1850) to the denomination after he had sailed as a missionary to Burmah, had no doubt a stimulating effect on the zeal of all Baptists in this direction. When they insisted on translating the words "*baptizo*" and "*baptisma*" by "immerse" and "immersion" in the Bibles to be used by their converts in the new fields, the Bible society declined to circulate these translations, and they organized their own Baptist Bible society.

The Baptist denomination, holding as it does to the Independent or Congregational form of polity, has not been particularly subject to disruption. And yet it has had one important schism within it, owing to the propagation of some peculiar views by Alexander Campbell (1788-1855). Campbell taught that regeneration is effected by the Word, that is, the truth presented in the Scriptures, through which alone the Holy Spirit exercises his influence. In baptism the regeneration of the Christian is completed by his personal acceptance and justification in the presence of God. No human creed should be imposed or submitted to. Campbell and the Campbellites were excluded from fellowship by the Baptists in 1827 and have had a separate existence ever since.

Among those who came from England in the earliest colonies there were many who preferred the Presbyterian

polity to the Independent. These, however, did not insist on their preferences, but acquiesced in the prevailing sentiment favoring Congregationalism. So also those Presbyterians who came later into New England in large numbers, according to Cotton Mather's testimony, from Scotland and the north of Ireland, found it a comparatively easy task to adopt the Congregationalism of New England. They were also evidently allowed to exert some influence in modifying Congregationalism, as during the course of the eighteenth century this system underwent a marked change approaching Presbyterianism. But with a wave of reaction there was a return to a more rigid independency.

The Presbyterians who settled in Virginia were subjected to persecution and were obliged to remove into Maryland. It was into this region that about the closing years of the seventeenth century Francis Makemie came from Donegal in Ireland (1683). His tireless zeal and energy resulted in a large increase in numbers and the consolidation of the Presbyterian elements, so that in 1705 a presbytery was organized in Philadelphia—the first on the continent. Eleven years later, the presbytery grew into a synod. In order the better to maintain its order and doctrine, the synod passed an act in 1729 making the Westminster Confession its authoritative creed. But as there was a large element opposed to the strict construction of this Confession it was stipulated that assent should not be required to articles "not essential and necessary to doctrine, worship, and government."

The question of the kind of education to be given the ministry, combined with the question of the status of revivalists in the Church and their relation to the regular ministry, produced a controversy early in the history of American Presbyterianism. William Tennent (1673-1746) established a college at Neshaminy, some twenty miles north of Philadelphia, known as the Log College. In connection with this institution his two sons, Gilbert and William, labored also

Presbyterians
in New Eng-
land.

Makemie.

Disruption of
1745-1758.

as preachers, joining Whitefield in his evangelistic work. These evangelists made statements in the course of their ministrations which were construed by the more conservative Presbyterians as meaning that regeneration was to be tested by one's emotions. They were further considered to be the supporters of a new order of itinerating, and, in most cases, uneducated and unauthorized ministry. For these reasons they were denominated "New Lights" or "the New Side" while their opponents were called "Old Lights" or "the Old Side." The discussion ultimately issued in a disruption in which the "New Side" was organized into the synod of New York, embracing, however, Princeton College and a part of Pennsylvania. The schism lasted thirteen years (1745-1758).

The Presbyterian Church in America assumed national proportions, when, in 1788, the General Assembly was organized. In 1801 a Plan of Union was adopted between Congregationalists and Presbyterians, for the sake of coöperation in the home and foreign mission fields. This was an agreement, according to which ministers of one denomination could labor with the approval of the other, holding themselves responsible to the government of their own denomination, but admitting the other to legal standing in cases where the other had a legal interest. The plan worked favorably to Presbyterianism as far as growth in numbers was concerned. Most of the new churches organized on the home mission field were absorbed by the Presbyterian Church. But this numerical growth was counterbalanced by a decrease in strictness of government. Many of the newly received churches and ministers were not Presbyterian by conviction. The Presbyterians of the older school looked on this growing laxity with anxiety. When Hopkinsianism and the New England theology in general began to spread within the denomination, two parties became distinctly visible; the "Old School," consisting of those who adhered to the Scotch Calvinistic system, and the "New School," embracing those who believed in the new views, together with those who would allow such to remain in the fellowship

Disruption of
1837.

of the Church. The controversy was complicated by differences as to the administration of the missionary work. The Old School sentiment expressed itself vehemently. The attempt was made to restrict the growth of looseness by ecclesiastical trials, notably those of Albert Barnes in 1830, and Lyman Beecher in 1835. Finally, the Old school party, having obtained the majority in 1837, excscinded three synods in New York and one in Ohio. The minority organized into the New School Presbyterian Church. These two bodies remained separate until 1870, when they reunited on the basis of the standards pure and simple.

