Luther's Little Instruction Book

(The Small Catechism of Martin Luther)

Essay on Martin Luther and Protestantisim

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Part One: The Ten Commandments:

The Simple Way a Father Should Present Them to His Household

The First Commandment

You must not have other gods.

Q. What does this mean?

We must fear, love, and trust God more than anything else.

The Second Commandment

You must not misuse your God's name.

Q. What does this mean?

We must fear and love God, so that we will not use His name to curse, swear, cast a spell, lie or deceive, but will use it to call upon Him, pray to Him, praise Him and thank Him in all times of trouble.

The Third Commandment

You must keep the Sabbath holy.

Q. What does this mean?

We must fear and love God, so that we will not look down on preaching or God's Word, but consider it holy, listen to it willingly, and learn it.

The Fourth Commandment

You must honor your father and mother. [So that things will go well for you and you will live long on earth].

Q. What does this mean?

We must fear and love God, so that we will neither look down on our parents or superiors nor irritate them, but will honor them, serve them, obey them, love them and value them.

The Fifth Commandment

You must not kill.

Q. What does this mean?

We must fear and love God, so that we will neither

harm nor hurt our neighbor's body, but help him and care for him when he is ill.

The Sixth Commandment

You must not commit adultery.

Q. What does this mean?

We must fear and love God, so that our words and actions will be clean and decent and so that everyone will love and honor their spouses.

The Seventh Commandment

You must not steal.

Q. What does this mean?

We must fear and love God, so that we will neither

take our neighbor's money or property, nor acquire it by fraud or by selling him poorly made products, but will help him improve and protect his property and career.

The Eighth Commandment

You must not tell lies about your neighbor.

Q. What does this mean?

We must fear and love God, so that we will not deceive by lying, betraying, slandering or ruining our neighbor's reputation, but will defend him, say good things about him, and see the best side of everything he does.

The Ninth Commandment

You must not desire your neighbor's

house.

Q. What does this mean?

We must fear and love God, so that we will not attempt to trick our neighbor out of his inheritance or house, take it by pretending to have a right to it, etc. but help him to keep & improve it.

The Tenth Commandment

You must not desire your neighbor's wife, servant, maid, animals or anything that belongs to him.

Q. What does this mean?

We must fear and love God, so that we will not release his cattle, take his employees from him or seduce his wife, but urge they to stay and do what they ought to

do.

The Conclusion to the Commandments

Q. What does God say to us about all these commandments?

This is what He says:

"I am the Lord Your God. I am a jealous God. I plague the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of those who hate me with their ancestor’s sin. But I make whole those who love me for a thousand generations."

Q. What does it mean?

God threatens to punish everyone who breaks these commandments. We should be afraid of His anger because of this and not violate such commandments. But He promises grace and all good things to those who keep such commandments. Because of this, we, too, should love Him, trust Him, and willingly do what His commandments require.

Part Two: The Creed

The Creed: The Simple Way a Father Should Present it to His Household

The First Article: On Creation

I believe in God the Almighty Father, Creator of Heaven and Earth.

Q. What does this mean?

A. I believe that God created me, along with all creatures. He gave to me: body and soul, eyes, ears and all the other parts of my body, my mind and all my senses and preserves them as well. He gives me clothing and shoes, food and drink, house and land, wife and children, fields, animals and all I own. Every day He abundantly provides everything I need to nourish this body and life. He protects me against all danger, shields and defends me from all evil. He does all this because of His pure, fatherly and divine goodness and His mercy, not because I've earned it or deserved it. For all of this, I must thank Him, praise Him, serve Him and obey Him. Yes, this is true!

The Second Article: On Redemption

And in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord, Who was conceived by the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered

under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, died and was buried, descended to Hell, on the third day rose again from the dead, ascended to Heaven and sat down at the right hand of God the Almighty Father. From there He will come to judge the living and the dead. Q. What does this mean? A. I believe that Jesus Christ is truly God, born of the Father in eternity and also truly man, born of the Virgin Mary. He is my Lord! He redeemed me, a lost and condemned person, bought and won me from all sins, death and the authority of the Devil. It did not cost Him gold or silver, but His holy, precious blood, His innocent body—His death! Because of this, I am His very own, will live under Him in His

kingdom and serve Him righteously, innocently and blessedly forever, just as He is risen from death, lives and reigns forever. Yes, this is true.

The Third Article: On Becoming Holy

I believe in the Holy Spirit, the holy Christian Church, the community of the saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and an everlasting life. Amen.

Q. What does this mean? A. I believe that I cannot come to my Lord Jesus Christ by my own intelligence or power. But the Holy Spirit call me by the Gospel, enlightened me with His gifts, made me holy and kept me in the true

faith, just as He calls, gathers together, enlightens and makes holy the whole Church on earth and keeps it with Jesus in the one, true faith. In this Church, He generously forgives each day every sin committed by me and by every believer. On the last day, He will raise me and all the dead from the grave. He will give eternal life to me and to all who believe in Christ. Yes, this is true!

Part Three: The Lord's Prayer

The Our Father

The Simple Way a Father Should Present it to His Household

Introduction

Our Father, Who is in Heaven.

Q. What does this mean?

A. In this introduction, God invites us to believe that He is our real Father and we are His real children, so that we will pray with trust and complete confidence, in the same way beloved children approach their beloved Father with their requests.

The First Request

May Your name be holy.

Q. What does this mean?

A. Of course, God’s name is holy in and of itself, but by this request, we pray that He will make it holy among us, too.

Q. How does this take place? A. When God’s Word is taught clearly and purely, and when we live holy lives as God’s children based upon it. Help us, Heavenly Father, to do this! But anyone who teaches and lives by something other than God’s Word defiles God’s name among us. Protect us from this, Heavenly Father!

The Second Request

Your Kingdom come.

Q. What does this mean?

A. Truly God's Kingdom comes by itself, without our prayer. But we pray in this request that it come to us as well.

Q. How does this happen? A. When the Heavenly Father gives us His Holy Spirit, so that we believe His holy Word by His grace and live godly lives here in this age and there in eternal life.

The Third Request

May Your will be accomplished, as it is

Heaven, so may it be on Earth.

Q. What does this mean? A. Truly, God's good and gracious will is accomplished without our prayer. But we pray in this request that is be accomplished among us as well.

Q. How does this happen? A. When God destroys and interferes with every evil will and all evil advice, which will not allow God's Kingdom to come, such as the Devil's will, the world's will and will of our bodily desires. It also happens when God strengthens us by faith and by His Word and keeps living by them faithfully until the end of our lives. This is His will, good and full of grace.

The Fourth Request

Give us our daily bread today.

Q. What does this mean? A. Truly, God gives daily bread to evil people, even without our prayer. But we pray in this request that He will help us realize this and receive our daily bread with thanksgiving.

Q. What does "Daily Bread" mean? A. Everything that nourishes our body and meets its needs, such as: Food, drink, clothing, shoes, house, yard, fields, cattle, money, possessions, a devout spouse, devout children, devout employees, devout and faithful rulers,

good government, good weather, peace, health, discipline, honor, good friends, faithful neighbors and other things like these.

The Fifth Request

And forgive our guilt, as we forgive those guilty of sinning against us.

Q. What does this mean? A. We pray in this request that our Heavenly Father will neither pay attention to our sins nor refuse requests such as these because of our sins and because we are neither worthy nor deserve the things for which we pray. Yet He wants to give them all to us by His grace, because many times each day we sin and truly deserve only

punishment. Because God does this, we will, of course, want to forgive from our hearts and willingly do good to those who sin against us.

The Sixth Request

And lead us not into temptation.

Q. What does this mean? A. God tempts no one, of course, but we pray in this request that God will protect us and save us, so that the Devil, the world and our bodily desires will neither deceive us nor seduce us into heresy, despair or other serious shame or vice, and so that we will win and be victorious in the end, even if they attack us.

The Seventh Request

But set us free from the Evil One.

Q. What does this mean? A. We pray in this request, as a summary, that our Father in Heaven will save us from every kind of evil that threatens body, soul, property and honor. We pray that when at last our final hour has come, He will grant us a blessed death, and, in His grace, bring us to Himself from this valley of tears.

Amen.

Q. What does this mean? A. That I should be certain that such prayers are acceptable to the Father in Heaven and

will be granted, that He Himself has commanded us to pray in this way and that He promises to answer us. Amen. Amen. This means: Yes, yes it will happen this way.

Part Four: Holy Baptism

The Sacrament of Holy Baptism:

The Simple Way a Father Should Present it to His Household

I

Q. What is Baptism? A. Baptism is not just plain water, but it is water contained within God's command and united with God's Word.

Q. Which Word of God is this? A. The one which our Lord Christ spoke in the last chapter of Matthew: "Go into all the world, teaching all heathen nations, and baptizing them in the name of the Father, the Son and of the Holy Spirit."

II.

Q. What does Baptism give? What good is it? A. It gives the forgiveness of sins, redeems from death and the Devil, gives eternal salvation to all who believe this, just as God's words and promises declare.

Q. What are these words and promises of God? A. Our Lord Christ spoke one of them in the last chapter of Mark: "Whoever believes and is baptized will be saved; but whoever does not believe will be damned."

III.

Q. How can water do such great things? A. Water doesn’t make these things happen, of course. It is God’s Word, which is with and in the water. Because, without God’s Word, the water is plain water and not baptism. But with God’s Word it is a Baptism, a grace-filled water of life, a bath of new birth in the Holy Spirit, as St. Paul said to Titus in the third chapter:

"Through this bath of rebirth and renewal of the Holy Spirit, which He poured out on us abundantly through Jesus Christ, our Savior, that we, justified by the same grace are made heirs according to the hope of eternal life. This is a faithful saying."

IV.

Q. What is the meaning of such a water Baptism? A. It means that the old Adam in us should be drowned by daily sorrow and repentance, and die with all sins and evil lusts, and, in turn, a new person daily come forth and rise from death again. He will live forever before God in righteousness and purity.

Q. Where is this written? A. St. Paul says to the Romans in chapter six: "We are buried with Christ through Baptism into death, so that, in the same way Christ is risen from the dead by the glory of the Father, thus also must we walk in a new life."

Part Five: Confession

How One Should Teach the Uneducated to Confess

Q. What is confession? A. Confession has two parts:

First, a person admits his sin

Second, a person receives absolution or forgiveness from the confessor, as if from God Himself, without doubting it, but believing firmly that his sins are forgiven by God in Heaven through it.

Q. Which sins should people confess?

When speaking to God, we should plead guilty to all sins, even those we don't know about, just as we do in the "Our Father," but when speaking to the confessor, only the sins we know about, which we know about and feel in our hearts.

Q. Which are these?

Consider here your place in life according to the Ten Commandments. Are you a father? A mother? A son? A daughter? A husband? A wife? A servant? Are you disobedient, unfaithful or lazy? Have you hurt anyone with your words or actions? Have you stolen, neglected your duty, let things go or injured someone?

Part Six: The Sacrament of the Altar

The Sacrament of the Altar:

The Simple Way a Father Should Present it to his Household

Q. What is the Sacrament of the Altar?

It is the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ under bread and wine for us Christians to eat and to drink, established by Christ Himself.

Q. Where is that written?

The holy apostles Matthew, Mark and Luke and St. Paul write this:

"Our Lord Jesus Christ, in the night on which He was betrayed, took bread, gave thanks, broke it, gave it to His

disciples and said: "Take! Eat! This is My body, which is given for you. Do this to remember Me!" In the same way He also took the cup after supper, gave thanks, gave it to them, and said: "Take and drink from it, all of you! This cup is the New Testament in my blood, which is shed for you to forgive sins. This do, as often as you drink it, to remember Me!"

Q. What good does this eating and drinking do?

These words tell us: "Given for you" and "Shed for you to forgive sins." Namely, that the forgiveness of sins, life and salvation are given to us through these words in the sacrament. Because, where sins are forgiven, there is life and salvation as well.

Q. How can physical eating and drinking do such great things?

Of course, eating and drinking do not do these things. These words, written here, do them: "given for you" and "shed for you to forgive sins." These words, along with physical eating and drinking are the important part of the sacrament. Anyone who believes these words has what they say and what they record, namely, the forgiveness of sins.

Q. Who, then, receives such a sacrament in a worthy way?

Of course, fasting and other physical preparations are excellent disciplines for the body. But anyone who believes these words, "Given for you," and "Shed for you to forgive sins," is really worthy and well prepared. But whoever doubts or does not believe these words is not worthy and is unprepared, because the words, "for you" demand a heart that fully believes.

Morning Prayer

My Heavenly Father, I thank You, through Jesus Christ, Your beloved Son, that You kept me safe from all evil and danger last night. Save me, I pray, today as well, from every evil and sin, so that all I do and the way that I live will please you. I put myself in your care, body and soul and all that I have. Let Your holy Angels be with me, so that the evil enemy will not gain power over me. Amen.

Evening Prayer

My Heavenly Father, I thank You, through Jesus Christ, Your beloved Son, that You have protected me, by Your grace. Forgive, I pray, all my sins and the evil I have done. Protect me, by Your grace, tonight. I put myself in your care, body and soul and all that I have. Let Your holy angels be with me, so that the evil enemy will not gain power over me. Amen.

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Martin Luther's Small Catechism

Essay on Martin Luther and Protestantisim

Luther, Martin

Born: Nov. 10, 1483, Eisleben, Saxony [Germany]

Died: Feb. 18, 1546, Eisleben

Martin Luther's Small Catechism

German priest and scholar whose questioning of certain church practices led to the Protestant Reformation. He is one of the pivotal figures of Western civilization, as well as of Christianity. By his actions and writings he precipitated a movement that was to yield not only one of the three major theological units of Christianity (along

with Roman Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy) but was to be a seedbed for social, economic, and political thought. For further treatment of the historical context and consequences of Luther's work, see Protestantism.

In Latin

Theological works

Epistola Lutheriana ad Leonem decimum summum pontificem. Dissertatio de libertate Christiana per autorem recognita (1519; "Concerning Christian Liberty"); De votis monasticis (1521); De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium (1520; "A Prelude Concerning the Babylonian Captivity of the Church"); De servo arbitrio (1525; "Concerning the Bondage of the Will").

Controversial writings

B. Martini Lutheri theses Tezelio, indulgentiarum institori oppositas (1517;

Ninety-five Theses); Rationis Latomianae pro incendiariis Lovaniensis scholae sophistis redditae Lutheriana confutatio (1521).

Exegesis

Enarrationes epistolarum et evangeliorum, quas postillas vocant (1521).

In German

Theological works

Von den guten Wercken (1520; "Of Good Works"); Von welltlicher Uberkeytt, wie weytt man yhr gehorsam schuldig sey (1523; "Of Earthly Government"); Das diese wort Christi (Das ist mein leib etce.) noch fest stehen widder die Schwermgeyster (1527; "That These Words of Christ ‘This is My Body’ Still Stand Firm Against the Fanatics"); Vom Abendmal Christi, Bekenntnis (1528; "Confession of the Lord’s Supper"); Von den Conciliis und Kirchen (1539; "Of Councils and Churches").

Controversial writings

An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation (1520; "Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation"); Widder die hymelischen Propheten von den Bildern und Sacrament (1525; "Against the Heavenly Prophets in the Matter of Images and Sacraments"); An die Radsherrn aller Stedte deutsches Lands: Das sie Christliche Schulen auffrichten und hallten sollen (1524); Ermanunge zum Fride auff die zwelff Artikel der Bawrschafft ynn Schwaben (1525); Wider die mordischen uñ reubischen Rotten der Bawren (1525);

Wider Hans Worst (1541);

Wider das Bapstum zu Rom vom Teuffel gestifft (1545).

Translations and exegesis

Das Newe Testament Deutzsch (1522); Biblia, das ist, die gantze Heilige Scrifft Deudsch (1534); Das Magnificat verteuschet und ausgelegt (1521).

Other works (liturgical)

Deudsche Messe (1526). (didactic): Der kleine Catechismus (1559; "Small Catechism"); Deudsch Catechismus (1529; "Large Catechism"). Among his hymns the most famous is probably "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott" ("A Mighty

Fortress Is Our God").

Luther’s writings

Collections are the Works of Martin Luther, 6 vol., Philadelphia ed. (1915-32, reprinted 1982); and Luther’s Works, American ed., edited by Jaroslav Pelikan and Helmut T. Lehmann, 55 vol. (1955-76), henceforth an indispensable tool for English study. In German the definitive edition is D. Martin Luthers Werke:

kritische Gesamtausgabe (1883-), known as the Weimar edition. There is a single-volume anthology edited by John Dillenberger, Martin Luther: Selections from His Writings (1961); also useful is E. Gordon Rupp and Benjamin Drewery, Martin Luther (1970). The following are important volumes in the Library of

Christian Classics: vol. 15, Lectures on Romans, ed. by Wilhelm Pauck (1961); vol. 16, Early Theological Works, ed. by James Atkinson (1962, reprinted 1980); vol. 17, Luther and Erasmus, ed. by E. Gordon Rupp and Philip S. Watson (1969); and vol. 18, Letters of Spiritual Counsel, ed. by Theodore G. Tappert (1955). Another important work is A Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, ed. by Philip S. Watson (1953).

Biographical and critical studies

Peter Manns, Martin Luther: An Illustrated Biography, trans. from German (1982), emphasizes the religious

context. John M. Todd, Luther (1982), is a popular biography. Heinrich Bornkamm, Luther in Mid-Career, 1521-1530, ed. by Karin Bornkamm (1983; originally published in German, 1979), examines Luther and his thoughts at midlife. Mark U. Edwards, Jr., Luther and the False Brethren (1975), details the years between the Diet of Worms and Luther's death. H.G. Haile, Luther: An Experiment in Biography (1980), concentrates on the last 10 years of his life. David C. Steinmetz, Luther and Staupitz: An Essay in the Intellectual Origins of the Protestant Reformation (1980), studies the influence on Luther of his early confessor and friend. Roland H. Bainton, Here I Stand! (1950, reissued 1990), is a respected study. Also of interest are Franz Lau, Luther (1963; originally published in German, 1959); and W.j. Kooiman, By Faith Alone (1954; originally published in Dutch, 1946). Preserved Smith, The Life and Letters of Martin Luther (1911, reprinted 1968), is the best of the older studies. A broad survey is E.G. Schwiebert, Luther and His Times (1950). Robert Herndon Fife, The Revolt of Martin Luther (1957), portrays the young Luther. A brief account is E. Gordon Rupp, Luther's

Progress to the Diet of Worms, 1521 (1951, reissued 1964). Walther Von Loewenich, Martin Luther: The Man and His Work (1986; originally published in German, 1982), is an introductory analysis. Gerhard Brendler, Martin Luther: Theology and Revolution (1991; originally published in German, 1983), is a biography written from a Marxist perspective. A scholarly and readable interpretation of Luther is found in Eric W. Gritsch, Martin—God's Court Jester: Luther in Retrospect (1983). James M. Kittelson, Luther the Reformer: The Story of the Man and His Career (1986), makes Luther accessible to readers with little background in the history of the Reformation. Bernhard Lohse, Martin Luther: An Introduction to His Life and Work (1986; originally published in German, 1981), is also of special interest. The development of Luther, the man and the theologian, is assessed in Heiko A. Oberman, Luther: Man Between God and the Devil (1989; originally published in German, 1982). Martin Brecht, Martin Luther, 3 vol. (1985-93; originally published in German, 1983-87), is an in-depth portrait of the man and his times. Luther and his era are addressed in James Atkinson, Martin Luther and

the Birth of Protestantism, rev. ed. (1982); A.G. Dickens, Reformation and Society in Sixteenth Century Europe (1966, reprinted 1979); Joseph Lortz, The Reformation in Germany, 2 vol. (1968; originally published in German, 1939); and Wilhelm Pauck, Heritage of the Reformation, rev. ed. (1961). Mark U. Edwards, Jr., Luther's Last Battles:

Politics and Polemics, 1531-46 (1983), explores the influence of politics on Luther's thoughts, especially in his later years. Luther's politics are appraised in W.D.J. Cargill Thompson, The Political Thought of Martin Luther, ed. by Philip Broadhead (1984). Critical studies on Luther's theology include Gerhard Ebeling, Luther: An Introduction to His Thought (1970; originally published in German, 1964); Philip S. Watson, Let God Be God! (1947, reissued 1970); E.