The subject of the education of the ministry led to another agitation, ending in a disruption in 1810. When the great revival of 1797-1803 reached Ken-
 Cumberland
 Presbyterianism. tucky, the growth by accession of conversions was so rapid that educated ministers could not be provided for all the churches. The Presbytery of Cumberland met the difficulty by ordaining men who could not meet the educational requirements of the Church. For this step the synod of Kentucky dissolved this presbytery in 1806. After waiting for a change of base on the part of the synod, the Presbytery of Cumberland was re-organized by Finis Ewing, Samuel King and Samuel McAdow in 1810. As the synod and General Assembly declined to recognize this presbytery, it existed independently, and took the name of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, revising the Westminster Confession and modifying its Calvinism.

The question of slavery led to another division. The New School presbyteries of the slave-holding states
 Southern
 Church. seceded from the New School Assembly in 1857. The Old School presbyteries in the same region left the Old School Assembly in 1861. Two years later these presbyteries united in the Presbyterian Church in the United States. The fundamental principle of this Church is that the Church, as a purely spiritual institution, must abstain from legislation with reference to political questions.

Presbyterianism has taken a very prominent part in the

active work of evangelizing the heathen through its Board of Foreign Missions. It has contributed also largely to all inter-denominational undertakings for the advancement of temperance and peace. It has been prominent in educational work through Princeton College and the numerous institutions of the same type throughout the land. It has planted theological seminaries in Princeton, Auburn, New York (Union), Allegheny, Cincinnati (Lane), Chicago (McCormick), San Francisco, and latest of all at Omaha. It has furnished to American scholarship the eminent names of Edward Robinson, Moses Stuart, Charles and A. A. Hodge, Archibald Alexander and his sons, James W. and Joseph Addison Alexander, Henry B. Smith, W. G. T. Shedd, Philip Schaff and James McCosh, to say nothing of those still living.

The Reformed Churches, both Dutch and German, remained associated with the synods in the Old World, from which they had proceeded. The Dutch Reformed Church began to organize itself early, but on account of dissensions was unable to complete its organization until 1770. The German Reformed held its synod first in 1747. Its founder was Michael Schlatter. Both of the Reformed Churches were based on the Heidelberg Catechism. The Dutch Church has the honor of having established the first theological seminary in the country, at New Brunswick, N. J., in connection afterwards with Rutgers College.

The straggling beginnings of Lutheranism were brought together and compacted by Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, who came from Halle in 1742. His work at first consisted in organizing churches and securing ministers for them, whom he found for the most part in Halle. Thus the spirit of pietism was infused in a large measure into the nascent Lutheranism of America. The first Synod was held in Philadelphia in 1748. In 1820 the Church had grown large enough to warrant the formation of an independent General Synod of American Lutherans. The unity of this body has been

Presbyterian
Missions.

Dutch and Ger-
man Reformed
Churches.

Lutherans.

twice rent; first, by the secession of the General Council in 1866, on the ground of laxity in adherence to the Augsburg Confession; and second, by the formation, in 1872, of the Lutheran Synodical Conference on a stricter basis than even the General Council. These three branches are nearly equal in strength.

Methodism, as has been already noted, arose as a consequence of the preaching of Wesley in England in the middle of the eighteenth century. Soon after its origin
 Methodism. it was brought over into the American colonies by Philip Embury, Barbara Heck, and Thomas Webb (1760). Webb, a military man, threw his whole energy into the movement of propagating the evangelical views which he had found to be saving truth in his own experience. His labors were soon shared by Francis Asbury and Thomas Rankin. Asbury especially led Methodism through the crisis of the Revolution, and when that crisis was passed, the new Church was organized (1784) by the appointment and ordination of Thomas Coke as bishop, and Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey as elders. A conference was held at the end of the same year, presided over by Bishop Coke, at which a doctrinal standard was adopted, consisting of an abridgment of the Thirty-nine Articles, and the name of the Church was fixed as The Methodist Episcopal Church.

The Church thus organized entered upon a marvelous career of prosperity and usefulness. It has outstripped
 its sister denominations in point of numbers
 and infused enthusiasm and warmth into all.
 Divisions. It has, however, like them, been called upon to suffer from schism. In 1830 the Methodist Protestant broke off on the question of lay representation. The question of slavery next became the ground of a split in 1844, when the Wesleyan Church of America was organized on the basis of the toleration of slavery. The next year another division of Methodism appeared on a local line of separation in the Methodist Church.

The Roman Catholic Church was regarded with peculiar aversion and even dread by the colonists almost

throughout the whole country. Pennsylvania was, perhaps, the solitary exception to the rule, and even here their rights were only nominally conceded to them. After the war of the Revolution, however, a change took place. The Continental Congress in 1774 abolished their disabilities in national politics. The individual States confirmed this action, one by one. Maryland was the first to enfranchise Roman Catholics.

Prominent among the Catholic clergy was John Carroll, a cousin of Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

John Carroll. He was born in Maryland in 1735, was educated in the college of St. Omer, in French Flanders, and at the Jesuit College at Liege, where he was ordained priest in 1759. Until 1771 he was Professor of Moral Philosophy at St. Omer. When the Society of Jesus was suppressed in 1773, he was forced to leave the Continent and went to England. In 1774 he returned to Maryland. During the war of the Revolution he rendered important services in the cause of American Independence. In 1789, he was appointed the first Catholic bishop in the United States, with his see in Baltimore. He was consecrated in London, and returned immediately to discharge the duties of his office. In 1808 he was made archbishop. His diocese then embraced Maryland, Virginia, and the Southern States as far as the Gulf of Mexico and the Mississippi River. Devout, learned, patriotic, and eloquent, he was one of the most powerful factors of his Church in this country. He directed his energies to the training of a clergy, the building of churches, the founding of Communities called Sisters of Charity, and the education of the people; all of which measures helped to put the Church on a sound footing and to promote its growth. Accessions by purchase and concessions of large territories occupied by Catholics, and by immigration from Europe, have given the Church the appearance of enormous growth. It has had to contend against difficulties both inherent in its system, and in the zeal of Protestants against it; but it has also enjoyed the counsel of moder-

ate and wise men like Archbishop Hughes (1798-1864) and Cardinal McCloskey (1810-1885), not to mention distinguished prelates still living.

The Universalists, though originating in Wales, have had a church life on this continent alone. John Murray, who took his views from James Rely, in
Universalists. London, about the middle of the eighteenth century, brought Universalism to these shores in 1770. The original Church in Old England died out, but the offshoot in New England flourished. The first Universalist church was organized in 1779 by Murray. His labors were abundant and lasted until 1815. His work was taken up and carried on by Ballou and others with a moderate amount of success.

INDEX.