Gordon Rupp, The Righteousness of God (1953, reissued 1963); Heinrich Bornkamm, Luther's World of Thought (1958; originally published in German, 1947); B.A. Gerrish, Grace and Reason (1962, reprinted 1979); Regin Prenter, Spiritus Creator (1953; originally published in Danish, 1944); and Ian D. Kingston Siggins, Martin Luther's Doctrine of Christ (1970). Alister E. McGrath, Luther's Theology of the Cross: Martin Luther's Theological Breakthrough (1985), focuses on the evolution of Luther's theology from 1509 to 1519. Luther's influence is traced in Ernst Walter Zeeden, The Legacy of Luther (1954; originally published in German, 1950); and Edgar

M. Carlson, The Reinterpretation of Luther (1948), a survey of Scandinavian Luther studies. Important studies written in languages other than English include Karl Holl, Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte, 3 vol. (1921-28, reissued 1964);

Emanuel Hirsch, Lutherstudien, 2 vol. (1954); Rudolf Hermann, Gesammelte Studien zur Theologie Luthers und der Reformation (1960); Ernst Wolf, Peregrinatio, 2nd ed., 2 vol. (1962); Johannes Heckel, Lex Charitatis, 2nd ed. (1973); Ernst Bizer, Fides ex auditu, 3rd ed. (1966); Otto Herman Pesch, Die Theologie der Rechtfertigung bei Martin Luther und Thomas von Aquin (1967,

reprinted 1985);

Reinhard Schwarz, Fides, Spes, und Caritas beim Jungen Luther (1962); and Bernhard Lohse, Mönchtum und Reformation (1963). Two psychological studies are Paul J. Reiter, Martin Luthers Umwelt, Charakter und Psychose, 2 vol. (1937-41); and Erik H. Erikson, Young Man Luther: A Study in Psychoanalysis and History (1958, reissued 1993).

(Ed.)

History of Protestantism

History of the movement from its beginnings in northern Europe in the early 16th century as a reaction

to medieval Roman Catholic doctrines and practices to the 20th century. Along with Roman Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy, Protestantism became one of three major forces in Christianity. After a series of European religious wars, and especially in the 19th century, it spread rapidly in various forms throughout the world. Wherever Protestantism gained a foothold, it influenced, to a greater or lesser extent, the social, economic, political, and cultural life of the area.

This article treats the history of the Protestant movement. For further treatment of the life and works of the two principal Reformation leaders, see Calvin, John; Calvinism; and Luther, Martin. See also biographical treatment of other Reformers (e.g., John Knox; Thomas Müntzer; Huldrych Zwingli).

Protestantism was given its name at the

Diet of Speyer in 1529. At that imperial assembly the Roman Catholic princes of Germany, along with the Holy Roman emperor Charles V, rescinded most of what toleration had been granted to the followers of Martin Luther three years earlier. On April 19, 1529, a protest was read against this decision, on behalf of 14 free cities of Germany and six Lutheran princes, who declared that the decision did not bind them because they were not a party to it, and that if forced to choose between obedience to God and obedience to Caesar they must choose obedience to God. They appealed from the diet to a general council of all Christendom or to a congress of the whole German nation.

Those who made this protest became known as Protestants. The name was adopted not by the protesters but by their opponents, and gradually it was applied as a general description to those who adhered to the tenets of the Reformation, especially to those living outside Germany. In Germany the adherents of the Reformation preferred the name evangelicals and in France Huguenots. (See Lutheranism.)

The name Protestant was attached not only to the disciples of Luther (c. 1483-1546) but also to the Swiss disciples of Huldrych Zwingli (1484-1531) and later of John Calvin (1509-64). The Swiss Reformers and their followers in

Holland, England, and Scotland, especially after the 17th century, preferred the name Reformed.

In the 16th century the name Protestant was used primarily in connection with the two great schools of thought that arose in the Reformation, the Lutheran and the Reformed. In England in the early 17th century the word Protestant was used in the sense of "orthodox Protestant," as opposed to those who were regarded by Anglicans as unorthodox, such as the Baptists or the Quakers. Roman Catholics, however, used it for all who claimed to be Christian but opposed Catholicism (except the Eastern churches). They

therefore included under the term Baptists, Quakers, and Catholic-minded Anglicans. Before the year 1700 this broad usage was accepted, though the word was not yet applied to Unitarians. The English Toleration Act of 1689 was entitled "an Act for exempting their Majesties' Protestant subjects dissenting from the Church of England." But the act provided only for the toleration of the opinions known in England as "orthodox dissent" and conceded nothing to Unitarians. Throughout the 18th century the word Protestant was still defined in relation to the historical reference of the 16th-century Reformation. Samuel Johnson's dictionary (1755), which is characteristic of other dictionaries in

that age, defines the word thus: "one of those who adhere to them, who, at the beginning of the reformation, protested against the errours of the church of Rome."

(W.O.C.)

The context of the late medieval church

The Protestant Reformation occurred against the background of long developments and rich ferment in the Roman Catholic Church and the world of the late Middle Ages. For two reasons it has been difficult to gain perspective on those times. Catholic historians had an interest in showing how much reform was occurring before and apart from the radical disrupters of the 16th century, the Protestant reformers. Protestant historians, on the other hand, portrayed the late

medieval church in the most negative terms to show the necessity of the Reformation, which consequently came to look like a complete break with a corrupt past.

The other reason for difficulty in understanding stems from the fact that the 15th-century agents of change were not "Pre-Reformers"; they neither anticipated Protestantism nor acquired their importance only from the subsequent Reformation. The events of that period were also not "Pre-Reformation" happenings but had an identity and meaning of their own.

There has always been agreement on the fact that there were reform developments and ferment in the 15th-century church all the way from Spain and Italy northward

through Germany, France, and England. Some of these were directed against abuses by the papacy, the clergy, and monks and nuns. The pious, for example, abhorred Innocent VIII (1484-92), who performed marriage ceremonies for his own illegitimate children in the Vatican, and Alexander VI (1492-1503), who was and was seen to be depraved. The public was also increasingly aware of and angered by luxurious papal projects, for which funds were exacted.

The distaste for the papacy increased at a time of rising nationalist spirits. The popes, who had long intervened in the politics of Germany, France, and England, faced setbacks when the

monarchies in each country acquired new power. The sovereigns found a need to assert this power against the papacy and, in most cases, against local clerical representatives of the church.

At this time of rising national consciousness there appeared a generation of theologians who remained entirely within the context of medieval Roman Catholicism but who engaged in fundamental criticisms of it. Thus William of Ockham (d. 1349?) spoke up as a reformer within the Franciscan order. He wished to return this religious order to the ideal of poverty, which it had in large part abandoned. As part of his reform he maintained that Pope John

XXII was heretical. Ockham saw the papacy and empire as independent but related governments or realms. When the church was in danger of heresy, lay people—princes and commoners alike—must come to its rescue. This meant, in the present case, reform. (See theology.)

In England, John Wycliffe engaged in similar struggles, which weakened papal power and the hold of the medieval church. Wycliffe also traded on national consciousness, which he directed toward reform of the church. His instrument was the moral law of the Bible. Wycliffe gave impetus to its translation, and in 1380 he helped make

it available to rulers and ruled alike, though he always granted uncommon spiritual authority to the king.

In Bohemia, Jan Hus, who became rector of the University of Prague, used that school as his base to criticize a luxury-minded clergy. He also exploited national feelings and came to argue that the pope had no right to use the temporal sword. Hus's bold accusations led to his death by burning at the Council of Constance in 1415.

Alongside a piety that combined moral revulsion with national feelings, Christian humanism was a further sign of stirring in the late medieval church. In Italy, Lorenzo Valla (1407-57) used his

sophisticated techniques of historical inquiry to expose a number of forgeries that had given the papacy many of its powers and much of its domain. In Germany, Johannes Reuchlin (1455-1522) studied Greek and Hebrew, the biblical languages, and fought for the rights of scholars to question traditional claims of the church. In Holland, Desiderius Erasmus (1466/69-1536), who remained a Roman Catholic, used his vast learning and his satiric pen to question the practices of the church.

Still another factor that disturbed a complacent late medieval church was a flowering of mysticism in the spirit of Meister Eckehart (d. 1327/28) or Johann

Tauler (d. 1361). These people of profound devotion gained followers who sought and claimed to have a direct access to God, bypassing many of the church's rites and practices. Reformers like Martin Luther were to speak well of some of these devotionalists and to translate their writings.

While the Reformers attacked people in high places, they also regarded the Catholicism of ordinary people as being in need of reform. Devotion to the Virgin Mary had come to look superstitious to them as well as to occur at the expense of devotion to Christ. Such practices as pilgrims visiting shrines or parishioners regarding relics of saints with awe

seemed to perpetuate a kind of paganism under a Christian veneer. The pestilences and plagues of the 14th century had bred an inordinate fear of death, which led to the exploitation of simple people by a church that was, in effect, offering salvation for sale. By the turn of the 16th century much of Europe was ripe for reforms that Catholicism could neither open itself up to nor contain. (M.E.M.)

The continental Reformation: Germany, Switzerland, and France

The role of Luther

Luther said that what differentiated him from previous reformers was that they attacked the life, he the doctrine of the church. Whereas they denounced the sins of churchmen, he was disillusioned by the whole scholastic scheme of redemption. The assumption was that man could erase his sins one by one through confession and absolution in the sacrament of penance. Luther discovered that he could not remember or even recognize all of his sins, and the attempt to dispose of them one by one was like trying to cure smallpox by picking off the scabs. Indeed, he believed that the whole man was sick. The church, however, held that the individual was not too sick to make up for bad deeds by some good deeds. God gave to all a measure of grace. If human beings lay hold of it and did the best they could, God would reward them with a further gift of grace with which they could perform deeds of genuine merit, which would give them credit before God. Human beings might even die with more than enough credits for salvation. These extra credits constituted a treasury of the merits of the saints, from which the pope could make transfers to those whose accounts were in arrears. The transfer was called an

indulgence and for this, in Luther's day, the grateful recipient made a contribution to the church. (See Reformation, Roman Catholicism, history of.)

The indulgence system

This arrangement proved to be a popular way of raising money particularly because, unlike tithes, it was voluntary and could provoke no resentment. By this means crusades, cathedrals, hospitals, and even bridges were financed. At first the indulgence, according to the Germanic law of commutation of a physical punishment to a fine, applied only to penalties imposed by the church on earth. Then it was extended to penalties imposed by God in purgatory. In Luther's day immediate release from purgatory was being offered, and the remission not only of penalties but even of sins was assured. Thus the indulgence encroached upon the sacrament of penance.

Luther was desperately in earnest about his standing before God and Christ. The

woodcuts of Christ the Judge on a rainbow consigning the damned to hell filled him with terror. He believed the monastic life to be the way par excellence to acquire those extra merits that would more than balance his account. He became a monk and subjected himself to rigorous asceticism, but he could never reach the assurance that a sinful pygmy like himself could ever stand before the inexorable justice and majesty of God. Continual recourse to the confessional simply convinced him of the fundamental sickness of the whole man. He began then to question the goodness of a God who would make human beings so weak and then damn them for what they could not help. Relief

came through the study of the Psalms. Luther found the 22nd Psalm particularly revealing because it contains the words quoted by Christ upon the cross, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" Evidently then, Christ, being without sin, so identified himself with sinful humanity as to feel himself estranged from God. Christ the Judge seated upon the rainbow had become Christ the Derelict upon the cross, and here the wrath and the mercy of God could find their point of meeting so that God was able to forgive those utterly devoid of merit. He could justify the unjust, and this required of man only that he accept the gift of God in faith. This was the doctrine of justification by faith,

which became the watchword of the Reformation.

What this insight meant for the doctrine of indulgences is at once apparent. The great offense was not the financial aspect but rather the very notion that human beings dared to engage in bookkeeping with God. Luther by now had become a professor at the University of Wittenberg and also a pastor. His parishioners were obtaining the indulgences issued by Albert, the new archbishop of Mainz, half of the proceeds to be retained by him as reimbursement for his installation fee as archbishop, the other half to go to the pope for the building of the Basilica of

St. Peter's at Rome. For this indulgence Albert made unprecedented claims. If the indulgence were on behalf of the donor himself, he would receive preferential treatment in case of future sin, if for someone else already in purgatory, he need not be contrite for his own sin. Remission was promised not only of penalties but also of sins, and the vendor of the indulgences offered immediate release from purgatory.

Ninety-five Theses

Against these instructions Luther launched his Ninety-five Theses on All Saints' Day of the year 1517. In the theses he presented three main points. The first concerned financial abuses; for example, if the pope realized the poverty of the German people, he would

rather that St. Peter's lay in ashes than that it should be built out of the blood and hide of his sheep. The second focused attention on doctrinal abuses; for example, the pope had no jurisdiction over purgatory and if he did, he should empty the place free of charge. The third attacked religious abuses; for example, the treasury of the merits of the saints was denied by implication in the assertion that the treasury of the church was the gospel. This was the crucial point. When the papacy pronounced Luther's position heretical, he countered by denying the infallibility of popes and for good measure of councils also. Scripture was declared to be the only basis of authority.

Luther found support in many quarters. Already a widespread liberal Catholic evangelical reform sought to correct the moral abuses such as clerical concubinage, financial extortion, and pluralism (i.e., the holding of several benefices by one man) and ridiculed the

popular superstitions associated with the cult of the saints and their relics, religious pilgrimages, and the like. This movement had representatives in all lands, notably John Colet in England, Jacques Lefèvre in France, Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros in Spain, Juan de Valdés in Naples, and, above all, Erasmus of Rotterdam. Erasmus found nothing amiss in Luther's theses except that he had been too tart as to purgatory, and when the cry of heresy was raised against Luther, he wrote to the elector Frederick III the Wise, Luther's prince, telling him that as a Christian ruler he was obligated to see to it that his subject should have a fair hearing.

Another party that rallied to Luther was that of the German nationalists led by Ulrich von Hutten, who aspired to convert the Holy Roman Empire into a German national state. This program would entail the suppression of the whole system of prince-bishops and could never be achieved without a war with the papacy. Luther was hailed because of his attack on the papacy, though he would not condone the program of violence.

Yet despite the support from these parties, Luther would have been speedily crushed had Pope Leo X taken seriously the religious side of his office. The secularization of the papacy saved

Luther, and he destroyed the secularization of the papacy. At the moment when Luther appeared to be foredoomed, an election for the office of Holy Roman emperor was pending. It was elective and any European prince was eligible, including Henry VIII of England, Francis I of France, Charles I of Spain. The Pope wished none of them because the position entailed control over Germany, and the augmentation of power to one of the three would destroy the balance of power. His preference was for a minor prince, and none fitted the role better than Luther's protector, Frederick the Wise of Saxony. In consequence the Pope dallied in the case of Luther and even after Charles was

elected, the Pope was willing to play Frederick against him. Not until June 1520, nearly three years after the Ninety-five Theses, was Luther summoned to submit within 60 days. The time was reckoned from the date of the actual delivery of the bull to the person named. So great was the obstruction to Rome on the part even of German bishops that the bull was not handed to Luther until October 10.

Luther's manifesto

He employed the summer of 1520 to bring out some of the great manifestos of the Reformation. The Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation called upon the ruling class in Germany, including the emperor, in whom Luther had not yet lost confidence,

to reform the church in externals by returning to apostolic poverty and simplicity. This appeal to the civil power to reform the church was a return to the earlier practice of the Middle Ages when emperors more than once had deposed and replaced unworthy popes. Luther argued that the papacy of his day was only 400 years old, meaning that it was the Gregorian reform that had given the church its lead in matters political, encroaching thereby on the sphere of the magistrate on the ground that the lowliest priest did more for mankind than the loftiest king. Luther countered with the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers, including Christian magistrates. Any layman was spiritually a priest, though not vocationally a parson. The Christian ruler, then, being himself a priest, could reform the church in externals, as the church might excommunicate him in spirituals. The liberal Catholic reformers could sympathize with this program except for the identification of the papacy with Antichrist. This savoured of the medieval sects.

Another tract dealt with the sacraments. The title was The Babylonian Captivity,

meaning that the sacraments themselves had been taken captive by the church. Luther reduced the number of the sacraments from seven to practically two. The seven were baptism, the Eucharist or mass, penance, confirmation, ordination, marriage, and extreme unction. Luther defined a sacrament as rite instituted by Christ himself. By this token only baptism and the Eucharist were strictly sacraments and penance only as confession. Extreme unction, that is anointing with oil those on the verge of death, was dropped entirely. Confirmation went out for a time but was later restored. Ordination continued as a rite of the church. Penance included contrition, confession,

and satisfaction. Luther felt that none could be sure of genuine contrition, none could make satisfaction. Confession was wholesome but should be voluntary and could be made to any fellow Christian. Marriage was not a Christian sacrament, because it was not instituted by Christ but by God in the garden of Eden, and valid not only for Christians but also for Turks and Jews. Baptism was to be administered but once only and to babies on the ground of their dormant faith.

This left the mass, and at this point Luther gave the greatest offense. The wine, he asserted, should be given to the laity as well as the bread, as in the Hussite practice. No masses should be

said for the dead by the priest alone without communicants, because the Eucharist involved fellowship not only with Christ but also with believers. The most drastic change was that Luther denied the doctrine of transubstantiation, according to which, at the pronouncement of the words of institution, the elements of bread and wine, though retaining their accidents of colour, shape, and taste, nevertheless lost their substance, which was replaced by the substance of the body of Christ as God. This Luther denied, saying that no change was wrought by the words of Christ. (See religious symbolism.)

Luther, nevertheless, believed that the

body of Christ was physically present upon the altar because Christ said, "This is my body." Therefore, in some inexplicable manner, his body must be "with, in, and under" the elements. But if no change was wrought, how did his body come to be on the altar? Because his body was everywhere. But if everywhere, why especially there? Because in view of human limitations God had decreed two modes of self-disclosure, the preaching of the Word and the administration of the sacrament. There the eyes of the believer were opened. This view undercut sacerdotalism, since the words of the priest did not bring the body of Christ to the altar. The undercutting of

sacerdotalism destroyed the hierarchical structure of society culminating in the papacy. (See Real Presence.)