- Abelard, 175.
Acolytes, 61.
Adiaphoristic Controversy, 248.
Adoptionism, 127.
Agape, 28, 42, 64.
Albertus Magnus, 177.
Albigensians, Albigensian Crusade, 168.
Alexander of Hales, 177.
Alexandrian influence on Judaism, 15.
Alexandrian School of Christian thought, 53.
Alogi, 57.
Ambrose, of Milan, 85.
Amyraldian Theology, 271.
Anabaptists, 216, 254.
Anomœans (Arians) 8.
Anselm, of Canterbury, 175.
Ansgar, missionary to Scandinavia, 137.
Anthony the Eremite, 68.
Antinomianism, 247.
Antioch, first center of missionary effort, 22, 31.
Apollinaris, Apollinarianism, 89.
Apollonius of Tyana, 46, 47.
Apologists, 37.
Apostles' Creed, 57.
Apostles, traditions of, 25.
Apostolic Constitutions, 63.
Apostolic Fathers, 35 ff.
Aquinas, Thomas, 177, 200.
Arius, Arianism, 83 ff.
Arminius, Arminianism, 250, 251, 284.
Arnold of Brescia, 159.
Artemon, 58.
Aristides, apologist, 37.
Asceticism, 67.
Athenagoras, the apologist, 38.
Athanasius, 84.
Augsburg Confession, 204, 247.
Augsburg, Peace of, 209.
Augustinianism, 95 ff. 144, 257.
Augustine, bishop of Hippo, 94, 95, 103, 144.
Augustine, missionary to Britain, 122.
Babylonian Captivity of the Papacy, 181.
Bacon Roger, 178.
Baptism, in the primitive Church, 28; in the Ante-Nicene Church, 65.
Baptists in America, 326.
Bar-Cochba, 32.
Bardesanes, 41.
Barnabas, Epistle of, 36.
Basil the Great, 86, 104.
Basilides, Gnostic leader, 40.
Becket, Thomas A., 160.
Bede, the Venerable, 123.
Belgic Confession, 252.
Benedict of Nursia, 105, 154.
Berengarius, 147, 174.
Bernard of Clairvaux, 166, 171, 175, 176.
Beryl of Bostra, 55, 59.
Beza, Theodore, 232.
Bible, Authorized Version of, 240.
Bible Societies, 294, 307, 327.
Biel, Gabriel, 189.
Boethius, 94.
Bogomiles, 169.
Bonaventura, 177.
Boniface, missionary to Germany, 124.
Boniface VIII., pope, 180 ff., 193.
Book of Common Prayer, 214, 324.
Book of Sports, 241.
Broad Church party, 302, 303, 324.
Byzantine empire fall of, 108, 185.
Byzantium, transfer of empire to, 84.
Caedmon, 123.
Calixtine Controversy, 265.
Calvinism, five points of, 251; controversies regarding, 282 ff.
Calvin, John, 215 ff.
Cambridge Platform, 315.
Cambridge Platonists, 279.
Cameron, Richard, Cameronians, 268, 300.
Campbellites, 326.
Caraffa, Cardinal, 221.
Carlstadt, 201, 203.
Carpocrates, Gnostic leader, 40.
Carroll, John, 333.
Carthusians, 172.
Catacombs, 67.
Catholic Apostolic Church, 304.
Celsus, 45.