Diet of worms

But what was to be done with Luther? On December 10, instead of submitting, he defiantly burned the papal bull together with a copy of the canon law. The normal course would then have been to excommunicate him outright, but Frederick the Wise insisted that he be given a fair hearing. The natural body to pass judgment would have been a council of the church. But the popes were the greatest obstructionists when it came to calling a council because they feared the revival of conciliarism, which in the previous century bade fair to convert the church into a constitutional monarchy. There would have been no Council of Trent save for Luther. Only after another 20 years, when the spread of his teaching left no other expedients, was a council convened. Consequently, his hearing had to be before a secular tribunal, the Diet of the empire meeting at

Worms in the winter and spring of 1521. Since this was a secular tribunal the attempt was made to prove that he was not simply a heretic but also a rebel whose views were more subversive of the civil than of the ecclesiastical order, because he was undermining the very principle of authority. Luther was brought before the Diet and given an opportunity to repudiate his books. Had he disclaimed the one on the sacraments, the other points might have been negotiated. He acknowledged them all. Would he then disclaim some of their teaching? Who was he to reject the teaching of the ages? Let him give an answer without horns, to which he replied: "I will answer without horns and without teeth. Unless I am convicted by Scripture and plain reason—I do not accept the authority of popes and councils, for they have contradicted each other—my conscience is captive to the Word of God, I cannot and I will not recant anything, for to go against conscience is neither right nor safe. God help me. Amen." The Emperor then placed Luther under the imperial ban. The bull of excommunication by the church was formally released only later. Frederick the Wise at this point intervened and wafted Luther away

to a place of hiding.

Luther was concealed for a year at the castle of the Wartburg. During this enforced withdrawal he made perhaps his greatest contribution in that he translated the whole of the New Testament from the Greek text of Erasmus into an idiomatic, pungent, powerful German. In many respects his German helped to create the idiomatic. Nothing did so much to win popular adherence to his teaching as the dissemination of this translation. (See biblical translation.)

But some were not so convinced. Many of the liberal Catholic reformers, like Erasmus, recoiled from Luther's

paradoxes, from his confidence that his interpretation of Scripture was correct, from his acceptance of the doctrine of predestination, which makes of God a tyrant when he elects some and damns others regardless of their behaviour. The German national movement collapsed. Then in Luther's own circle variant forms of Protestantism arose, which in the aggregate are variously described as the left wing of the Reformation or as the radical Reformation. The terminology does not matter so much as the recognition that no neat classification is possible.

Radical reformers related to Luther's reform

Two figures emerging in Luther's circle are significant by way of anticipation. One was Karlstadt (c. 1477/81-1541), who drew the radical inference from the dualism of flesh and spirit that art and music should be abolished as external aids to religion and the Presence of Christ's body on the altar should be interpreted in a spiritual sense. His program issued in iconoclastic riots. He extended Luther's doctrine of the priesthood of all believers to mean that all laymen were pastors. If one person was assigned the tasks of a parson, he should dress like others and, like others, should work with his hands. The clergy not only might but must marry. The sabbath should be strictly observed. This program anticipated the Puritan movement. It entailed a blending of spiritualism and legalism. The sensory aids to religion were to be discarded by those advanced in the spiritual life and then snatched away by laws from those still weak. (See Karlstadt, Andreas Rudolf Bodenstein von.)

A much more disquieting figure than Karlstadt was Thomas Müntzer (c. 1490-1525), a man of learning and a

creative firebrand, who may be regarded not as the progenitor but as the first formulator of the concept of the Protestant Holy Commonwealth. He believed that the elect, those predestined by God for salvation, could be sufficiently identified to compose a definite group. Luther denied the possibility of distinguishing the elect from the nonelect. Müntzer's test was the new birth in the spirit. The test was not for him an absolute mark, and he recognized that among the wheat there might be some weeds, yet he accepted it as an adequate test for the formation of a community bound together by a covenant. The mission of this group was to set up the Kingdom of God on Earth,

the Holy Commonwealth, by wiping out the ungodly. In the attempt they would have to endure suffering, and here Müntzer drew from German mysticism the theme of walking in Christ's steps toward the cross. But the trial would end in triumph, for the Lord Jesus would speedily come to vindicate his saints and erect his Kingdom. There are obviously incompatibles here, the way of suffering and the infliction of suffering, the feverish activity of man to achieve that which will be established by God. But logical incompatibles fuse at high emotional temperatures. Müntzer appealed to the Saxon princes to implement his program, but they banished him. He found a hearing among

the revolting peasants and led them at the Battle of Frankenhausen, where they were butchered and he captured and beheaded. Luther execrated his memory because he seized the sword in defense of the gospel. The Marxists have exalted him as the prophet of social revolution because he was the only one of the Reformers who had a deep feeling for the sufferings of the socially oppressed. In grasping the sword he did not essentially differ from Huldrych Zwingli, Gaspard de Coligny, or Oliver Cromwell.

Zwingli and his influence

Huldrych Zwingli (1484-1531), the great figure in Swiss Protestantism, was in fact if anything more

committed to military action than Müntzer because he fell as a combatant with sword and helmet on the field of battle. He became a Reformer independently of Luther, with whom he was entirely in accord as to justification by faith and predestination. At certain points Zwingli drew from Erasmus and Karlstadt, notably with respect to the disparagement of the sensory aids to religion. Zwingli, though an accomplished musician, considered that the function of music was to put the babies to sleep rather than to worship God. The organ was dismantled and the images removed from the cathedral at Zürich. The Lord's Supper was understood by Zwingli in his most extreme period simply as a memorial of Christ's death and, on the part of the recipient, as a public declaration of faith with more significance for the members of the congregation who saw him take his stand than for his own spiritual life. Zwingli could the more readily retain the baptism of infants because it was simply a recognition that the child belongs to the people of God as the child in the Old Testament belonged by circumcision to Israel. The analogy with Judaism applied at many points, for Zwingli regarded the

Christian congregation as the new Israel of God, an elect people, reasonably identifiable, not as with Müntzer by the new birth but by adherence to the faith. This company could be called theocratic in the sense that it was under the rule of God, whom church and state should alike serve in close collaboration. The identification of the whole populace of Zürich with this elect people was the more tenable because those not in accord with the ideal were disposed to leave. Zwingli approved of even an aggressive war to forestall interference from the Roman Catholic cantons. In the second war of Kappel he fell in 1531. (See theocracy.)

In Zwingli's circle arose the group who formed the mainstay of the radical Reformation. They shared with Zwingli, and with all the reformers to a degree, the desire to restore the church to the primitive pattern, but they were more drastic in their restitution. Manifestly the early church had not been allied with the

state. Luther, Zwingli, and other Reformers saw no sense in forcing the church back into the period when the state was hostile and the Christians were persecuted. After the state became Christian, there could very well be a close alliance, as indeed there had been in ancient Israel.

The Anabaptists

The radicals restricted their biblicism to the New Testament and espoused three tenets therefrom that have come to be axiomatic in the United States: the separation of church and state, the voluntary church, and religious liberty. They were called Anabaptists on the ground that, having rejected infant baptism, they rebaptized adults previously baptized. But they called themselves simply Baptists, denying that they repeated baptism since the dipping of babies was no baptism at

all. Baptism, they held, did not itself regenerate but was only the outward sign of an inner experience, the rebirth in the spirit, of which only an adult was capable. The Anabaptists, so-called, also believed in the possibility of a Christian society whose members were marked both by the conversion experience and also by a highly disciplined deportment. In obedience to the New Testament they repudiated swearing oaths and recourse to violence, whether in war or at the hands of the magistrate. The saints should withdraw from the wicked world.

This whole program obviously had political and social aspects and was a threat to that society or any other, for no society, save that of a small sect, has ever renounced the use of the sword. The Anabaptists were marked for extermination by Catholics and Protestants alike. One of their first leaders, Felix Manz, was drowned in

Zürich in 1527. The Diet of Speyer in 1529, at which the Lutherans protested, subjected the Anabaptists to the penalty of death with the concurrence of the Lutherans. Persecution in the first decade eliminated the leaders, most of them educated and moderate men. Less temperate spirits came to the fore, sustaining their courage by setting dates for the speedy coming of the Lord. One band, composed mainly of Anabaptists, took over the town of Münster in Westphalia in 1534 and, contrary to the tenets of their fellows, seized the sword and, in accord with Old Testament practice, restored polygamy. The town was captured by Catholics and Lutherans conjoined and the leaders were

executed. Persecution everywhere intensified.

(See polygyny.)

Other groups

In Holland Menno Simons (c. 1496-1561), the founder of the Mennonites, repudiated violence, polygamy, and the setting of dates for the coming of the Lord and returned to the teaching of the early founders. The Mennonites survived partly by reason of accommodation to military service in Holland, partly by migration first to eastern Europe and then to the Americas. Another group, named Hutterites from Jakob Hutter (died 1536), was allowed to form communal colonies in Moravia on the estates of tolerant feudal nobles who were willing to drop the demand for military service in return for excellent craftsmanship in field and shop. Because of subsequent persecution these groups also migrated to the New World. The Swiss branch, which survives in

the United States, is called the Amish. The entire pattern of ideas has reappeared in various combinations in subsequent history, not only among the Church of the Brethren and the Quakers but among all of the free churches disclaiming a state connection.

The role of Calvin

Another form of Protestantism was Calvinism, named for John Calvin (1509-64), a Frenchman educated in humanist and legal studies, who in consequence of a conversion to the Protestant reform had to flee France. In Basel, at the age of 27, he brought out the first edition of his Institutes of the Christian Religion, which in successive expansions became for centuries the manual of Protestant theology. Calvin was in basic agreement with Luther as to justification by faith and the sole authority of Scripture. On the sacrament of the Lord's Supper he took a mediating position between the radical Swiss and the Lutheran view. Thus he believed that the body of Christ was not everywhere present, but that his spirit was universal and there was a genuine communion with the risen

Lord. Calvin took a middle view likewise with respect to music and art. He favoured congregational singing of the Psalms, and this became a characteristic mark of the Huguenots in France and the Presbyterians in Scotland and the New World. As to art, he rejected the images of saints and the crucifix (that is, the body of Christ upon the cross), but allowed a plain cross. These modifications do not refute the generalization that Calvinism was alien to art and music in the service of religion but not in the secular sphere.

As over against Luther, there was a shift of emphasis in Calvin, whose Institutes did not begin with justification by faith but with the knowledge of God. Luther found refuge from the terror of God's dispensations in the mercy of Christ. Calvin could the more calmly contemplate the frightfulness of God's judgments because they would not descend upon the elect. Luther, as noted,

saw no way of knowing who were the elect. He could not be sure of himself and throughout his life had a continual struggle for faith and assurance. Calvin had certain approximate and attainable tests. He did not require the experience of the new birth, which is so inward and intangible, though to be sure later Calvinism moved away from him on this point and agonized over the marks of election. For Calvin there were three tests: the profession of faith, as with Zwingli; a rigorously disciplined Christian deportment, as with the Anabaptists; and a love of the sacraments, which meant the Lord's Supper since infant baptism was not to be repeated. If a person could meet these

three tests let him assume his election and stop worrying.

If one could achieve such assurance, what an enormous release of energy to be directed to the glory of God and the erection on Earth of some semblance of a holy commonwealth! The term became common in New England. Calvin's own statement was that "the Church reformed is the kingdom of God." Calvin saw more of a possibility of its realization through the efforts of the elect because he muted the expectation of the imminent return of the Lord. The service of the Kingdom did not require a particular vocation. Any worthy occupation is a divine calling demanding unremitting

zeal. Luther had emphasized the secular callings as over against the monastic, which in the Middle Ages alone had been called a vocation. With Calvin the point was not so much that one should accept one's lot and rejoice in the assigned task, however menial, as that the work would contribute to the larger realization of the Christian society.

Calvin had a concrete opportunity for the realization of his ideal, albeit at first only on a small scale. The city of Geneva had recently thrown off the authority of the bishop and of the duke of Savoy and had not yet joined the Protestant Swiss Confederation, though aided in the fight for liberation by the

Protestant city of Bern. Through the Bernese, Protestant preachers began to evangelize Geneva. The city was threatened by civil war. The bellicose preacher Guillaume Farel, unable himself to contain the violence he had helped to unleash, laid hold of Calvin merely passing through the city and impressed him into the unwelcome task of leadership. After turbulent years, a banishment and a recall, he was able for the last two decades of his life to direct the city that John Knox considered "the most godly since the days of the apostles." There was actually scarcely a feature of Thomas More's Utopia that Geneva did not seek to realize.

The program, despite all the turbulence, was the more attainable because of a selective process with respect to the population. At the outset all the Catholics who would not submit to the new regime had to leave. Among those who remained, excommunication from the church, if not removed within six months, meant banishment from the city. Control over excommunication, after a long struggle, came to be entirely in the hands of the church. The state, having long suffered from the abuse of excommunication for political purposes, was loath to concede to the church exclusive control. Abortive attempts to achieve independence had been made by the Protestant churches at Basel and

Strassburg. Calvin succeeded, with the result that one who was not in the graces of the church could not for long be a member of the community. A further factor ensuring a select constituency was the influx of 6,000 refugees from France, Italy, Spain, and, for a time, from England into a city of 13,000. Thus in Geneva, church, state, and community came to be one. The ministers and the magistrates with differentiated functions were alike the servants of God in the erection of this new Israel; and the comparison with ancient Israel was the more striking and the inner cohesion the more intensified because Geneva also was begirt by foes, the duke of Savoy and the duke of Alba, like the old

Canaanites and Philistines.

Calvinism in France

The situation in France with respect to the Reformation was not altogether dissimilar to that in Germany because, although the decentralization of government was not as great, some of the French provinces enjoyed a considerable autonomy, particularly in the south, and it was in the Midi and French Navarre that the Protestant movement had its initial strength. Then, too, noble houses were continually conspiring to manipulate or eviscerate the monarchy. The religious issues came to be intertwined with the political ambitions. The ruling houses, first the Valois from Francis I through Henry III and then the Bourbon, beginning with Henry IV, sought to secure the stability of the land and the throne by quelling religious strife either by the extermination or toleration of minorities.

The ground was better prepared for the

reform of the church in France than in Germany because of the efforts of liberal Catholics such as the scholar Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples and the bishop of Meaux, Guillaume Briçonnet. King Francis I and his sister Margaret of Angoulême not infrequently intervened to save humanist reformers from the menaces of the obscurantists, and Margaret's daughter, Jeanne d'Albret, the queen of Navarre, a feudatory of France, provided an asylum for the persecuted in her domain, though she did not herself espouse the Huguenot cause until 1560. When Lutheran teaching first began to infiltrate France, Francis I, who would not abet heresy, fluctuated in his policy of repression, depending on

whether he desired a political alliance with the pope, the Turk, or the German Lutherans. The year 1534 precipitated a crisis when placards were posted in Paris savagely attacking the mass. Severe repression followed. Bishop Briçonnet made his submission. Farel fled to Geneva, Lefèvre to Strassburg, Calvin to Basel. Under Henry II, the son of Francis, repression was intensified, particularly when in 1559 France and Spain made peace and thus each was free to devote attention to the suppression of heresy at home. The persecution of the Huguenots, as the Protestants came to be called in France, would have been intense save for the death of the King in a tournament.

At this point the rivalry of the noble houses injected itself more overtly into the religious struggle. The crown, with its alternating policy of eradication or recognition, was flanked by two extreme houses for whom the religious issue was of intense concern. The House of Guise was so Catholic as to be willing to call in Spanish aid, and the family of Admiral Coligny so Huguenot as to be willing to court help from England and even from Germany. Under Francis II the Guises were in the ascendant because the queen, later queen of Scots, was of that house. Some of the Huguenots, foreseeing the suppression in store, hatched the Conspiracy of Amboise, an attempted assassination of the leaders of

the Guise party and transferral of power to the House of Bourbon.

This was plainly rebellion and acutely raised a problem with which the Protestants had long been wrestling. The Lutherans had had to face it earlier when the Diet of Augsburg in 1530 gave them a year in which to submit on pain of war. The Lutheran princes then had formed the Schmalkaldic League to resist arms with arms. Luther was loath to condone any use of the sword in defense of the Gospel and absolutely forbade any recourse to violence on the part of a private citizen against the magistrates. This was his reason for disapproval of the Peasants' War. But now the jurists

pointed out to Luther that the emperor was an elected ruler and that if he transgressed against the true religion he might be brought to book by the electors, who also were magistrates. Thus arose the doctrine of the right of resistance of the lower magistrate against the higher. The concept lost its pertinence in Germany after the Peace of Augsburg in 1555, which granted toleration to the Lutherans in the territories where they were predominant. Minorities in Lutheran and Catholic lands were granted the right of migration without loss of goods.

But the Calvinists were not included in the peace, and the problem of armed

resistance again became acute in France. Calvin would not condone the Conspiracy of Amboise because it was not led by a lower magistrate. The term was now applied to the princes of the blood in line for succession to the throne. This meant the House of Bourbon. The Conspiracy of Amboise failed. Francis II died, and was succeeded by his brother, the young Charles IX. The queen mother, Catherine de Médicis, took the lead and sought to avert religious war by granting the Huguenots limited toleration in restricted areas in the edict of 1562. When François, duc de Guise, discovered the Huguenots worshiping outside the prescribed limits, as he

claimed, he opened fire. The Massacre of Vassy set off the wars. The Huguenots now were led by a prince of the blood, Louis I, 1st prince de Condé, of the House of Bourbon. Calvin approved. There followed three inconclusive wars. Condé was killed in the first and François, duc de Guise, was assassinated. His son, now Henri, duc de Guise, believed in the complicity of Coligny, the new leader of the Huguenots. At the end of 10 years of indecisive conflict, Catherine made another effort at a settlement to be cemented by the marriage of Henry of Navarre, a Bourbon, the son of Jeanne d'Albret and the hope of the Huguenots, and her own daughter Margaret

(Marguerite de Valois), a Catholic. The leaders of all parties came to Paris for the wedding. The Duke of Guise made an attempt on the life of Coligny, which failed. Then the Guise, with the connivance of Catherine and her son Charles, who panicked, tried to wipe out all of the leaders of the Huguenot party in the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day in August 1572. Other massacres followed in the provinces. (See Condé, Louis I de Bourbon, 1e prince de, Religion, Wars of, Saint Bartholomew's Day, Massacre of.)

Charles IX was succeeded by his brother, Henry III, two years later (1574). Such was the revulsion against

the massacre that the King could rule only by forming an alliance with the Huguenot Henry of Navarre. A fanatical Catholic was thereby so outraged that he assassinated the King. Both sides had abandoned the fiction of the inferior magistrate and had gone in unabashedly for popular revolution. Henry of Navarre then became Henry IV, but he was unable to take Paris and rule France so long as he was a Protestant. In order to pacify the land he made his submission to Rome and promulgated an edict of toleration for the Huguenots, the Edict of Nantes, in 1598. It gave them liberty of worship again in limited areas but full rights of participation in public life. The edict remained in force until the

revocation in 1685.

The Reformation in England and Scotland

Henry VIII and the separation from Rome

In the meantime the Reformation had taken hold in England. The beginning there was political rather than religious, a quarrel between the king and the pope of the sort that had occurred in the Middle Ages without resulting in a permanent schism, and might not have in this instance save for the total European situation. The dispute had its root in the assumption that the king was a national stallion expected to provide an heir to the throne. England did not have the Salic law, which in France forbade female succession, but England had just emerged from the Wars of the Roses and the fear was not unwarranted that the struggle might be

resumed if there were not a male succession. Catherine of Aragon, the queen of Henry VIII, had borne him numerous children of whom only one survived, the princess Mary, and more were not to be expected. The ordinary procedure in such a case was to discover some flaw in the marriage that would allow an annulment or, in the terminology of that day, a divorce. In this instance the flaw was not difficult to find, because Catherine had been married to Henry's brother Arthur, and the law of England, following the prohibition in the book of Leviticus, forbade the marriage of a man with his deceased brother's widow. At the time of the marriage the pope had given a dispensation to cover this infraction of the rule. The question now was whether the pope had the authority to dispense from the divine law. Catherine said there had been no need for a dispensation because her marriage to Arthur had not been consummated and there had been no impediment to her marriage to Henry. The knot would have been cut by some casuistry had Catherine not been the aunt of Emperor Charles V, who was not prepared to see her cast aside in favour of another wife, and who controlled the pope.

Clement VII, wishing neither to provoke the emperor nor to alienate the king, dallied so long that Henry took the matter into his own hands, repudiated papal authority, and in 1534 set up the Anglican Church with the king as the supreme head. The spiritual head was the archbishop of Canterbury, now Thomas Cranmer, who married Henry to Anne Boleyn. She bore the princess Elizabeth. By still another wife Henry did have a son who succeeded as Edward VI. (See Roman Catholicism, history of, Supremacy, Act of.)

Although the basic concern of Henry was political, the alterations in the structure of the church gave scope for a reformation religious in character. Part of the impulse came from the survivals of Lollardy, part from the Lutheran movement on the Continent, and even more from the Christian humanism represented by Erasmus. The major changes under Henry were the

suppression of the monasteries, the introduction of the Bible in the vernacular in the parish churches, and permission to the clergy to marry, though this was later revoked. The resistance to Henry's program was not formidable and the executions resulting were not numerous. Henry was impartial in burning some Lutherans who would not submit to his later reactionary legislation and toward some Catholics who would not accept the royal supremacy over the church, notably John Fisher and Thomas More.

On his ascension to the throne in 1547, young Edward VI was hailed by Cranmer and other Protestants as

England's Josiah, the young 7th-century-BC king of Judah who enforced the Deuteronomic reform. Edward, it was held, would rid the land of idolatry so that England might be blessed. Protestantism advanced rapidly during his reign through the systematic reformation of doctrine, worship, and discipline—the three external marks of the true church. A reformed confession of faith and a prayer book were adopted, but the reformation of the ecclesiastical laws that would have defined the basis of discipline was blocked in Parliament by the most powerful of the English nobility.

The death of Edward and England's

return to Roman Catholicism in 1553 under Queen Mary was interpreted by Protestants as a judgment by God upon a nation that had not taken the Reformation seriously enough. Many, including Cranmer, died as martyrs to the Protestant cause. Others fled to the European continent. Those in exile experimented with more radical forms of worship and discipline. Leading clergymen published material justifying rebellion against an idolatrous ruler. Many saw in Geneva, which was a haven for English exiles, a working model of a disciplined church. Exiles produced two large volumes of incalculable consequence for English religious thought. John Foxe's Actes and

Monuments, popularly known as The Book of Martyrs, and the Geneva Bible were the most popular books in England for many years after they were published. They provided a view of England as an elect nation chosen by God to bring the power of the Antichrist (understood to be the pope) to an end. An England obedient to God would receive his favour. Otherwise, it would experience his plagues.

Elizabeth I, beginning her rule in 1558, was hailed as the glorious Deborah (12th-century-BC Israelite leader), the "restorer of Israel." She did not restore it far enough for English Protestants, however. Two statutes promulgated in

her first year—the Act of Supremacy, stating that the queen was "supreme governor" of the Church of England, and the Act of Uniformity, ensuring that English worship should follow The Book of Common Prayer—defined the nature of the English religious establishment. In 1563 the primary church legislative body, the Convocations of Canterbury and York, defined standard doctrine in the Thirty-nine Articles, but attempts in the Convocation to reform the prayerbook further and to produce a reformed discipline failed. Defeated there, the reformers came to rely more on Parliament, where they could always depend on strong support.

The role of John Knox

In Scotland the Reformation is associated with the name of John Knox, who declared that one celebration of the mass is worse than a cup of poison. He faced the very real threat that Mary, Queen of Scots, would do for Scotland what Mary Tudor had done for England. Therefore Knox defied her to her face in matters of religion and, though a commoner, addressed her as if he were all Scotland. He very nearly was, because in the period prior to 1560 many an obscure evangelist had converted the lowlands largely to the religion of John Calvin. The church had been given a Presbyterian structure, culminating in a General Assembly, which had actually as great and perhaps a greater influence than the Parliament. Because of her follies, and very probably her crimes (complicity in the murder of her husband), Mary had to seek asylum in England. There she became the focus of plots on the life of Elizabeth until Parliament decreed her execution. Presbyterianism came to be established in Scotland, and this very fact alone made possible the union of Scotland with England. Union of Protestant

England with a Catholic Scotland would have been unthinkable. (See Presbyterian churches.)

Knox is frequently reproached for his intolerance in regarding one celebration of the mass as worse than a cup of poison, but one must remember that the year 1560 marked the peak of polarization between the confessions. Similar intolerance had been mounting at Rome. Paul III, after an abortive attempt at reform, had introduced the Roman Inquisition in 1542. His successor, Paul IV, placed everything that Erasmus had ever written on the Index. The Council of Trent began its sittings in 1545, introducing rigidity in dogma and austerity in morals. The Protestant views of justification by faith alone, the Lord's

Supper, and the propriety of clerical marriage were sharply rejected. All deviation within the Catholic fold was rigidly suppressed. When Carranza, the archbishop of Toledo, returned to Spain in 1559, after assisting Mary in the restoration of Catholicism in England, he arrived in time for the last great auto-da-fé of the Lutherans. Himself under suspicion for ideas no more heretical than those of Erasmus, he was incarcerated for 17 years in the prison of the Inquisition. The liberal cardinal Giovanni Morone was imprisoned during the pontificate by Paul IV, and under Pius V, Pietro Carnesecchi, an Erasmian and one-time secretary of Clement VII, was burned in Rome. John

Knox and Pope Pius V represent the acme of divergence between the confessions.

(R.H.B./J.C.S./Ed.)

The rise of Puritanism

Origins

Despite Elizabeth I's conservatism the Protestant reformers in England began to see their programs and ideas take hold more firmly during her reign. The movement known as Puritanism was part of this growing Protestant influence in English society in the late 16th and early 17th centuries.

Puritanism first emerged as a distinct movement in a controversy over clerical

vestments and liturgical practices. Immediately following the Elizabethan Settlement, a practical latitude existed for Protestant clergy to wear what they chose while leading worship. Many preachers took this opportunity to do away with the formal attire as well as other practices traditionally associated with the Roman Catholic mass. But in 1564 Queen Elizabeth demanded that Matthew Parker, the archbishop of Canterbury, enforce uniformity in the liturgy. He did so somewhat reluctantly with the publication of his Advertisements in 1566. Those who refused to wear the now prescribed garb came to be considered collectively, and with scorn, as "Puritans" or "precisians"

for their unwillingness to submit in these seemingly minor points to the supremacy of the queen.

Aside from vestments and liturgy the form of church government was a second controversial issue among Elizabethan English Protestants. In 1570 Thomas Cartwright (1535-1603) delivered a series of lectures at Cambridge University proposing that presbyterian government, or government by local councils of clergy and laity, might be an improvement over the current system of archbishops, bishops, and appointments. Cartwright was dismissed for his opinions and fled to Geneva. Two years later John Field and Thomas Wilcox

anonymously published an Admonition to the Parliament, which pushed Cartwright's ideas even further. In reply John Whitgift, vice-chancellor at Cambridge, maintained that the government of the church should be suited to the government of the state and that episcopal government best suited monarchy. In this dispute most Puritans shied away from extremes and supported some form of episcopacy, but a small number went beyond even Cartwright and Field in seeking to effect immediately a "reformation without tarrying for any." These Separatists broke with the established parish system to set up voluntary congregations that covenanted with God and with

themselves, chose ministers by common consent, and put into practice the Puritan marks of the true church. Robert Browne (d. 1633) was an early advocate of the Separatist mentality.

The leaders of the Puritan movement, however, including Cartwright (who had returned to England in 1585) and Field, repudiated the Separatists and sought to set up "presbyterianism in episcopacy," or a "church within the church." This compromise between presbyterianism and episcopacy was preferred by the most prominent Puritans, and they began to institute such a system by means of informal public meetings of clergy and laity to expound and discuss the Bible.

These meetings were called "prophesyings," and they were favoured for their educational value to the rural population by Edmund Grindal, who had succeeded Parker as archbishop of Canterbury in 1576. But the prophesyings were also the occasions for local Puritan clergy, laity, and gentry to mobilize, and they were viewed by Elizabeth, in the context of the more radical groups, as a political threat. An increasingly clear alliance between Puritans and certain factions within Parliament did not allay Elizabeth's fears. (See prophecy.)

Thus, the Queen ordered Grindal to suppress the prophesyings. When he

refused, Elizabeth effectively suspended him from the exercise of his office. This suspension further alienated Puritans. Meetings continued, often in a modified form, called classis or conferences, which were loosely coordinated by John Field in London. Following Grindal's death in 1583, John Whitgift, Cartwright's old opponent, advanced to Canterbury. Whitgift had no hesitance in closing down the prophesyings, but he proceeded with caution in formal prosecution of Puritans. Extended ecclesiastical hearings by the Court of High Commission, under the leadership of John Aylmer, and civil proceedings by the Star Chamber were accompanied by the imprisonment of only a few of the

most prominent Puritans.

Whitgift's policy, along with the death of Field and other Puritan leaders between 1588 and 1590, effectively ended any grand plan for a continuing reformation of the English Church under Elizabeth. The generally moderate Elizabethan Puritan movement was over, and the forces of reform dispersed into various parties and programs ranging from nonseparating congregationalism (as advocated by William Ames) to open subversion of the established hierarchy as in the anonymous Marprelate Tracts (1588-89). Despite failure to promote reform in matters of church structure, the Puritan spirit continued to spread

throughout the society. Protestants with Puritan sympathies controlled colleges and professorships at Oxford and Cambridge, had the ears of many leaders in the House of Commons, and worked tirelessly as preachers and pastors to continue the preaching of Protestantism in its distinctively "hot" Puritan form to the laity.

(M.E.M.)

Puritanism under the Stuarts (1603-49)

Events under James I

Puritan hopes were raised when James VI of Scotland succeeded Elizabeth as James I of England in 1603. James was known to be Calvinist in theology, and he

had once signed the Negative Confession of 1581 favouring the Puritan position. In 1603 the Millenary Petition (with a claimed thousand signatures) presented Puritan grievances to the King, and in 1604 the Hampton Court Conference was held to deal with them. The petitioners were sadly in error in their estimate of the King, who had learned by personal experience to resent Presbyterian clericalism. At Hampton Court he coined the phrase, "no bishop, no king." Outmaneuvered in the conference, the Puritans were made to appear petty in their requests.

As a seal upon the Hampton Court Conference James appointed Richard Bancroft to be Whitgift's successor as archbishop of Canterbury and encouraged the Convocation of 1604 to draw up the Constitutions and Canons against Nonconformists. Conformity in ecclesiastical matters became a pattern in areas where forms of nonconformity

had survived under Elizabeth. Though a number of the clergy were deprived of their positions, others took evasive action and got by with minimal conformity. Members of Parliament supported them in their position by arguing that since the canons had not been ratified by Parliament they did not have the force of law.

Puritans remained under pressure, but men of Puritan sympathies still came close to the seat of power in James's reign. The enforced reading from pulpits of James's Book of Sports, dealing with recreations permissible on Sundays, in 1618, however, was a further affront to those who espoused strict observance of

the sabbath, making compromise more difficult.

Increasing numbers of Separatist groups could not accept compromise, and in 1607 a congregation from Scrooby, Eng., fled to Holland and then migrated on the Mayflower to establish the Plymouth Colony on the shore of Cape Cod Bay in 1620.

Events under Charles I

Despite the presence of controversy, Puritan and non-Puritan Protestants under Elizabeth and James had been united by adherence to a broadly Calvinistic theology of grace. Much of Whitgift's restraint in handling Puritans, for instance, can be traced to the prevailing Calvinist consensus he shared with the Nonconformists. Even as late as 1618 the English

delegation to the Synod of Dort supported the strongly Calvinistic decisions of that body. Under Charles I, however, this consensus broke down, driving yet another rift into the Church of England. Anti-Puritanism in matters of liturgy and organization became linked with anti-Calvinism in theology.

The leaders of the anti-Puritan and anti-Calvinist party, notably Richard Montagu, whose New Gagg for an Old Goose (1624) first linked Calvinism with the abusive term "Puritan," drew upon the development of Arminianism in Holland. Arminians stressed God’s universal offer of salvation to mankind in contrast to the Calvinistic doctrine according to which God predestined a few to salvation, with the rest of humanity reprobated or damned. Early English Arminians added to this an

increased reverence for the sacraments and liturgical ceremony. Richard Neile, bishop of Durham, was the first significant patron of Arminians among the hierarchy, but by the time William Laud was appointed bishop of London in 1628, he was the acknowledged leader of the anti-Puritan party. London was regarded as the stronghold of Puritanism, and a policy of thorough anti-Puritanism was begun there. Men who were not Separatists found their positions increasingly difficult to maintain.

Laud, who became archbishop of Canterbury in 1633, was clearly a favourite of Charles. He oversaw the advance of Arminians to influential

positions in the church and subtly promoted the propagation of Arminian theology. His fortunes began to turn, however, when he attempted to introduce into the Church of Scotland a liturgy comparable to the Anglican Book of Common Prayer. When "Laud's Liturgy" was introduced at the Church of St. Giles at Edinburgh, a riot broke out leading to a popular uprising that restored Presbyterianism in Scotland.

Charles sought to put down the Scots, but his armies were no match for the Scottish forces. In 1640 he was faced with an army of occupation in northern England demanding money as a part of its settlement. Short of funds, Charles

was forced to call Parliament, without which he had been trying to rule since 1629.

Religion played perhaps the key role in the parliamentary elections, and Calvinists came to dominate the Commons. Puritans, who had been increasingly alienated from the ecclesiastical and civil hierarchy since the mid-1620s, suddenly saw an opportunity to return the Church of England to its original doctrinal system and to carry out reforms that had been held in check since the Elizabethan Settlement. Arminianism in theology, liturgy, and government was linked in the popular mind with Catholicism, as

fears of a Spanish conspiracy to undermine Protestant England became widespread. The first act of the Long Parliament, as it came to be called (1640-53), was to set aside Nov. 17, 1640, as a day of fasting and humiliation. Cornelius Burges and Stephen Marshall were appointed to preach that day to members of Parliament. Their sermons urged the nation to renew its covenant with God in order to bring about true religion through the maintenance of "an able, godly, faithful, zealous, profitable, preaching ministry in every parish church and chapel throughout England and Wales" and through the establishment of a civil magistracy that would be "ever at hand

to back such a ministry."

Hundreds of similar sermons were preached on monthly fast days and on other occasions before Parliament during the next few years, urging the people to adopt true doctrine, pure worship, and the maintenance of discipline as a means to claim God's blessing so that England might become "our Jerusalem, a praise in the midst of the earth."

Civil war

In the course of his reign it had become apparent that Charles himself was the patron of Arminians and their attempt to redefine the doctrine of the Church of England. Arminians in turn favoured Charles's causes

against Puritans and Parliament. This alliance held despite increasing pressure on Charles to cooperate with Parliament on economic and military matters. The resulting civil war between the forces of the King and the troops of Parliament was hardly just a religious struggle between Arminians and Calvinists, but conflict over religion played an undeniably large role in bringing about the Puritan Revolution. As Protestantism split, so did English society.

Fighting broke out in 1642, and after the first battles members of Parliament called together a committee of over a hundred clergymen from all over England to advise them on "the good government of the Church." This body, the Westminster Assembly of Divines, convened on July 1, 1643, and continued daily meetings for more than five years.

A majority of the Puritan clergy of England probably would still have opted for a modified episcopal church government. Parliament, however, needed Scotland's military help. It adopted the Solemn League and Covenant, which committed the Westminster Assembly to develop a church polity close to Scotland's presbyterian form. A small, determined Assembly group of "Dissenting Brethren" held out for the freedom of the congregation, or "Independency," as opposed to the power of presbytery. Others, called Erastians, wanted to limit the offenses under the power of church discipline. Because both groups had support in Parliament, the reform of

church government and discipline was frustrated. (See Erastianism.)

Dissent within the assembly was negligible compared with dissent outside it. Pamphlets by John Milton, Roger Williams, and others schooled in Puritanism pleaded for greater freedom of the press and of religion. Such dissent was supported in the New Model Army, a Parliamentarian army of 22,000 men organized and disciplined under Sir Thomas Fairfax (1612-71) as commander in chief and Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658), and the real power in England was passing to the military leaders who had defeated all Royalist forces. Late in 1648 the victors

feared that the Westminster Assembly and Parliament would reach a compromise with the defeated Charles that would destroy their gains for Puritanism. In December 1648 Parliament was purged of members unsatisfactory to the Army, and in January 1649 King Charles was tried and executed.

The age of Cromwell (1649-60)

Both Parliament and the assembly continued to sit on a "rump" basis (containing only a remnant after the purges), and Oliver Cromwell emerged as England’s Lord Protector. Cromwell was a typical Puritan in that he saw the judgment and mercy of God in events.

Military successes to him were definite signs of the blessing of God upon his work.

The Independent clergyman John Owen guided the religious settlement under Cromwell. He maintained that the "reformation of England shall be more glorious than of any Nation in the world, being carried on, neither by might nor power, but only by the spirit of the Lord of Hosts." Error was a problem for both Cromwell and Owen, but, as Owen expressed it, it was better for 500 errors to be scattered among individuals than for one error to have power and jurisdiction over all others.

Such was the basis for a pluralistic religious settlement in England under the Commonwealth in which parish churches were led by men of Presbyterian, Independent, Baptist, or other opinions. Jews were permitted to live in England. But it was unacceptable for such groups as Roman Catholics or Unitarians to hold religious views publicly. Cromwell was personally willing to tolerate The Book of Common Prayer, but his Parliament was not. Voluntary associations of churches were formed, such as the Worcestershire Association, to keep up a semblance of church order among churches and pastors of differing persuasions.

In the upheaval brought on by the wars radical groups appeared that both challenged and advanced the Puritan vision of the New Jerusalem. The Levellers (a republican and democratic political party) in the New Model Army in 1647 and 1648 interpreted the liberty that comes from the free grace of God offered to all men in Christ as having direct implications for political democracy. The Diggers (agrarian communists) in 1649 planted crops on common land, first at St. George's Hill near Kingston and later at Cobham Manor, also near Kingston, to encourage God to bring soon the day when all men would live in an unstructured community of love with a communal economy. The

Fifth Monarchy Men (an extreme Puritan millennialist sect) in 1649 presented their message of no compromise with the old political structures and advocated a new structure, composed of saints joined together in congregations with ascending representative assemblies, to bring all men under the kingship of Jesus Christ. As distinct units these groups were short-lived. A more enduring group was founded by George Fox (1624-91) as the Society of Friends, or Quakers, which pushed the Puritan logic disallowing any remnants of popery to its ultimate limit with a program of no ministers, no sacraments, and no liturgy. Puritanism had never been a monolithic movement, and accession to power had brought the

factions to bear. The limits of the Puritan spirit of reform showed clearly in the widespread persecution of the Quakers.