- Chalcedon, Council of, 91.
 Chalmers, Thomas, 300, 307, 308.
 Channing, W. E., 324, 325.
 Charlemagne, 116, 120, 126, 127, 137.
 Charles I., of England, 241.
 Charles II. of England, 256.
 Charles V., emperor, 203, 212, 229.
 Charles Martel, 113, 120.
 Chiliasm, 59.
 Christian, origin of name, 21.
 Christianity, preparation for, 11 ff., spread of, 44, 45, made the state religion, 70.
 Christianization of Bohemia, 141: of Denmark, 138; of Magyars, 143; of Moravia, 140; of Norway, 140; of Poland, 141; of Russia, 142; of Sweden, 138.
 Chrysostom, John, 88.
 Church, conceptions of, 6; visible and invisible, 7; founding of, 17; organization, 20; distinguished from Judaism, 25, 32; polity of, 26; Catholic, recognized, 41; music of, 130.
 Cistercians, 171.
 Claudius Apollinaris, 37.
 Clementine Literature, 39.
 Clement of Alexandria, 53.
 Clement of Rome, 35.
 Clergy, lower, 61, 79; laws regarding, 129; marriage of, 62, 80, 156; new functions of, 78, 79; support of, 62.
 Clovis, king of the Franks, 76.
 Cocceius, Cocceians, 270.
 Code of Vinea, 162.
 Coligny, Gaspard de, admiral, 231 ff.
 Columba, missionary to Scotland, 77.
 Columbanus, missionary to Gaul, 124.
 Constantine, 70 ff.
 Councils, ecumenical, 80; of Basel, 184; of Chalcedon, 91; of Constance, 184, 195; of Constantinople, the first, 87; the second, 92; the third, 114; of Ephesus, 90, 96; Lateran first, 158; Lateran second, 159; Lateran third, 160; Lateran fourth, 161, 162; Lateran fifth, 187; of Lyons, the first, 162; the second, 163; of Nicæa, the first, 83 ff.; the second, 116; of Pisa, 183; of Trent, 222; of the Vatican, 295; the Quinisext, 114.
 Counter-Reformation, 219.
 Covenanters, 268.
 Covenant, the, 243, 246, 252.
 Covenant theology, 270.
 Cranmer, Archbishop, 213, 214, 237.
 Cromwell, Oliver, 243, 267.
 Crusades, 165 ff., 186.
 Crypto-Calvinism, 249.
 Cumberland Presbyterians, 330.
 Cyprian, 52, 60, 64.
 Deaconesses, 6.
 Deacons, appointed, 20; permanent order, 27, 42, 60.
 Deism, in Great Britain, 274; in France, 276; in Germany, 277; in America, 321.
 Diaspora (Dispersion), 15.
 Diognetus, Letter to, 37.
 Dionysius of Alexandria, 56.
 Dionysius the Areopagite, 93.
 Doellinger, Ignatius, 296.
 Dominicans, order of monks, 172.
 Donatists and Donatist Schism, 103 ff.
 Dorotheus, 52.
 Dort, Synod of, 251, 252.
 Dositheus, heresiarch, 30, 40.
 Dutch Republic, rise of, 231.
 Ebionites, 38.
 Eckart, Meister, 189.
 Edward VI., of England, 214.
 Edwards, Jonathan, 318.
 Elipandus, of Toledo, 127.
 Elizabeth, Queen of England, 237, 243.
 Elkesaites, 38.
 Epiphanius, 87, 100, 101.
 Episcopal Church in America, 323.
 Erasmus, 102, 205.
 Erigena, John Scotus, 145.
 Essenes, 14.
 Eucharist, 74.
 Eusebius, of Cæsarea, 71, 84, 101.
 Eusebius of Nicomedia, 84.
 Eutyches, Eutychianism, 90.
 Evangelical Alliance, 308.
 Excommunication, 28, 63, 103, 153; of Luther, 201; of Doellinger, 296.
 Exorcists, in the early Church, 61.
 Farel, William, French reformer, 215.
 Felicissimus, schism of, 64.
 Felix of Urgel, 127.
 Feudal system, 134.
 Flacius, Flacianism, 249.
 Formula of Concord, 249.
 Fortunatus, schismatic, 69.
 Fox, George, 281.
 Franciscans, order of monks, 173.
 Francis of Assisi, 173.
 Francis of Sales, 260.
 Francke, A. H., 262.
 Fraticelli, 173.
 Frederick Barbarossa, 159.
 Frederick II., emperor, 161.
 Free Church of Scotland, 300.
 French Revolution, religious bearings of, 287 ff.
 "Friends of God" sect, 190.
 Friends, Society of, 281, 312, 314 ff.
 Fronto, early opponent of Christianity, 45.
 Gaius, 51.
 Gallican Confessions, 250.
 Gallican Question, 256.
 Gallienus, emperor, toleration of Christians, 49.