The Restoration (1660-85)

After the death of Cromwell chaos threatened, and in the interest of order even some Puritans supported the restoration of Charles II. They hoped for a modified episcopal government, such as had been suggested in 1641 by the archbishop of Armagh, James Ussher (1581-1656). Such a proposal was satisfactory to many Episcopals, Presbyterians, and Independents. When some veterans of the Westminster Assembly went to Holland in 1660 to meet with Charles before he returned,

the King made it clear that there would be modifications to satisfy "tender consciences."

These Puritans were outmaneuvered in their attempt to obtain a comprehensive church, however, by those who favoured the strict episcopal pattern. A new Act of Uniformity was passed on May 19, 1662, by the Cavalier Parliament. The act required reordination of many pastors, gave unconditional consent to The Book of Common Prayer, advocated the taking of the oath of canonical obedience, and renounced the Solemn League and Covenant. Between 1660 and when the act was enforced on Aug. 24, 1662, almost 2,000 Puritan ministers

were ejected from their positions.

As a result of the Act of Uniformity, English Puritanism entered the period of the Great Persecution. The Conventicle Act of 1664 punished any person over 16 years of age for attending a religious meeting not conducted according to The Book of Common Prayer. The Five Mile Act of 1665 prohibited any ejected minister from living within five miles of a corporate town or any place where he had formerly served. Still, some Puritans did not give up the idea of comprehension (inclusiveness of various persuasions). There were conferences with sympathetic bishops and brief periods of indulgence for Puritans to

preach, but fines and jailings set the tone. Puritanism became a form of Nonconformist Protestantism.

During the short reign of Charles's Roman Catholic brother, James II (1685-88), fear of Roman Catholic tyranny united politically both establishment and Nonconformist Protestants. This new unity brought about the "Glorious Revolution" (1688), establishing William and Mary on the throne. The last attempt at comprehension failed to receive approval by either Parliament or the Convocation under the new rulers. In 1689 England's religious solution was defined by an Act of Toleration that continued the established church as

episcopal but also made it possible for dissenting groups to have licensed chapels. The Puritan goal to further reform the nation as a whole was transmuted into the more individualistic spiritual concerns of Pietism or else the more secular concerns of the Age of Reason.

(See 1688, Revolution of.)

Puritanism in the English colonies

Virginia

A decade before the landing of the Mayflower (1620) in Massachusetts a strong Puritan influence was

planted in Virginia. Leaders of the Virginia Company who settled Jamestown in 1607 saw themselves in a covenant relation to God, and they carefully read the message of their successes and failures. A typical Puritan vision was held by the Virginia settler Sir Thomas Dale. His strict application of severe laws disciplining the Jamestown community in 1611 probably saved the colony from extinction, but he also earned a reputation as a tyrant. Dale thought of himself as a labourer in the vineyard of the Lord, as a member of Israel building up a "heavenly New Jerusalem." Like Oliver Cromwell later, whom he resembled, Dale interpreted his military success as a direct sign of God's lending "a helping hand." (See United States, London Company.)

Puritan clergymen saw excellent opportunity for their cause in Virginia. The Reverend Alexander Whitaker, the "apostle of Virginia," wrote to his London Puritan cousin in 1614, "But I much more muse, that so few of our

English ministers, that were so hot against the surplice and subscription, come hither where neither is spoken of." The church in Virginia, however, became more directly aligned with the English establishment when the settlements were made into a royal colony in 1624.

Massachusetts Bay

In New England, however, the Puritans had their greatest opportunity. Between

1628 and 1640 the Massachusetts Bay Colony was developed as a covenant

community. Governor John Winthrop stated thecase concisely in his lay

sermon on

board the Arbella before the colonists landed,

> Thus stands the cause between God and us; we are entered into covenant with Him for this work; we have taken out a commission; the Lord hath given us leave to draw our own articles . . . Now if the Lord shall be pleased to hear us and bring us in peace to the place we desire, then hath He ratified this covenant and sealed our Commission, [and] will expect a strict performance of the articles contained in it.

Lack of performance of the articles, in this view, would bring down the wrath of God.

The pattern for church organization in the colony was determined by John Cotton, who pursued "that very Middle-way" between English Separatism and the presbyterian form of government. Unlike the Separatists he held the Church of England to be a true church, though blemished; and unlike the Presbyterians he held that there should be no ecclesiastical authority between the congregation and the Lordship of Christ. Cotton proposed that the church maintain its purity by permitting only those who could make a "declaration of their

experience of a work of grace" to be members. Cotton's plan ensured that church government should be in the hands of the elect, the chosen of God.

Taking their cue from Thomas Cartwright, the Puritans of the Bay Colony fashioned the civil commonwealth according to the framework of the church. Only the elect could vote and rule in the commonwealth. The church was not itself to govern, but it was the means through which were prepared "instruments both to rule and to choose rulers." Biblical law was the primary law for the ordering of both church and state.

The colony prospered; thus it seemed evident that God was blessing Puritan performance. As a result the leadership could not take kindly to those who were publicly critical of their basic program. Hence Roger Williams in 1635 and Anne Hutchinson in 1638 were banished from the colony in spite of their ability to declare experience of the work of grace.

More troublesome than these dissenters were persons such as Mary Dyer. She and other Quakers who returned again and again after being punished and banished were finally hanged. It was difficult for the state to keep the church pure.

In order to head off a possible new form of church government dictated from England at the time of the Westminster Assembly, churches from the four Puritan colonies of Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven met in a voluntary synod in 1648. They adopted the Cambridge Platform, in which the congregational form of church government was worked out in detail. The standard for church membership came under question when it was found that numbers of second-generation residents could not testify to the experience of grace in their lives. This resulted in the Half-Way Covenant of 1657 and 1662 that permitted baptized, moral, and orthodox persons to share in

the privileges of church membership except for partaking of communion.

Late in the 17th century it was apparent to all that the ideal commonwealth was not being maintained. Ministers pointed to wars with the Indians and other problems as signs of God's judgment. Visitation by demonic powers in the form of witches was believable to people expecting the wrath of God. The Salem witchcraft trials and hangings took place in 1692 at a period of declining confidence in the old ideal.

Other colonies

Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven were variations on the main theme of realizing

the Holy Commonwealth in America. Roger Williams and the other founders of Rhode Island must also be regarded as Puritans with the "one principle, that every one should have liberty to worship God according to the light of their consciences."

William Penn's "holy experiment" in Pennsylvania represented another Puritan variation, only this time under Quaker norms. When Penn came into the ownership of this vast tract of land, he saw it as a mandate from God to form an ideal commonwealth. In New Jersey, Puritans from the New Haven colony who were dissatisfied with the Half-Way Convenant sought to reestablish the pristine Puritan community at Newark. Maryland, which had been established under Roman Catholic auspices, soon

had a strong Puritan majority among its settlers.

There was no colony in which the Puritan influence was not strong in one form or another. One estimate is that 85 percent of the churches in the original 13 colonies were Puritan in spirit.

The expansion of the Reformation in Europe

By the middle of the 16th century Lutheranism was dominant in northern Europe.

Württemberg, after the restoration of Duke Ulrich, adopted the reform in 1534.

The outstanding Reformer was Johannes Brenz and the great centre Tübingen. Brandenburg, with Berlin as its capital, embraced the reform in 1539. In that same year ducal Saxony, until then vehemently Catholic, changed sides. Elisabeth of Braunschweig, also in that year, became a convert, but only after long turbulence did her faith prevail in the land. Very significant for the north as a whole was the stand taken by Albert of Prussia, who was a member of the Polish Diet and whose wife was Danish. He secularized the Teutonic Knights and in 1525 acknowledged himself a Lutheran. In the Scandinavian lands Denmark toyed with Lutheranism as early as the 1520s, but not until 1539

was the Danish Church established on a national basis with the king as the head and the clergy as leaders in matters of faith. Norway followed Denmark. The Diet of Västerås officially declared what had for some time been true, namely, that Sweden was an evangelical state. The outstanding Swedish Reformers were the brothers Olaus and Laurentius Petri. Finland, under Swedish rule, followed suit. The Reformer there was Mikael Agricola, called "the father of written Finnish." The Baltic states of Livonia and Estonia were officially Lutheran in 1554. Subsequently ravished by the Russians, portions of these lands united with Sweden, Denmark, and Poland. Lutheranism survived. Toward the east,

Austria under the Habsburgs could enjoy no state support for the evangelical movement, which nevertheless gained adherents. In Moravia, as noted, the Hutterites established their colonies under tolerant magnates.

Eastern Europe was a seedbed for even more radical varieties of Protestantism, because kings were weak, nobles strong, and cities few, and because religious pluralism had long existed. Poland acquired a large German Lutheran population when the Danzig area came under Polish control, and a large contingent of the Bohemian Brethren migrated to Poland when the Habsburg ruler attempted their extermination.

Several of the Polish noblemen adopted their pacifism and would wear only swords made of wood. To Poland also flocked the Italian anti-Trinitarians, having been granted an asylum, perhaps merely because they were Italian, by the Italian queen of Poland, Bona Sforza. Named Socinians from their leader, Faustus Socinus, they flourished until dissipated by the Counter-Reformation. Much more extensive was the Calvinist influx not only into Poland but into the whole of eastern Europe. This variety of Protestantism appealed to those of non-German stock because it was not German and no longer markedly French, as well as because of its revolutionary temper and republican sentiments. The

Compact of Warsaw in 1573 called the Pax Dissidentium ("The Peace of Those Who Differ") granted toleration to Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, and Bohemian Brethren, but not to the Socinians.

In Hungary, the Turkish victory at the Battle of Mohács in 1526 brought about a division of the land into three sections, the northwest ruled by the Habsburg Ferdinand, the eastern province of Transylvania under Zápolya, and the area of Buda under the Turk. Even before this date Lutheranism had made inroads not only in the German but also in the Magyar sections. Subsequently Calvinism made even greater gains. The

anti-Trinitarians found a permanent locus in Transylvania. The weakness of the government and the diversity of religion in this whole area made for a large degree of toleration.

The Reformation gained no lasting hold in Spain and Italy. In Spain the main reason for this must be found in the conflicts of the previous century when the Christians were striving to achieve political, cultural, and religious unification by converting or expelling the unbelievers, the Jews and the Moors. The Inquisition was introduced in 1482 to root out all remnants of Jewish practices among the Marranos, the Jewish converts to Christianity. The

non-Christian Jews were expelled in 1492. Then Granada fell and the same process was applied to the Moriscos, the Moorish converts, and the unconverted Moors, after a century, also were expelled. Because the process had thus far been successful, the pressures were relaxed, and Spain enjoyed a decade of Erasmian liberalism in the 1520s. But with the infiltration of Lutheranism the machinery of repression again was brought into force.

In Italy sectarian and heretical movements had proliferated in the late Middle Ages. But one by one they had been crushed, and the Italians may well have felt that such rebellions were futile.

Furthermore, the friars preached moral rather than doctrinal reform as Luther had done. Another consideration was that the new monastic orders, the Capuchins, Theatines, and Jesuits, gained papal favour and became a mighty force in counteracting Protestant infiltration, which nevertheless did take place. Venice was a centre, with its branch house of the Lutheran banking family of Fugger, and so was Lucca. At Naples the Spanish mystic Valdés, though not a Protestant, expounded a piety of the type of the liberal Catholic reform, and some of his followers were attracted to the movements coming from beyond the Alps. Calvinism gained a hold. But the Roman Inquisition, as

above noted, was established in 1542, and those with Protestant leanings either made cloisters of their own hearts, or went to the stake, or crossed the mountains into permanent exile. The most radical theological views of the Reformation were those propounded by the Spanish and Italian anti-Trinitarians.

(R.H.B./J.C.S./M.E.M.)

Protestant renewal and the rise of the denominations

The setting for renewal

Survival of a mystical tradition

The Thirty Years' War (1618-48) must be seen as one of the circumstances out of which the desire for spiritual renewal emerged. Although modern historical research has modified the exaggerated contemporary accounts of the war's effects, it is unquestioned that distress was widespread and profound. In some places the economy was reduced to barter, schools were closed, churches were burned, the sick and needy were forgotten. Not unexpectedly spiritual and moral deterioration accompanied the physical destruction. Drunkenness, sexual license, thievery, and greed were the despair of faithful pastors and earnest laymen.

During the war some notable signs of renewal began to appear. There reemerged, for example, an interest in the earlier devotional literature, some of

which reflected the pious mysticism associated with such names as Johannes Tauler (c. 1300-61), Thomas à Kempis (c. 1380-1471), and other German, Dutch, and even Spanish authors. The mystical tradition had lived on into the Reformation century and found representatives in Kaspar Schwenckfeld (1489-1561), Valentin Weigel (1533-88), and Jakob Böhme (1575-1624). Although both Lutherans and Calvinists opposed these mystics, many of their religious and theological ideas were subsequently absorbed by orthodox theologians. (See Christianity, Calvinism.)

Catholic recovery of

Protestant territories

After the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 that ended the war, Catholicism regained some territories from Lutheran Protestantism: first, because the rise of toleration was somewhat more rapid in Protestant countries than in Catholic lands and, second, because Louis XIV identified French power with universal French acceptance of the Roman Catholic faith. In 1685 he revoked the Edict of Nantes and expelled thousands of Huguenots, who fled to England, Holland, or Germany, much to the advantage of those countries. Several of the French refugees became prominent in English religious life, and in Prussia groups of them founded flourishing congregations known as the French Reformed. In 1702 a determined group of Huguenots in the mountains of the Cévennes in France, known as the Camisards, rose in rebellion but was suppressed by military power two years later. There was a further small outbreak of war in 1709. For a time the few surviving Huguenot congregations met only in secret. They were led by Antoine Court (1695-1760), who secured ordination from Zürich and founded (1730) a

college at Lausanne to train pastors. French Protestants barely held out until the French Revolution, after which they had a revival.

France gained Alsace in 1648. This enabled Catholics to increase rapidly, and Protestants decreased in strength. Strassburg, once one of the leading cities of the Protestant Reformation, returned its cathedral to the Catholics (1681) and became a town with a large Catholic population. Louis XIV ruled the Palatinate for nine years and allowed the French Catholics to share the churches with the Protestants; though he was compelled to surrender the country at the Treaty of Rijswijk (1697) to the Holy Roman Empire, a clause (the Simultaneum) of the treaty (added at the

last moment and not recognized by the Protestants) preserved certain legal rights and endowments of Catholics in Protestant churches. As a result of France's greater power Protestant authority in the Rhineland between Switzerland and the Netherlands diminished.

Another shock to Protestantism was the conversion of Augustus II, elector of Saxony, to Roman Catholicism in 1697. It appeared as though Protestantism was not even safe in its original home. The conversion involved political motives;

Augustus was a candidate for the throne of Poland and was loyal to his new allegiance, assisting the Roman Catholic

Church in Poland and also, somewhat, in Saxony; but such assistance had no effect on the Lutheranism of Saxony.

Protestant scholasticism

The second half of the 17th century was at once the high age of Protestant systematic orthodoxy and the age when the first signs of its dissolution appeared. The axioms of the Reformation were worked out in a great and systematic body of doctrine. (See Reformed church.)

The theologians defended and the pastors taught Luther's or Calvin's dogmatic systems—relying also upon authoritative sources such as the Formula of Concord (1577) in Lutheranism or the conclusions of the

Synod of Dort (1618) in Calvinism—which were extended and made into a tradition. Even when the system was not of the ordinary Protestant tradition, it was generally worked out in many volumes, based upon coherent axioms, defended against all assailants, appealing always to reason and to biblical authority and seldom to feeling or conscience. This age has sometimes been known as the age of Protestant scholasticism. But that pejorative term came from a posterity that would no longer accept the axioms on which the systems were founded. These were the last scriptural theologians before the period of the Enlightenment, when the understanding of Scripture was altered.

The old axioms were changed by Pietism, science, and philosophy.

The rise of Pietism

Influences from English Puritanism reached the Continent through the translation of works by Richard Baxter (1615-91), Lewis Bayly (1565-1631), and John Bunyan (1628-88). Most frequently read were Baxter's A Call to the Unconverted, Bayly's The Practice of Piety, and Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress. (See England.)

Dutch Pietism, influenced by the Englishman William Ames (1576-1633) whose Medulla Sacrae Theologiae (1623) and De Conscientia (1630) were basic textbooks for "federal theology" and Puritan casuistry in England and New England, was represented by

Willem Teellinck, Johannes Coccejus, Gisbertus Voetius, and Jodocus van Lodensteyn. Impulses from these men became a part of the reform movement that had already appeared in German Lutheran circles and was to be known as "Reform Orthodoxy." Older historians of Pietism, notably Albrecht Ritschl, paid little or no attention to this reform phenomenon within Lutheranism. Ritschl saw Pietism as an alien mysticism uncongenial to the spirit of both Luther and the 17th-century theologians. More recent scholars (E. Benz, M. Schmidt, H. Leube, F.W. Kantzenbach) have exposed the Ritschlian prejudice and deepened the understanding of the role played by such representatives of "Reform

Orthodoxy" as Johann Arndt (1555-1621) and Johann Dannhauer (1603-66). The "pectoral [heart] theology" of these orthodox Lutherans found its highest expression and widest audience in the writings of Arndt, who, rather than Philipp Jakob Spener, can be called the "father of Pietism." His chief work, Four Books on True Christianity (1606-10), was soon being read in countless homes. Although Arndt developed devotionally the unio mystica (mystical union), a 17th-century Lutheran doctrinal addition to the ordo salutis (order of salvation), the central Arndtian theme was not that of mystical union. Rather, he stressed repentance, regeneration, and the new life, and this was the very essence of

Pietism.

Alongside the orthodox piety of the 17th century one of the most significant contributions to spiritual renewal was the rich treasures of Lutheran hymnody. Examples from this classical period of church song are the works of Philipp Nicolai (1556-1608; "Wake, Awake" and "How Brightly Beams the Morning Star!"), Paul Gerhardt (1607-76; "O Sacred Head Now Wounded," "O How Shall I Receive Thee," "Put Thou Thy Trust in God"); and Martin Rinkart (1586-1649; "Now Thank We All Our God").

Pietism in the 17th century

The various streams of concern for renewal converged in the life and work of Spener (1635-1705). In 1666, after having earned his theological doctorate at Strasbourg, he was called to be Senior of the clergy in Frankfurt am Main, where he was soon distressed by the conspicuous worldliness of the city. His sermons urged repentance and renewal, and each Sunday afternoon he held catechism classes for both children and adults. This led to efforts to revitalize the rite of confirmation, which, since the days of Martin Bucer, had been practiced in the Church of Hesse (Frankfurt). (See Germany.)