- Gentiles, first preaching to, 21; question concerning converts, 22.
- Gilbert of Porrée, 175.
- Gnosticism, 39 ff. opposition to, in the early Church, 51.
- Golden Bull, 182.
- Gottschalk, 144 ff.
- Gregory of Nazianzus, 86.
- Gregory of Nyssa, 86.
- Gregory of Tours, 76.
- Gregory I., pope (the Great) 118, 122, 128, 130.
- Gregory VII., (Hildebrand) 136, 147, 156, 167.
- Gregory Thaumaturgus, 56.
- Gregory, the Illuminator, 74.
- Guelph and Ghibelline feud, 159 ff.
- Gustavus Adolphus, 235, 255.
- Hadrian, emperor, 34.
- Half-way Covenant, 316.
- Heathenism suppressed, 73.
- Hegesippus, 51.
- Heidelberg Catechism, 250.
- Helvetic Confession, 250.
- Helvidius, view of the virginity of Mary, 100.
- Henry IV., emperor, and Hildebrand, 157, 158.
- Henry VIII., of England, 204, 212.
- Henry of Navarre, 233.
- Hermas, 36.
- Hierocles, early opponent of Christianity, 47.
- Hilary of Poitiers, 86.
- Hildebrand, (pope Gregory VII.), 136, 147, 156, 165.
- Hippolytus, 51, 59, 63.
- History, definition of, 5, 6; advantages of the study of, 8; periods of, 9, 10; sacred and secular, 7.
- Hoadly, bishop of Bangor, 269.
- Holy Alliance, 290.
- Holy Roman Empire, founded, 121; dissolved, 255.
- Homoiousianism and Homoousianism, 85.
- Hopkins, Samuel and Hopkinsianism, 326.
- Huguenots, 231 ff., 310.
- Huss, John, 184, 195.
- Hutchinson, Anne, Hutchinsonianism, 318.
- Hypatia, 73.
- Hypsiarians, 74.
- Ignatius, Epistles of, 36; martyrdom of, 34.
- Image-worship, controversies regarding, 115 ff., 223.
- Independency, Independents, 238 ff., 267, 311.
- Index Expurgatorius*, 224.
- Indulgences, 193, 199, 205, 223.
- Inner Light, doctrine of, 281.
- Innocent III., pope, 160.
- Inquisition, 194, 223, 224.
- Interdict, 153, defined, 153; imposed on Rome, 159; imposed on Florence, 224.
- Investiture, Controversy over, 17 ff.
- Irenaeus, 51.
- Irving, Edward, 394.
- Isidore of Seville, 126.
- Isidorian decretals, 132.
- Jacobites, 93.
- James the Apostle, 24.
- James I., of England, 239, 245.
- Jansen, Jansenism, 257, ff.
- Jerome, Church Father, 87, 100.
- Jerome of Prague, 195, 196.
- Jerusalem, Assembly at, 23; fall of, 26, 32.
- Jesuits, 225 ff., 257, 258, 260, 294, 298, 310.
- Joanna, alleged female pope, 133.
- John of Damascus, 115.
- John the Apostle, later life of, 25.
- John XII., pope, 134.
- John XXIII., pope, 184.
- Jovian, emperor, 72.
- Judaism, development of, after the Babylonian Captivity, 13; political history of, 16, 17; after the fall of Jerusalem, 32.
- Julian of Eclanum, 97.
- Julian the Apostate, 71.
- Julius Africanus, 52.
- Justinian, emperor, 13, 926.
- Justin, Martyr, Apologies of, 37; death of, 35.
- Keltic Church in Great Britain, 76, 122.
- Kempis, Thomas à, 190.
- Kenotic Controversy, 265.
- Kentigern, missionary to Scotland, 77.
- Knox, John, 243 ff.
- Koran, The, 112.
- Kultur-Kampf, the, 297.
- Lanfranc, of Bec, 147.
- Latitudinarianism, 279.
- Laud, Archbishop, 241.
- Leo I., pope, 82, 91.
- Leo III., pope, 121.
- Leo Isauricus, emperor, 115.
- Leo X., pope, 187, 199.
- Leo XIII., pope, 297.
- Libanius, rhetorician and opponent of Christianity, 73.
- Lombard, Peter, 176.
- Lois IX., of France, 163.
- Loyola, Ignatius, 226.
- Lucar, Cyril, 236.
- Lucian, of Antioch, 42.
- Lucian, of Samosata, 45.
- Luther, Martin, early life of, 200; appearance as a reformer, 201; excom-

- munication of, 201; marriage of, 204; controversies of, 204, 205; death of, 208.
- Lutheranism, 262 ff., 299; in America, 331.
- Macedonius, Macedonianism, 86.
- Magna Charta, 161.
- Makemie, Francis, 328.
- Mani, Manichæism, 68 ff.
- Marcion, Gnostic leader, 41.
- Marcus Aurelius, emperor, 34.
- Maro, Maronites, 115.
- Marsilius, of Padua, 188.
- Mary of England, ("Bloody" Mary) 237.
- Mary Queen of Scots, 244.
- Mathers, the, in New England, 317, 320.
- Melanchthon, 202, 207, 208, 247.
- Melanchtonians, 248.
- Meletius, 64.
- Melito, of Sardis, 38.
- Melkizedekians, 58.
- Melville, Andrew, 245.
- Menander, heresiarch, 30, 40.
- Menno, Mennonites, 254.
- Mesrob, 75.
- Methodism in the United States, 332.
- Methodius, missionary to the Slavs, 140 ff.
- Methodius, of Olympus, 56.
- Minorites, (Fratricelli) 173.
- Missions, modern, origin of, 304 ff.; in America, 320, 326, 327.
- Mohammed, Mohammedanism, 110 ff.
- Molina, Luis, 257.
- Monarchianism, 57.
- Monasticism, 104, 154, 171.
- Monophysitism, 91 ff.
- Monothelitism, 113 ff.
- Montanism, 42, 43.
- Moravian Brethren, 263, 283.
- Nantes, Edict of, issued, 253; revoked, 270.
- Narses, 75.
- Nazarenes, 38.
- Nestorius, Nestorianism, 89 ff.
- Newman, Cardinal J. H., 303.
- New Testament, writing of, 29; recognition of as a part of the Canon, 56, 57.
- Neo-Platonism, 46.
- Nicæa, Council of, 83.
- Nicholas, of Lyra, 191.
- Nicholas I., pope, 133, 148.
- Nicolaitans, early sect, 30.
- Noetus, 58.
- Novatian, 65.
- Occam, William of, 188, 200.
- Old Catholics, 296.
- Ophites, Gnostic sect, 40.
- Orange, William of, 230.
- Oratory of the Divine Love, 220.
- Origen, Adamantius, 48, 54.
- Origenistic Controversies, 87.
- Otto I., emperor, 134, 141, 142, 143.
- Pagan, origin of name, 73.
- Pantænus, 53.
- Papias of Hierapolis, 36 ff.
- Parker, Theodore, 325.
- Pascal, Blaise, 258.
- Patriarchates, development of, 63, 80, 81.
- Patrick, St., missionary to Ireland, 76.
- Patricianism, 58.
- Paul of Samosata, 58.
- Paul of Thebes, monk, 68.
- Paulicians, 116, 117.
- Paul, the Apostle, conversion of, 21; missionary labors of, 22, 23; martyrdom of, 24; writings of, 29.
- Peasants' War, 205.
- Pelagius, Pelagianism, 95, 96.
- Penitential books, 123, 129.
- Penitential presbyter, 103.
- Penn, Willam, 312.
- Persecutions, under Decius, 48; under Diocletian, 49; under Domitian, 26; under Hadrian, 34; under Marcus Aurelius, 35; under Maximin, 47; under Nero, 26; under Septimius Severus, 47; under Trajan, 34.
- Peter, the Apostle, labors and death of, 24.
- Peter, the Hermit, 165, 166.
- Petrobrussians, 169.
- Pharisees, 13.
- Philip, the Fair, of France, 180.
- Philip II., of Spain, 229, 230.
- Philosophy, ancient, opposed to Christianity, 45, 73; modern, 272 ff., 291 ff.
- Philostratus, 46.
- Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, 133, 138.
- Pietism, 262.
- Pius IX., Pope, 295.
- Placeus, (La Place) 271.
- Pliny, the Younger, letter of, to the emperor, 33, 34.
- Plotinus, 46.
- Polity of the primitive Church, 27; of the sub-apostolic Church, 42; of the ante-Nicene Church, 60; of the Nicene and post-Nicene Church, 78.
- Polycarp martyrdom of, 35; Epistle of, 36.
- Pornocracy, 134.
- Porphyry, 46.
- Pragmatic Sanction, 163, 187.
- Praxeas, 58.
- Predestinarian Controversy, 144 ff.
- Presbyter and bishop, 27, 42, 60, 78.
- Presbyterianism in America, 428.
- Priscillianism, 97.
- Propaganda, Congregation of, 228.
- Proselytes, kinds of, 16; preaching to, 21.
- Protestantism, origin of name, 204.
- Puritan divines, 279.
- Puritanism, origin and early forms of, 238.
- Puritans in New England, 311; customs of, 319.