The origin of the so-called collegia pietatis (assembly of piety) has been traced to a sermon of 1669, in which Spener exhorted the laity to come together on Sunday afternoon not to drink, play cards, or gamble, as was the custom among Frankfurt's smart set, but to review the morning's sermon and to

engage in devotional reading and conversation "about the divine mysteries." The next year, at the request of a few parishioners, such meetings were held each Sunday and Wednesday at Spener's home. Although some of the Frankfurt ministers, over whom Spener was superintendent, took a dim view of the collegia pietatis, the practice flourished and in time became a distinguishing feature of the movement. Those who attended the conventicles were soon called Pietists.

In a relatively short time, Spener became a household name in Germany. Through his writings and extensive correspondence, especially with men in

high places, Spener came to be called "the spiritual counselor of all Germany." Most significant was the publication in 1675 of his Pia Desideria (Pious Desires). The book's first part reviewed the low estate of the church. He charged civil authorities, who since before the Peace of Augsburg (1555) were the de jure heads of the church, with irresponsible caesaropapism (doctrine of state control over church). He likewise flayed the clergy, many of whom were scandalous and self-seeking, often confusing assent to "true doctrine" with faith. The laymen, too, he claimed, were not blameless. Drunkenness must not be excused as a German peccadillo; prostitution, adultery, fornication,

homosexuality, thievery, and assault must be rooted out lest people lose God's promised salvation. The second part of the work reminded readers of the possibility of better conditions in the church: ". . . we can have no doubt that God promised His church here on earth a better state than this." When the full number of heathen (Gentiles) had been brought in, God would even convert the Jews. But the fulfillment of these hopes was not to be achieved by sitting with folded hands. Part three, therefore, set forth a six-point reform program:

1. The Word of God—the whole Bible, not merely the pericopes (biblical texts used in a set sequence in worship

services)--must be made known widely through public and private reading, group study (conventicles under the guidance of pastors), and family devotions.

2. There should be a reactivation of Luther’s idea of the priesthood of believers, which included not only the "rights of the laity" but also responsibility toward one’s fellow men.

3. People should be taught that Christianity consists not only in knowing God’s will but also in doing it, especially by implementing the command to love one’s neighbour.

4. Religious controversies with

unbelievers and heretics unfortunately may be necessary. If they cannot be avoided, they should be entered prayerfully and with love for those in error.

5. Theological education must be reformed. Professors must see that future pastors are not only theologically learned but spiritually committed.

6. Finally, preaching should have edification and the cultivation of inner piety as its goal.

Initially the Pia Desideria was received with enthusiasm and given wide acclaim. Some clergymen, however, felt threatened by the implications of the

reform program's emphasis on the laity. Professors resented Spener's criticism of scholastic theology and advocacy of curricular reform. Spener's response was to emphasize more and more the collegia pietatis. Contrary to Spener's wishes the conventicles in time became divisive and abrasively donatistic (referring to the Early Church heresy that held that priests must be morally righteous or the sacraments would not be valid), tending to develop into "little churches within the church" (ecclesiolae in ecclesia). In an attempt to stem separatism and other questionable attitudes, Spener wrote tracts that expounded the doctrines of the spiritual priesthood (1677) and ecclesiology

(1684). In the latter he argued that despite the faults of the church its teachings were not false and separation from services and sacraments was wrong.

Spener's influence had spread widely by 1686. In many circles, not least among the nobility, he was praised and imitated. In other quarters his emphases produced vigorous and, in many instances, unjust criticism. Weary of opposition and controversies, Spener accepted a call to be the court chaplain in Dresden, where he was soon disillusioned by the unresponsiveness and vulgarity of the court and the hostility of the pastors in this stronghold

of orthodoxy. Two items of special significance from the Dresden period should be noted: (1) There he wrote his Impediments to Theological Study (1690), which was hardly calculated to win friends at the famous Saxon University of Leipzig; (2) there, too, he made the acquaintance of a young instructor, August Hermann Francke (1663-1727), who was to become in a sense Spener's successor and the second great leader of Pietism.

By 1691 Spener welcomed a call from the elector of Brandenburg, who soon brought in other Pietists, opened his domain to persecuted French Huguenots, and made Berlin a strong spiritual

centre, thus taking religious leadership away from rival Saxony. All of this was enhanced by the founding of a new university at Halle (1694), the theological faculty of which became, with Spener's and Francke's influence, the academic centre of Pietism. (See Halle-Wittenberg, Martin Luther University of.)

Spener's years in Berlin were not without bitterness. The conflict between Orthodoxists and Pietists had mounted to a high pitch. The theological faculty at Wittenberg, for example, charged Spener with 284 deviations and prayed that God would save "our Lutheran Zion" from the ravages of pietistic heresies.

During his last years Spener collected and edited several volumes of his papers (Theologische Bedencken), continued his friendship with and support of Francke at Halle, and, significantly, served as a sponsor at the baptism of Nikolaus von Zinzendorf, who was to lead evangelical Pietism in a new direction. Spener died on Feb. 5, 1705.

Meanwhile, Francke became the central figure of Pietism. During his student years at Leipzig he had been engaged in group Bible study, being one of the organizers of a collegium philobiblicum (assembly of Bible lovers), dedicated largely to the scholarly rather than devotional approach to the Scriptures. A

religious experience in 1687 led Francke to make conversion—characterized by a severe penitential struggle and commitment to holy living—the norm for distinguishing the true Christians from unbelievers. Francke's Pietism, going beyond the spirit of Spener, came to stress a legalistic and ascetic way of life. Under Francke's leadership (he became professor in 1698) Halle became famous not only for its university but for the many "Halle institutions" that sprang up: an orphan asylum with affiliated schools, a publishing house and Bible institute, a Collegium Orientale Theologicum (Oriental College of Theology) for linguistic training of missionaries, and

an infirmary that the medical faculty welcomed as compensation for the university's lack of a clinic. All of this gave to Halle and Franckean Pietism an energetic and activist character.

Pietism in the 18th century

Central Europe and England

One of Francke's institutions in Halle was the paedagogium (1698), which was intended for the education of boys whose well-to-do parents lived at a distance. Nikolaus Ludwig, Graf von Zinzendorf (1700-60) attended the Halle boarding school from 1710 to 1716. Having been drawn earlier to Spener, his godfather, Zinzendorf was now greatly stimulated by Francke. As a 14-year-old lad he organized the "Order of the Grain of Mustard Seed," whose youthful

members pledged themselves to reach out in ever-expanding love to "the whole human race." (See United Kingdom.)

By 1721 Zinzendorf had settled down on his estate (Berthelsdorf) near the Bohemian border, where he brought believers together in a nonseparatist ecclesiola in ecclesia, which denied the Halle Pietists' demand for penitential remorse as a mark of "heart religion." Zinzendorf formulated the slogan that came to play such a great role in the history of revivals: "Come as you are. It is only necessary to believe in the atonement of Christ."

A small band of Moravian exiles took refuge on his estate in 1722. Looking

upon this event as an opportunity to realize his cherished project of "the Mustard Seed," he gave up his position in the Saxon civil service and welcomed other Moravian refugees. They, like Zinzendorf, had been primarily influenced by Pietism and had only a hazy idea that their ancestors were Hussites. Zinzendorf soon organized the colony, now called Herrnhut, into the community of the Bohemian Brethren. They were not to separate from the Lutheran Church of Saxony. They would attend services in the village church at Berthelsdorf and call upon the local pastor for ministerial acts; but they were to look upon themselves as "the salt" of the earth, an ecclesiola from which

"heart religion" would be disseminated throughout Christendom. Under Zinzendorf's "superintendency" the Herrnhut Brethren became more and more a distinct church, the reborn Moravian Church, or Unitas Fratrum. Although Zinzendorf received a license as a minister in 1734 and three years later was consecrated bishop, he left Herrnhut under pressure in 1736, traveling in western Germany, England, and America. The chief centres of his missionary work in Pennsylvania were Germantown and Bethlehem. He returned to Herrnhut in 1749 and presided over the Church of the Brethren until his death (1760).

The influence of the Moravians on the Evangelical Awakening in England was significant. By 1775 there were 15 Moravian congregations in England, and it was in one of these that John Wesley, founder of Methodism, had his famous "Aldersgate Street Experience" (1738) as he was listening to a Moravian preacher reading Luther's Preface to the Romans:

> (See Aldersgate Street Experience.)
>
> while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt that I did trust in Christ . . .; and an

> assurance was given me that he had taken away my sins."

He allied himself with the Moravian society in Fetter Lane, London, and the same year journeyed to Hernnhut to learn at first hand about the people to whom he owed so much. Although Wesley later parted from the Moravians, his initial experience of saving grace in the company of the Brethren shaped the wide-reaching evangelical movement that associated the names of the two Wesleys (John and Charles) and George Whitefield.

Germany

A slightly different type of Pietism appeared in Württemberg, where Spener had established relations with Swabian churchmen. Avoiding the extremes of Franckean Pietism, it accepted conventicles but opposed all temptation to separatism and sought an evangelical, as opposed to legalistic, sanctification of life in the congregations. Interested in academic theology and a scholarly study of the Scriptures, the leader of Württemberg Pietism, Johann Albrecht Bengel (1687-1752), was a pioneer in textual criticism and biblical, in contradistinction to systematic, theology. His Gnomon Novi Testamenti (1752;

"Interpretation of the New Testament") was widely distributed in the Lutheran and English world; a fresh approach to the Bible by its emphasis on Heilsgeschichte (the history of salvation).

Radical Pietism always lurked beneath

the surface of Evangelical Pietism. The appeal to mystical and emotional experiences and the depiction of the church as "unholy Babylon" were common characteristics of Radical Pietism. Difficult to trace historically because of a tendency to flare up spontaneously, it can nevertheless be divided into two main forms. The first was a fanatic sectarianism in which ecstatic and visionary elements were dominant. A favourite doctrine was chiliasm (referring to the thousand-year reign of Christ at the end of history), in which the apocatastasis (the eventual salvation of all men) played a large role. Somewhat different but still under the first rubric were the "inspired

congregations," whose inspiration was expressed in convulsive physical phenomena accompanied with glossolalia, "speaking in tongues." The second main form was "separatistic" or "nonchurch" and emphasized the "inner light." Because the "inner light" and human reason were often identified, the advocates of "Spiritual Pietism" tended to move toward Rationalism (see below). Chief among these men were Gottfried Arnold (1666-1714), Johann Konrad Dippel (1673-1734), and Gerhard Tersteegen (1697-1769). (See Christianity, millennium, Inner Light.)

18th-century Pietism in Scandinavia, Russia, and America

Denmark/Norway

As in Germany, the age of orthodoxy in the Dano-Norwegian kingdom had its deeply spiritual side, which came to expression in men like Bishop Jens Dinesen Jersin (died 1632) and Holger Rosenkrantz (died 1642), both of whom taught the necessity of pious living. Also, as in Germany, the "reform orthodoxy" was evidenced in hymns, especially those of Thomas Kingo (1634-1703). Pietism, as such, arrived in Copenhagen at the turn of the century and was welcomed, strangely enough, by the unpietistic king Frederick IV. It was during his reign (1699-1730) that the royal chaplain, the German R.J. Lütkens, was able to give status to pietistic pastors and to win the King for the cause of missions in India. The King initiated a search for missionaries and, finding none in his domain, he turned to Germany, where Lütken's contacts brought about the connection with two young Halle-trained Pietists, Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg (1683-1719) and Heinrich Plütschau (1678-1747). Ordained at Copenhagen in 1705, these men became the founders of the famous Tamil mission at Tranquebar, India, and stimulated

foreign mission interest among the Halle Pietists. To this period belongs the Christian work among the semipagan Sami (then known as Lapps) in northern Norway carried on by the Norwegian Pietist Thomas von Westen. Another Norwegian, Hans Egede, became the pioneer missionary in Greenland. King Christian VI, known as the "Pietist on the throne," gave support to numerous pietistic causes: an orphan home and schools modeled after Halle, a missionary institute, and even conventicles (the 1741 decree permitted them only under pastoral leadership). The name of Erik Pontoppidan, court preacher at Copenhagen and later bishop of Bergen in Norway, was to have enduring significance largely because of his excellent exposition of Luther's catechism, entitled Truth unto Godliness. Virtually a national reader for many generations, especially in Norway, this "layman's dogmatics" combined Law and Gospel, orthodoxy and Pietism, in such a manner that its power persisted into 20th-century American Lutheranism.

(See hymn.)

Sweden, Finland, and Russia

Original royal opposition to Pietism in Sweden was softened only after Francke personally visited King Charles XII on his Russian campaign. Meanwhile, Swedish students at Halle returned to their homeland imbued with Francke's ideas and practices. Following the defeat of Charles XII at Poltava in Russia (1709), thousands of Swedish prisoners of war were quartered in Siberia. Many sought comfort in religion under the leadership of a Swedish Pietist, J. Cederhielm. Correspondence with Halle and the writings of Francke and Arndt produced a strong pietistic movement in the prison camps from which only 5,000 of the original 30,000 captives were able to return to Sweden by 1724. The zealous returnees carried their pietistic convictions back to Swedish parishes. In a short time both church and government looked upon Pietism as a threat to national unity. The result was the Conventicle Act of 1726, which retarded Pietism and held Swedish church life to conventional forms for the

next century. Finns as well as Swedes had followed Charles XII to defeat. Those who returned from Russia were the apostles of a religious awakening. For a time the literature of Pietism was influential, but due to the Conventicle Act of 1726 (Finland was partially a Swedish domain), its role was somewhat limited. (See Finland.)

Meanwhile, Pietism came to the Russian-occupied Baltic states, where it experienced greater freedom than under the Swedes. From the foreign quarter of Moscow, inhabited mainly by German Lutherans, the work of Francke reached Peter the Great and some of his government ministers.

America

In 1703 three pastors from New Sweden on the

Delaware River ordained Justus Falckner, a Halle-educated Pietist, for service among the Dutch Lutherans in New York. Most of the Dutch Lutherans were of Pietist orientation, as were the many Germans from the Rhineland and Southern German valleys. These "Palatines," who settled in New York and Pennsylvania, and the famous refugee Salzburgers, who settled in Georgia, came via London where the Pietist court chaplain M. Ziegenhagen assisted them on their way to America. Accompanying the Salzburgers were two Francke-selected pastors, J.M. Boltzius and I.C. Gronau, who naturally shaped the spiritual life of the Georgia settlement. Zinzendorf's visit to America (1741-42) led to a clash between his type of Pietism and that of Halle, represented by Henry Melchior Mühlenberg (1711-87). The victory belonged to Mühlenberg, who became the organizing genius and spiritual leader, later called "The Patriarch of American Lutheranism."

Rationalism

The first signs of a Rationalist movement, which was

to have as powerful an influence on Protestantism as the Pietists had had, may be traced back to those few who at the end of the 16th century attacked Calvinism on grounds of reason. In Leyden, the Netherlands, Jacobus Arminius (1560-1609) reacted against Calvinist doctrines of predestination (God's foreordaining men to heaven or hell). Though anyone not a Calvinist after a time came to be called Arminian, there were groups so designated in Holland and England that had members who were more marked by their use of reason in theology than by their opposition to Calvin. In England the enemies of such liberal theologians gave them the name Latitudinarians. The so-called Latitudinarians sought to maintain church unity based upon a few fundamental articles of faith and otherwise to allow for a wide diversity of doctrine, polity, and ways of worship. Their best representatives were the Cambridge Platonists—philosophical theologians at Cambridge (c. 1640-80)--who claimed that reason is the reflection of the divine mind in the soul. (See Arminianism.)

During the 17th century philosophy,

hitherto considered a handmaid to theology, was expanded beyond the limits of Aristotelian philosophy and the Bible and—partly due to natural science and partly due to the reflections of thinkers from Francis Bacon (1561-1626) and René Descartes (1596-1650) onward—developed its independence. The successes of science, especially to be noted in the work of Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727), persuaded many men of the power of reason and, by 1680, of the necessity that all things be tested by reason, including even those realms of the conscience or spirit that hitherto had been thought inaccessible to reason. The signs of the age of Rationalism were the rapid decline of

belief in witchcraft; the slow and painful rise of a belief in toleration; a more widespread symbolic comprehension of conceptions like heaven and hell; and the recognition of the small size of the planet Earth within the universe. On the Continent Benedict de Spinoza (1632-77) and G.W. Leibniz (1646-1716), and in England John Locke (1632-1704), were regarded as the philosophers of the age. Among the German theologians Christian Wolff (1679-1754) of Halle approached theology almost as if it were a form of mathematics, seeking for a truth that would be incontrovertible among all reasonable men. Under prompting from Pietists of Halle, he was expelled from Prussia in 1723. But

before Wolff's death Rationalist theologians had displaced the Pietists in control of Halle University and had made it the centre of Rationalist theology among Protestants.

In England the same trend among the disciples of John Locke issued in the Deists (especially John Toland, 1670-1722) for whom Christianity was never mysterious and was understood only as a republication of the natural religion of the human race. Like Wolff and his disciples the English Deists had no permanent influence on the history of Protestantism, except by forcing the theologians to answer them and thereby to treat the philosophy of religion with

seriousness. The most important of all the answers to the Deists lay in the work of Bishop Joseph Butler (1692-1752), whose sermons and Analogy of Religion formed the most cogent defense of the basis of Christian philosophy known in that age. (See Deism.)

Rationalist theology, contemporaneous though certainly not in harmony with Pietism and evangelicalism, began to modify or even destroy the traditional orthodoxies—i.e., Lutheran or Calvinist—of the later Reformation. The Rationalist theologians insisted that goodness in God could not be different in kind from goodness in men and therefore that God cannot do what in a

man would be immoral. Though for the most part they accepted the miracles of the New Testament—until toward the end of the 18th century—the Rationalists were critical of miracles outside the New Testament, since they suspected everything that did not fit their mechanistic view of the universe. (See Calvinism.)

Evangelicalism in England and the Colonies

Methodism

Similar to the Pietists in Germany was the evangelical, or Methodist (named from the use of methodical study and devotion), movement in England led by John

Wesley. While a fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, Wesley gathered a group of earnest students of the Bible about him, made a missionary expedition to Georgia, and became a friend of the Moravians. Like the Pietists he laid much emphasis upon the necessity of conversion and devoted the remainder of his life to evangelistic preaching in England. He did not intend any separation, but the parish system of the Church of England as then organized was incapable of adjustment to his plan of free evangelism and lay preachers. In 1744 Wesley held the first conference of his preachers; soon this became an annual conference, the governing body of the Methodist societies, and was given a legal constitution in 1784. The Methodist movement had remarkable success, especially where the Church of England was failing—in the industrial parishes, in the deep countryside, in little hamlets, and in hilly country, such as Wales, Cumberland, Yorkshire, and Cornwall. In 1768 Methodist emigrants in the American colonies opened a chapel in New York, and thereafter the movement spread rapidly in the United States. It also succeeded in French-speaking cantons of Switzerland.

The Methodist movement seized upon the elements of feeling and conscience that Protestant orthodoxy had tended to neglect. It gave a renewed and devotional impetus to the doctrines of grace and justification and to the tradition of moral earnestness, which had once appeared in Puritanism but which had temporarily faded during the reaction against Puritanism in the middle and late 17th century. In England it slowly began to strengthen the tradition of free churchmanship though for a century or more many English Methodists believed themselves to be much nearer the Anglican Church from which they had issued than any other body of English Protestants. It enabled

hymns—hitherto confined (except for metrical Psalms) to the Lutheran churches—slowly to be accepted in other Protestants bodies, such as the Church of England, the Congregationalists, and the Baptists. The evangelical movement of the 18th century produced several of the most eminent of Christian hymn writers, especially Philip Doddridge (1702-51) and Charles Wesley (1707-88).