- Quadratus, apologist, 37.
 Quadragesima, 66, 94.
 Quartodeciman Controversy, 66.
 Quesnel, Paschasius, 259.
 Quietism, 259 ff.
- Rabbinical schools, 32.
 Radbertus, Paschasius, 146.
 Raymond Lull, 278.
 Raymond of Sabunde, 191.
 Readers in the Ancient Church, 61.
 Reformation, rise of, 199 ff; spread of, in
 Scandinavia, 210; in France, 211, 231; in
 England, 212 ff., 237; in Geneva, 215
 ff., in Holland, 229 ff., in Scotland, 243.
Regium Donum, 269.
 Remonstrance, Remonstrants, 251.
 Renaissance, 191, 219.
 Reuchlin, John, 192.
 Richelieu, policy of, 235.
 Rienzi, 182.
 Ritschl, Albrecht, 302.
 Roman Catholic Church, in America,
 333; in Europe in the nineteenth cen-
 tury, 294 ff.
 Roman Empire, condition of at the time
 of Christ, 12; divided, 73; fall of, 108.
 Roman Law, its bearings on the primitive
 Church, 33.
 Rome, primacy of the see of, 63, 81, 82.
 Ruysbroek, 190.
- Sabbath-school origin of, 307.
 Sabellius, Sabellianism, 59.
 Sacheverell case, 269.
 Sacramentarian controversies, 146, 206.
 Sadducees, 14.
 Samaria, preaching to, 20.
 Samaritans, 16.
 Saturninus, Gnostic leader, 40.
 Savonarola, Jerome, 196, 197.
 Saybrook Platform 316.
 Schisms, of Calixtus and Hippolytus, 64;
 of Felicissimus, 65; of Donatus, 103;
 of Meletius, 64; of Novatian, 65; be-
 tween the East and West, 148, 149,
 185. Great, of the West, 183.
 Schleiermacher, Friedrich, 301.
 Scotus, John Duns, 178.
 Semi-Arians, 84.
 Semi-Pelagianism, 97.
 Septuagint, 15.
 Servetus, Michael, 217, 218.
 Severus, Alexander, emperor, 47.
 Severus, Septimius, emperor, 47.
 Sicilian Vespers, 163.
 Simon Magus, 20, 40.
 Slavery in the Middle Ages, 152.
 Smalcald, League of, 208; war of, 209.
 Socinus Faustus, 254.
 Socinus, Laelius, 254.
 Solemn League and Covenant, 252.
 Spener, Philip Jacob, 262.
 Stephen, martyrdom of, 20.
- Stoddard, Solomon, 319.
 Stylites, class of monks, 104.
 St. Bartholomew, massacre of, 277.
 St. Victor, school of, 176.
 Sub-deacons, 61.
 Suso, Henry, 189.
 Sutri, Synod of, 135.
 Swedenborg, Swedenborgianism, 264.
 Synagogue, 14.
 Synergistic Controversy, 248.
 Synods, in the early Church, 62 (See also
 Councils); in New England, 316.
- Talmud, origin of, 32.
 Tatian, 37, 38.
 Tauler, John, 189.
 Teaching of the Twelve, (*Didache*) 37.
 Templars order of knights, origin of, 166;
 suppression of, 181.
 Tertullian, 43, 52, 58.
 Tetzl, John, 200.
 Theodore, of Mopsuestia, 89.
 Theodore of the Studium, 116.
 Theodotus, the money changer, 58.
 Theodotus, the tanner, 58.
 Theophilus of Alexandria, 88.
 Thirty-Nine Articles, 252.
 Thirty Years War, 234.
 Three Chapters, Controversy of, 92, 93.
 Tractarianism, 303.
 Trajan, emperor, attitude of towards
 Christianity, 34.
 Transcendentalism, 324.
 Transubstantiation, 98, 46, 203, 213, 223,
 267.
 Trent, Council of, 222 ff.
 Truce of God, 152.
 Tübingen School of Criticism, 301.
 Turretin Francis, 270.
- Ulfilas, the Apostle to the Goths, 75.
 Ultramontaniam, 297.
 Unitarianism, in England, 277; in Am-
 erica, 324.
 Universalists, 334.
 Universities origin of, 173.
- Valentinus, Gnostic leader, 40.
 Vasa, Gustavus, 211.
 Voetius, Voetians, 270.
- Waldensians, 169, 299, 300.
 Wesley John, 280, 282 ff.
 Wesley, Charles, 280.
 Westminster Assembly, 252 ff.
 Westminster, Confession of Faith, 252;
 adopted by the Presbyterian Church of
 America, 328.
 Westphalia, Treaty of, 235, 255.
 Whitefield, George, 282 ff.
 Williams, Roger, 315.
 Willibrord, missionary to Germany, 124.
 Witchcraft Delusion, 319.
 Worship, in the primitive Church, 28; in

- the sub-apostolic Church, 42; in the ante-Nicene Church, 64; in the post-Nicene Church, 98; in the Middle Ages, 153; of Angels, 101: of images, 101: of Mary, 100; of saints, 100.
- Wyclif, John, 194.
- Xavier, Francis, Jesuit missionary, 227, 228.
- Zinzendorf, count Louis, 263.
- Zwickau, the prophets of, 203.
- Zwingli, Ulrich, 205.



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