Though John Wesley himself had not been Calvinist, in Wales the Methodists retained both the name and the theology of Calvinistic Methodists. In the United States Methodism made even more rapid progress.

The Great Awakening

Churches in the 13 colonies of the American states practiced the Congregational or Baptist church polity on a scale not known in Europe. The small Anabaptist groups had required evidence of faith, and this sometimes meant public testimony to the experience of conversion. In the larger congregations of America a similar testimony—because it was given to a wider circle—became more evident, more solemn, and at times more emotional. The pastors of the Calvinistic tradition of New England, trying to escape from the religion of forms and to seek the religion of the heart, gave unusual stress to the necessity for an immediate experience of salvation. Pastors found that under certain conditions a wave of emotion could sweep through an entire congregation and believed that they could here observe conversion and its subsequent issue in a better life. The movement owed something to the German Pietist T.J. Frelinghuysen (1691-c. 1748) and something to John Wesley's colleague George Whitefield (1714-70). The chief mind at the beginning of the Great Awakening, however, was that of an

intellectual mystic rather than of a conventional Calvinist preacher. Jonathan Edwards (1703-58) was the Congregational pastor at Northampton in Massachusetts, where the conversions began in 1734-35. In the middle years of the 18th century waves of revivals and conversions spread through the colonies. Though the revivals were led by Congregationalists and Presbyterians, many small, independent, Bible-centred groups, which often professed allegiance to Baptist teaching, came into being because of the revivals. As Wesley in England and Zinzendorf in Germany had been forced to carry their new methods outside the established churches of their lands, so too were the American revivalistic leaders. (See revivalism.)

The movement was not native to America. But the conditions of the American frontier gave this kind of evangelicalism a new vigour, and from America it permanently influenced the

future development of Protestantism. In the towns and new cities with moving populations, Protestantism found methods that became a feature of evangelical endeavours to reach the unregenerate or the unchurched crowds of the coming industrial cities.

Legacies of the American and French Revolutions

The American Revolution and the French Revolution changed the history of Western society and within it the history of the Protestant movement. The American Constitution, with its implied separation of state and churches, owed something to the spirit of free churchmanship that had been inherited from colonial days, something to the religious mixture of immigrants continually arriving from Europe, something to the reaction against the "Church and King" alliance that

prevailed in Britain, and something to the secular spirit of the Enlightenment. With the French Revolution and Napoleon, the idea of the secular state became an ideal for many European liberals, especially among the anticlericals in Roman Catholic countries. The American pattern was probably more influential than the Napoleonic in Protestant Europe. The Protestant states of Germany, Scandinavia, the Netherlands, Switzerland, England, and Scotland, which were all accustomed to established Protestant churches, for a time met no strong demand anywhere for disestablishment. In all those countries the members of the free, or dissenting, churches were able to secure complete toleration and civil rights during the 19th century, but in no Protestant country was the formal link between state and an established church totally broken during the 19th century, except in Ireland (1871) and in Wales (1914-19), where the Church of England was a minority. At least as an outward and historical form, however, established churches remained in England, Scotland, and all the Scandinavian countries.

Movements toward reunion

Early in the 19th century the greatest acts leading to reunion since the Reformation were initiated. During the later 17th century the states of Europe—especially as they allowed more than one denomination—moved slowly toward toleration for all men as long as they were good citizens. The Christian leaders, especially of the new Rational, or Latitudinarian, school, sought to show that the doctrines that divided Protestants from each other (if not Protestants from Catholics) mattered less than the truths upon which they agreed. Among the Lutheran and Reformed, the German theologian George Calixtus (1586-1656) already had sought to prove their essential unity by showing that the doctrines that divided them were not essential to faith. A Scotsman, John Durie (1596-1680), traveled from England to eastern Germany and from Sweden to Switzerland on practical endeavours to persuade churchmen to unite. In 1631 the Huguenot Synod of

Charenton (France) agreed to accept Lutherans who married Reformed or were godparents, without compelling them to abandon their special beliefs, on the ground that there was a sufficient agreement in the essential gospel between the Lutheran and Reformed. Lutherans (except for Calixtus and his school) could not take this view. Neither Calixtus nor Durie had much influence. Leibniz and the French Roman Catholic bishop Jacques Bénigne Bossuet (1627-1704) corresponded about the possibility of union between Catholics and Protestants, but in vain. In Prussia, with a mainly Lutheran population and a dynasty of Reformed princes, the policy of reconciliation became more effective. In 1708 King Frederick I built a "union-church" in Berlin, with the Lutheran Catechism and the Heidelberg Catechism side by side on the altar. In 1817, in a Prussia stimulated by the national revival that followed the fall of Napoleon (1815), King Frederick William III (1770-1840) used the third centenary of the Reformation to unite the Lutheran and Reformed of Prussia by royal decree (the Prussian Union), and despite resistance the union was slowly accepted by the majority of Prussian congregations.

Other, though not all, German states succeeded in uniting their Protestant communities about the same time. Many of the more conservative Lutherans, rejecting the Prussian Union, emigrated to the United States.

The revival of Pietism

Germany

Before and for some time after 1815 an awakening occurred in Germany as a reaction against the Enlightenment. In philosophy, literature, and music it found expression in German Idealism and Romanticism. In the congregations the reaction took the form of Pietism. Pietistic orthodoxism and biblicism continued to live on among "the quiet in the land." Some solitary thinkers with pronounced religious interests sought to preserve and awaken genuine Christianity and to point out the banality of the Enlightenment. Among these was Johann Georg Hamann (1730-88), a theologian given to brilliant

paradoxical thought, who understood Luther's theologia crucis (theology of the cross) better than any other 18th-century person. Matthias Claudius (1740-1815) was another representative of the antirationalist mood of the dawn of the 19th century. Johann Friedrich Oberlin (1740-1826) mixed his biblicistic piety with a concern for social missions. J.A. Urlsperger (1728-1806) sought to promote piety by organizing the Christentumsgesellschaft ("A Society for Christianity"), the German counterpart of the British Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Out of it grew the Basel Mission Society. G.C. Storr (1746-1804) and J.F. Flatt (1759-1821) represented the "Old Tübingen school" of biblical Supernaturalism.

It was in such a climate that the revival of Pietism occurred. Many of the people involved in it were not interested, at least in the beginning, in reviving former confessional differences. They were satisfied with being known as

"Christians" or "evangelicals." But in time some of these new Pietists, influenced by Romanticism's admiration for the past, began to assert the need of linking their pietistic interests with the traditional confessional heritage of the church. True religion (Pietism), they argued, is really Lutheranism properly understood. Thus beginning with a renewal of heart religion (Pietism), they came to a neoconfessionalism.

There were three discernible "schools" in this revival of Lutheranism. "The Repristination Theology" (i.e., restoration of earlier norms) made the 17th-century orthodoxy normative for the interpretation of Martin Luther and the

confessions, and it fought the rising historical-critical approach to the Bible by affirming the verbal inspiration and inerrancy of the original manuscripts (autographs) of the Scriptures. Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg (1802-69) was the champion of this school of "Old Lutherans." A second group, the Neo-Lutherans, felt that the Repristinationists, though not basically wrong, needed correction and improvement especially in their view of the church, the ministry, and the sacraments. These Neo-Lutherans ("high churchmen"), influenced by Romanticism, were the German counterpart of the Oxford Movement in England. Chief exponents were August Vilmar (1800-68) and

Wilhelm Löhe (1808-72), the latter having strong influence in American Lutheranism. The third group, the so-called Erlangen school, rejected Rationalism, Repristination, and Romantic catholicizing of the church. They asserted that theology must see the relationship of faith to history, thus providing a new setting for understanding both the Bible and the Lutheran confessions. Chief representatives were Gottfried Thomasius (1802-75) and J.C.K. von Hofmann (1810-77). (See Germany.)

Denmark

The Spener-Francke tradition of Pietism survived the age of Rationalism in Denmark by being nurtured here

and there by pietistic pastors and congregations, especially in rural Jutland. The rebirth of Danish spiritual life and the conquest of Rationalism in the first half of the 19th century, however, came not from Pietism but from the religious and cultural impact of N.F.S. Grundtvig (1783-1872) and Søren Kierkegaard (1813-55). Both of these men were profoundly religious and at times may have sounded like Pietists, but neither had any essential sympathy for Pietism. Grundtvig was in fact definitely opposed to Pietism, while Kierkegaard, though stressing "the individual" and his existential involvement in the truth, found little time for Pietism as such. The actual renaissance of Pietism in Denmark was associated with the Inner Mission Society (established in the 1850s) and its leader Vilhelm Beck (1829-1901), who, deeply influenced by Kierkegaard's Øieblikket ("The Present Moment"), brought some of his emphases into the church that Kierkegaard so bitterly criticized. (See Grundtvig, N. F. S..)

Norway

Nineteenth-century Pietism in Norway may be seen in three episodes: (1) the life and work of Hans Nielsen Hauge (1771-1824), (2) the pietistic confessionalism of Gisle Johnson (1822-94), and (3) the conflict over liberal theology (c. 1875-1908). Hauge was a layman theologically untrained but at home in the Bible, Luther's catechism, and the works of Arndt, Pontoppidan, and Kingo. Converted in 1796, his sense of mission eventually produced a national revival. Hauge and Haugeanism, though sharply critical of the established church, became an example of conventicle Christianity within the framework of the state church. Arrested no fewer than 10 times for violation of the long-neglected Conventicle Act of 1741, Hauge's final imprisonment lasted from 1804 to 1811. Although he thought of himself solely as a religious awakener, Hauge and his movement contributed to the sociopolitical revival in Norway through the influence of laymen who had been trained in an activistic type of Pietism. A characteristic feature of Haugeanism was its concept of a person's daily work as a divine calling. Imitating Hauge's example, many Haugeans became successful businessmen, shippers, and farmers.

The second figure in Norwegian Pietism gave his name to a revival that occurred in the 1850s, the Johnsonian Awakening. Influenced by the German "Erlangen school," Johnson was joined on the theological faculty in Christiania (Oslo) by a staunch Hengstenbergian Repristinationist, C.P. Caspari, a converted German Jew. The Johnsonian Awakening, unlike the lay-oriented Haugean movement, was consciously directed toward pastors and church leaders. It produced powerful lay organizations that promoted inner and foreign missions.

The third phase of Norwegian Pietism was manifested in the conflict over

theological liberalism during the last quarter of the 19th century. Increasingly the university-oriented Norwegian intellectuals—clergy and lay—were drawn toward liberal positivism, historical relativism, and progressive optimism, the whole structure of which was based on natural science and biblical criticism. The orthodox Pietists of the Johnsonian school led the attack on the liberal professors now dominating the theological faculty. By the turn of the century the idea of establishing a faculty independent of state control and supported by the faithful in the congregations was born. This was realized in 1908 when the Menighetsfakultetet (the Congregational

Faculty) was created.

Sweden

Like Norway, Sweden was visited with a variety of pietistic movements in the 19th century. The first was militant revivalism in northern Sweden, where Moravian Herrnhuters interested in Lapland missions merged their enthusiasms with those of pietistic Lutherans and together were called the "Old Pietists." Lay conventicles, encouraged by some clergymen, emphasized devotional reading of the liturgy, the Bible, and Luther’s and Arndt’s sermons. The movement, called the Läsare ("The Readers"), soon came under attack, resulting in the emigration of a group under Erik Jansson to Bishop Hill, Ill. A second revival in the first half of the century was associated with the name of Henrik Schartau (1757-1825), who was pastor and dean at Lund, Swed. What distinguished Schartauism as a revival movement was its strong churchly character. It was catechetical, liturgical, orthodox, and anti-conventicle. Yet its profound piety produced an

awakening in southwest Sweden, the results of which were still noticeable in the 20th century. The third revival occurred toward the middle of the century under the leadership of Carl Olof Rosenius (1816-68), a lay preacher strongly influenced by George Scott, an English Methodist evangelist. Rosenian Pietism, or the "New Evangelism," as it was called, made much of "objective justification," appealing to sinners to "Come as you are." Again, as in Denmark and Norway, a healthy inner mission society was one of the fruits of revival, the National Missionary Society. Following the death of Rosenius, leadership came into the hands of Paul Peter Waldenström (1838-1917), whose subjective views of the atonement led to the formation of the Swedish Mission Covenant Church (1878).

Generally speaking, the two Swedish universities, Lund and Uppsala, represented high and low churchism respectively. The latter viewpoint influenced Parliament to allow the

Church of Sweden its own Convocation (1865) with lay representation.

North America

The great 19th-century German and Scandinavian immigration began in 1839-40. The first Germans to arrive were "Old Lutherans" from Prussia whose original pietistic impulses had given way to a high-church confessionalism of the Hengstenbergian and "New Lutheranism" line. Colonies of about 1,000 "Old Lutherans" under J.A.A. Grabau settled in the vicinity of Buffalo and others in and around Milwaukee. They were the forerunners of the Buffalo Synod (1845). Saxon immigrants, under Martin Stephan and Carl F.W. Walther likewise arrived in 1839 and settled near St. Louis to become by 1847 the Missouri Synod. Stephan had practiced conventicle Pietism in Germany and had influenced Walther and others in this direction. Walther and other Missouri Synod leaders later moved to a staunch confessionalism that left little room for conventional Pietism. The Norwegians, who also

arrived in 1839, were almost entirely of the Haugean persuasion, one of their first leaders, Elling Eielsen (1804-83), being an extremely legalistic lay follower of Hauge. Most of the subsequent waves of immigrants were sympathetic to Pietism, the laity inclining toward Haugeanism, the clergy towards Johnsonianism. The Danish immigrants, fewer in number, eventually split over the question of Pietism. The anti-Pietists, or Grundvigians, were known as "the Happy Danes," while the pietistic, inner-mission disciples of Beck were denominated "the Sad Danes." The Swedish-Americans reflected "Läsare" and Rosenian Pietism initially, but after the Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod was formed in 1860 it soon began to evidence a churchly type of Pietism that perhaps could be traced to Schartauism. (See Walther, Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm.)

The era of Protestant expansion

Toleration

The great Protestant advance depended in part on the existence of the secular state and toleration. As late as 1715 the Austrian government had denied all protection of the law to the numerous Hungarian Protestants. But after the French Revolution the few survivals of this old church-state unity were rapidly whittled away. Even in countries in which one church was established, all churches were given some form of protection; Protestant groups could spread, though slowly and under difficulty, in Spain or Italy. Even in tsarist Russia, which did not recognize toleration, Baptists obtained a foothold from which they were to build the second largest Christian denomination of Soviet Russia. Wherever western European and American ideas were influential, Protestant evangelists could work fairly freely, especially in the colonial territories of Africa and India. (See religious toleration.)

Though the secular state thus helped Protestant (and Roman Catholic)

expansion and variety, it also confronted all churches with urgent new problems. The American pattern, in which the state must have no constitutional connection with religion, stemmed as much from the old Congregational tradition as from the ideas of the Enlightenment and was never antireligious in intention. It was influential among the older churches of Europe. In Protestant countries where state and church had been in alliance since the Reformation the effect was twofold: the state became more neutral in its attitude toward the leading denominations of its territory; and the state church pressed harder toward independence from all forms of state control. Lutheran Germany produced a

strong movement toward independence in the mid-19th century. In Scotland the evangelical movement demanded independence from the state in the appointment of ministers to parishes, and when this was refused by the courts and by the government, nearly half the Church of Scotland (1843) under the leadership of Thomas Chalmers (1780-1847) left the established church to found the Free Church of Scotland. The two churches continued side by side (until their eventual reunion in 1929). In Switzerland a Reformed theologian, Alexandre-Rodolphe Vinet (1797-1847), pressed for the separation of church and state and in 1845 founded the Free Church.

In England the move toward independence in a state church was a feature of the Oxford Movement, founded by John Henry Newman (1801-90) in 1833. Here the movement took a course unique in Protestantism. It asserted independence by emphasizing all the Catholic elements within the traditional heritage of Protestantism and so created a school of thought that, though remaining within a Protestant Church, came close to repudiating the Protestant tradition as it was then commonly understood in Europe and America. Newman himself became a Roman Catholic in 1845 and was made a cardinal in 1879. Under the leadership of the survivors the Oxford Movement

brought about a transformation in the worship, organization, and teaching of the Church of England within the traditional polity of an established and Protestant church. The remarkable sign of this change was the revival from 1840 on of nunneries and from 1860 on of monasteries. (See monasticism.)

In German Lutheranism, under the influence of Pietism, Theodor Fliedner (1800-64) established in 1836 a "mother-house" for deaconesses that became a model for the many successor diaconate orders in Germany, Scandinavia, and the United States. These were the first such to appear in Protestant communities since the

dissolution of monastic communities during the Reformation. In the mid-20th century France produced a celebrated community at Taizé devoted to ecumenical prayer and study.

On the whole the trend was always, though slowly, toward a free church in a free state. A few powerful conservative theorists, especially Friedrich Julius Stahl (1802-61) among German Lutherans, strenuously defended one version or another of the old link between throne and altar and the necessity for a single privileged church if revolution or rationalism were to be avoided. These theorists were usually viewed, however, as survivals from a

past age. Much more powerful and contemporary were the theorists who, in resisting the trend toward denominationalism and pluralism, saw the church as the religious side of the nation and therefore wanted to broaden its doctrines and liberalize its polity. In England Frederick Denison Maurice defended the established church upon these liberal lines; and in Denmark, more easily because the population was so largely Lutheran, N.F.S. Grundtvig shrank from every form of denomination or confessionalism and wanted to make Christianity the spiritual aspect of Danish national life. Grundtvig's movement had extraordinary success; but Denmark, and to a lesser extent Sweden

and Norway, were exceptions to the trend. The older Protestant churches steadily moved farther away from the state and unsteadily but gradually secured more autonomy in their organization.

The rise of American Protestant influence in the world

Since the 16th century the two centres of Protestant political power had been Germany and England. With German unity effected under Prussia and the rise to world power of Britain, the political force of Protestantism was stronger during the 19th century than at any time since the Reformation. But about 1860 it began to be clear that a third force was emerging in the United States. After 1820 American

frontier conditions helped to extend the variety of Protestant forces, and denominations such as the Disciples of Christ, formed in 1832 from revivalist groups, arose. These Protestant denominations in time extended their influence beyond America. Many of the immigrants to America were Catholic, and in time the largest single denomination in the United States was to be the Roman Catholic. But the tone of American leadership and culture remained Anglo-Saxon, liberal, and Protestant. Many Germans and Scandinavians, usually of the Lutheran persuasion, emigrated to America, and American Lutheranism expanded until it became a centre of Lutheran life and thought of a weight equal to the original homes of Lutheranism in Germany and Scandinavia. Because the Lutheran leadership came largely from European pietistic groups, the American Lutheran churches tended to be more conservative in theology and discipline than the churches in Germany. The element of revivalism in American Christianity continued throughout the 19th century and helped the concept of a personal Christian faith to penetrate deeply into the American way of life.

The spread of missions

With the background of European strength in Germany and Britain, with the rising strength of the United States, and with the longest period of peace that Europe had ever known, the Protestant churches entered their greatest period of expansion. Confronted at home by the new cities, they developed social services on a scale hitherto unknown, such as in hospitals, orphanages, temperance work, care of the old, extension of education to the young and to working adults, Sunday schools, boys' and men's clubs in city slums, and the countless organizations demanded by the new city life of the 19th century. Abroad they carried Protestantism effectively into all those parts of Africa that were not under French or Portuguese influence, so that in southern Africa the Bantu became largely a federation of Protestant peoples. In India British and American missionaries steadily increased the strength of the newer Indian Christian churches. In China Christianity had been hitherto confined to the seaports and the survivors of Roman Catholic missions

in the 17th century; but now a variety of evangelical groups, mostly financed from England or America and led by the China Inland Mission (founded 1865), created congregations deep in the interior of China. Japan had been closed to Christianity since 1630, and after its reopening in 1859 American and British missionaries created Japanese Christian churches. American missionaries developed Protestant congregations in the countries of South and Central America. All of the main Protestant denominations—Lutherans, Presbyterians, Anglicans, Congregationalists, Baptists, Methodists—developed into worldwide bodies, and all suffered strain in adjusting their organizations to meet these extraordinary new needs.

Revivalism in the 19th century

One of the most prominent features of Protestantism in the 19th century was the development of revivalist

methods to meet the needs of an industrial and urban society. Although many urban poor seldom went to church, they listened to evangelical preachers in halls or theatres, or on street corners. Methodists and Baptists, familiar with revivalistic methods, made many strides forward, especially in the United States. Their efforts were not confined to reaching the working class. The English Baptist Charles H. Spurgeon (1834-92) secured a large audience in London and helped to make the ministry of Protestant dissent very powerful. His mission was for the most part to the educated rather than to the urban poor. For the lowest end of the social scale, a former Methodist preacher, William Booth (1829-1912), and his wife, Catherine, created in east London the agency of evangelism that was known from 1878 as the Salvation Army. They directed their mission to the men on the street corners, using brass bands and even dancing to attract attention. They differed from the Methodist revivalist tradition, from which they had sprung, by their belief in the necessity of a strong central government under a "general" appointed for life, and by abandoning the use of sacraments. At first they met much hostility and even

persecution, but by the end of the 19th century the Salvation Army had securely established its place in British life and had become a worldwide organization. (See Booth, Catherine.)

In Sweden a Methodist preacher influenced Karl Olof Rosenius (1816-68), who introduced revivalism into Swedish Lutheranism. He and some disciples also were influenced by the movement that stemmed from Zinzendorf. Though there were links with Pietism, the new movement was quite unlike the little groups of Pietism. The Pietists wanted to gather men to salvation out of the world, whereas the Bornholmers (as they later came to be called in Denmark because of a famous episode in evangelism on the island of

Bornholm) wanted to declare salvation to the world. The movement had effects in Norway and Denmark and in the Lutheran Church—the Missouri Synod in the United States—but never became as separate as the Salvation Army.

In the United States the development of revivalism was particularly marked in the expansion of the moving frontier. The memory of the Great Awakening (c. 1725-50) was always powerful, and in halls of cities as well as in the camps of the west, revivalistic preaching methods were effective. Protestantism was exceptionally strong because, in many cases, immigrant groups found in religion that link with their historic past

that secular society could not for the time give them. Famous evangelists appeared to meet the need of the cities, especially Charles Grandison Finney (1792-1875) and Dwight Lyman Moody (1837-99).

Thus, some of the evangelistic power in Protestantism of the 19th century was drawn away from the traditional churches of the Reformation—Lutheran, Calvinist, and Anglican—and tended to create new forms of church life and new organizations. These almost always used lay preachers, were far more concerned with bringing the individual to conversion and little concerned with church order, and were sometimes

content if they could draw a soul to Christ without worrying if it were drawn into a historical Christian community as understood since the Reformation. Consequently they developed a tendency, not common before the Pietist movement, to identify Protestantism with individualism in religion. Because the evangelistic endeavours subsequently produced separate organizations, the separate denominations and the varieties of Christianity that still called themselves—and with justice—Protestant were rapidly increased.

The secular state allowed or even stimulated the Protestant churches to establish further and powerful varieties

of religious groups. Among radical Protestants several important groups or new churches emerged, and several of them were apocalyptic, owing their origin to expectations of the Second Coming of Christ. In Britain appeared the Plymouth Brethren, founded in 1827 by John Nelson Darby (1800-82), who separated themselves from the world in preparation for the imminent coming of the Lord. The Catholic Apostolic Church, formed in 1832 largely by the Scotsman Edward Irving, likewise prepared for an imminent coming. Apocalyptic groups and sects were successfully established in the United States, probably because of the absence in new areas of any settled or habitual

church polity. The Seventh-day Adventists were founded by William Miller (1782-1849) of New York, again with an expectation of an immediate end of the world. Though not self-proclaimed Protestants, the Mormons (Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-day Saints), founded by Joseph Smith (1805-44), came out of a parallel waiting upon the end. Another set of groups arose from the revival of faith healing, the most important being the Christian Scientists, founded in 1879 by Mary Baker Eddy (1821-1910), who set up her first church in Boston. (See secularism, apocalypticism, revivalism.)

New issues facing

Protestantism in the 19th century

Churches and social change

Attacks on the churches during the 19th century (and after) were twofold: social and intellectual. Rapidly growing cities and industry created a proletariat estranged from religious life. Many of the political leaders, especially in Europe, claimed that the churches were bulwarks of that order of society which must be overthrown if justice was to be secured for the working class. Some of the earlier forms of socialism were atheistic or at least deistic and suspected free churches as fiercely as they suspected an alliance between altar and throne. Social and economic thinkers, such as Karl Marx (1818-83), argued that religion was the opium of the people, that it bade human beings to be content with their lot when they

ought to be discontented.

In response to such views, in nearly every European country, Catholic or Protestant, there came into existence groups of "Christian Socialists," who believed (at least) in the doctrine that workers had a right to social and economic justice and that a Christian ought in conscience to work toward those political conditions that would achieve more social justice for them. Except for these basic views the Christian Socialists varied greatly in their outlook and ideas, whether political or theological. Adolf Stöcker (1835-1909), a court preacher in Berlin, was an anti-Semitic radical politician; and Charles Kingsley (1819-75), a

clergyman novelist in England, was a warmhearted conservative who deeply sympathized with and understood the working class. The most profound of all the Christian Socialists was Frederick Denison Maurice (1805-72), a theologian of King's College in London until he was ejected in 1853, then a London pastor, and finally a professor of moral philosophy at Cambridge. (See Christian Socialism, Maurice, John Frederick Denison.)

But in England and America the radical wing of Protestants—especially Baptists and primitive Methodists—did as much for the workers' religion as the intellectual leadership of a few Anglican

theologians. In some cases the endeavours made Socialist parties possible for the Christian voter; in others they persuaded Christian voters or politicians—without actually voting for a Socialist party—to adopt policies that led toward a welfare state. Nevertheless, they made Christians more conscious of a social responsibility. In America the Social Gospel excited much influence in the churches at the end of the 19th century, and its most influential leader was a Baptist, Walter Rauschenbusch (1861-1918). Whereas in Catholic countries political parties arose that especially appealed to Christian voters and often used the word Christian in their name, in all the

Protestant countries all political parties needed to appeal to Christian voters, and few avowedly secular parties had political success.

Biblical criticism

Besides political, social, and economic criticism, Protestantism was encountering an intellectual onslaught on Christianity. There were thinkers who declared that the advance of science and of history proved the Bible, and therefore Christianity, untrue. The question of biblical criticism was first posed in the German universities; i.e., whether a man might be a Christian and even a good Christian though he held some parts of the Bible to be not true. This became the great question for Protestantism, if not for all Christendom, in the 19th century. On the one hand Protestantism stood by the Bible and declared that the truth of God came from the Bible. On the other it rested in part on a fundamental conviction of the liberty

of the human spirit as it encountered the Bible. Protestantism was thus seldom friendly to the tactic of meeting argument merely by excommunication or by the blunt exercise of church authority. The theological faculties of German universities, being state faculties and not church institutions, suffered much internal stress, but they arrived at last at the conviction that reasoned criticism—even when it produced conclusions opposed to traditional Christian thinking—should be met rather by refutation than by way of authority. Thus German Protestantism showed at length an elasticity, or open-mindedness, in the face of new knowledge, which was as influential in the development of the Christian churches as the original insights of the Reformation. Owing in part to this German example, the Protestant churches of the main tradition—Lutheran, Reformed, Anglican, Congregational, Methodist, and many Baptist communities—adjusted themselves relatively easily (from the intellectual point of view) to the advances of science, to the idea of evolution, and to progress in anthropology and comparative religion.

In such a flux of ideas, with the Protestant tradition seemingly under attack from Protestants, there was naturally a wide variety of approaches, both in philosophy and history. There was an opinion, represented by the German philosopher G.W.F. Hegel (1770-1831), that Christianity should be restated as a form of Idealistic philosophy. This view was influential for a time in Germany and afterward among Oxford philosophers of later Victorian England. Such restatements were subjected to destructive attacks, of which the most powerful were published by the Danish philosopher Søren Kierkegaard, chiefly because such reasoned philosophy failed altogether to

account for the depths and tragedies of human existence. An earlier opinion sought to base the justification of Christian faith in the religious feelings commonly found in humanity. A German philosopher, F.D.E. Schleiermacher (1768-1834), sought to infer the Christian and biblical system of thought from an examination of human religious experience. Schleiermacher's attempt had much influence on Protestant thought. Throughout the 19th century the appeal to religious experience was fundamental to liberal Protestant thinking, especially in the attempt to meet the views of modern science. Probably the most important of the successors of Schleiermacher was

Albrecht Ritschl, who wholly rejected the ideas of Hegel and the philosophers; he distinguished himself sharply from Schleiermacher by repudiating general religious experience and by resting all his thought upon the special moral impact made by the New Testament on the Christian community. Between 1870 and 1918 the Ritschlian school was one of the leading theological schools of thought within the Protestant churches. (See Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich, idealism, Existentialism, Schleiermacher, Friedrich Ernst Daniel.)

Meanwhile, scholars made long strides in the study and exposition of the Bible. Freed from the necessity of defending

every one of its details as historical truth, professors at Protestant universities were able to put the books of the Bible into a historical setting. This made an important difference in the study of the New Testament but was a revolution so far as the Old Testament was concerned, where the entire earlier accepted chronology was changed. German Rationalist or Hegelian historians were the first to study the problems with freedom. Ferdinand Christian Baur (1792-1860) of the University of Tübingen applied the methods of Hegelian philosophy to the documents of the New Testament, which he conceived to be products of the clash between the Jewish Christians led by

Peter and the Gentile Christians led by Paul. This theory, known as the Tübingen theory, soon receded in influence; but in aid of this theory Baur expounded the texts with such ability as to make his study a landmark in the study of the Bible. Among a large number of excellent biblical students, Joseph Barber Lightfoot (1828-89) of Cambridge finally demolished the Tübingen theory by showing the 1st-century origin of most of the New Testament texts; and Adolf von Harnack (1851-1930) of Berlin by the end of the century summarized the results of a century that was revolutionary in the area of biblical study.

Protestantism in the 20th century

Mainstream Protestantism

The war of 1914-18 broke Europe's waning self-confidence in the merits of its own civilization. Since it was fought between Christian nations, it weakened worldwide Christianity. The seizure of power by a formally atheist government in Russia in 1917 brought a new negative pressure into the world of Christendom and sharpened the social and working class conflicts of western Europe and America. During the following 40 years the Protestant churches suffered inestimable losses. (See World War I.)

Germany under Adolf Hitler (in power 1933-45) professed to save Europe from

the threat of Bolshevism; and the Nazi rule was at first welcomed by many German churchmen. Disillusionment was not slow to follow. From September 1933 there already existed a partial schism between churchmen willing to cooperate with the government in church matters—especially over the Aryan clause that demanded that no Jew should hold office in the church—and those, led by Martin Niemöller, who were not willing to cooperate in church matters. With the support of the state-aided Lutheran churches in the south (Bavaria and Württemberg), Niemöller's group was able to form the Confessing (or Confessional) Church, and the schism was made manifest when the Confessing

Church held the Synod of Barmen in May-June 1934. For a time the Confessing Church was strong throughout Germany; but when the German government provided a less doctrinaire government under the minister of church affairs Hanns Kerrl, the Confessing Church was itself divided—into those who were willing to cooperate and Niemöller's men, who were not willing to cooperate because it was a church government imposed by the Nazi government. At the Synod of Bad Oeynhausen (February 1936) the Confessing Church broke up and was never again so strong. In the later stages, especially during World War II when the extreme Nazis secured complete control

of Hitler's government, the churches came under increasing pressure and toward the end were struggling in some areas to survive. Bishop Theophil Wurm of Württemberg was a leader in protesting to the government against its inhumane activities, and Pastor Heinrich Grüber, until his arrest, ran the Büro Grüber, which sought to evacuate and protect Jews. Some church leaders, notably the theologian Dietrich Bonhoeffer, paid with their lives for their associations with resistance to the Nazi government. (See National Socialism, Niemöller, Friedrich Gustav Emil Martin.)

The end of the war saw Russian armies

in control of eastern Europe and Germany divided. All the churches in the area came under pressure. Most Germans were evacuated or deported from the three Baltic states of Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia. Although Lutheran communities remained there, they were subjected to persecution, especially under the rule of Stalin. The Lutherans in Transylvania (Romania) and the Reformed in Hungary came under less severe pressure but were much diminished in numbers. The Protestants of Czechoslovakia, led by the theologian Joseph Hromadka, succeeded in maintaining more dialogue with Marxist thinkers than did Protestants elsewhere in Europe. From the viewpoint of

Protestant strength, the greatest losses were suffered through the division of Germany. The settlement between the victorious powers gave large areas of former German-speaking (and largely Lutheran) areas to Poland, and many (approximately 8,000,000) Germans were expelled; most went to western Germany. The Soviet occupation zone of Germany in 1945 included Wittenberg and most of the original Protestant homeland. East Germany (the German Democratic Republic) became the sole country in which a Marxist government ruled a largely (70 percent) Protestant population. For a time the Lutheran churches were the chief link between East and West Germany, and the annual

meeting, or Kirchentag, the single expression of a lost German unity. But the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961 stopped this communication and isolated the East German churches. Despite governmental pressure, especially in relation to money, education, and church building and in the national (and anti-Christian) form of youth dedication, the East German Protestants worked courageously and flourished. The 450th anniversary of the Reformation on Oct. 31, 1967, showed how strong a hold the Protestant churches still had over the affections of a large number of people. (See Lutheranism.)

In Russia, a deeply Orthodox state

before the Revolution of 1917, the 40 years after the Revolution witnessed a growth in the Baptist community. The flexibility and simplicity of Baptist organization made it in some respects more suitable to activity under difficult legal conditions. In the years after Stalin's death in 1953 there was evidence of rapid advance; but after 1960 the Baptist communities, like the Orthodox, again came under pressure, which at times was severe.

The material losses that Great Britain suffered in World War II and the end of the British Empire in the years after 1947 had serious effects on the Protestant churches in former British

territories. The home country could no longer provide money and human resources to the overseas churches on the same scale, and in a few areas church government was handed over to leaders who were not ready to take over church leadership. But in other areas the change of status for Britain hastened the process of change in leadership that had been proceeding slowly; and some of the failing resources were supplemented from elsewhere, especially from the United States, Canada, and Australia. Thus the so-called younger churches came to be a new fact of world Christianity, led by men who no longer saw the history of Christianity solely through European eyes and had an

impatience partly derived from a different attitude to the Christian past. This was to be of primary importance in the ecumenical movement. Meanwhile, the secularizing trend of a technological age assailed the old European churches and had an even greater effect upon the areas where the younger churches ministered.

The growth of mainline Protestantism in sub-Saharan Africa, as of Lutheranism in South West Africa/Namibia or Anglicanism in South Africa—as well as of the Pentecostal and Evangelical churches and sects in South America and Asia—helped compensate for losses in Europe and North America. Because of

conversions and population growth, the Protestant church actually increased in size as it changed its scope and ethos.

There were also surprising survivals and reappearances of Protestantism in areas of the world where its demise had been foreseen. Thus, in 1948-49 the Communist seizure of power in China effectively ended Protestant missions there. By 1951 there were hardly any European missionaries in the country, and the Chinese churches had to stand without outside aid. They came under severe pressure, especially during the so-called Cultural Revolution in the 1960s and ‘70s. They could no longer evangelize and sought barely to survive.

The partial reopening of China to the West and the cautious measures granting more freedom of religion and speech beginning in the late 1970s and the 1980s led to new contacts between Chinese Protestants and Westerners. It was estimated that several million Protestants and other Christians had endured the suppression and persecution of the two previous decades, and, however uncertain their futures remained, they represented a vital group of churches.

Conservative and Evangelistic forms of

Protestantism

The most important movements in 20th-century Protestantism took root in soil that most call conservative, and some of their founding had a reactionary character. At the same time not all members of these movements wished to be typed as conservative. Their forward-looking and exuberant expressions of faith displayed more radical outlooks. The three main movements are usually called Pentecostalism, Fundamentalism, and Evangelicalism. The first has been of immeasurable importance in the spread of Protestantism beyond its historic European home.

Pentecostalism

Pentecostalism emerged out of Wesleyan Holiness movements at the turn of the century in the United States. In 1901 in Topeka, Kan., and in 1906 in Los Angeles, there were particularly notable manifestations

of various phenomena that characterize the movement. Central to these is glossolalia, "speaking in tongues." This is a form of unrepressed speech whose agents "yield" themselves to the Lord. Normally the syllables they speak or sing are unintelligible, though some claim that they speak in recognizable foreign tongues as the disciples of Jesus did at the first Pentecost, from which the movement derives its name. Pentecostalists believe that they must experience a "second baptism," beyond water baptism, in which the Holy Spirit comes to them. They not only speak in tongues but also interpret them; they prophesy; many engage in healings, claiming that miraculous healings did not cease after the apostolic period, as many other Christians claim they did.

The Pentecostal movement in the United States was often Southern, associated with the "Bible Belt," and developed among the rural poor whites or urban blacks. After the mid-20th century, through fast-growing denominations like

the Assemblies of God, Pentecostalism emerged as one of the most visible forms of Protestantism and became increasingly acceptable to the middle classes. After 1960 the movement spread into mainstream churches like the Episcopal, Lutheran, and Presbyterian, where participants often called it a "charismatic" movement.

Pentecostalism had its greatest success in the Caribbean, Latin America, and sub-Saharan Africa. There many prophetic movements erupted, in which Christians adopted emotional forms of worship and healing. Pentecostalism in these parts of the world was often the religion of the poor, bringing hope to

people in nations that were emerging from colonialism. The Pentecostalists, building on the work done by missionaries a century earlier, were not often anti-American or anti-European, as some liberation movements were. In fact, they often accented "otherworldliness" and avoided politics or identified with conservative and even repressive regimes.

Fundamentalism

The second major movement, Fundamentalism, combined late 19th-century premillennialism with more or less rationalistic defenses of biblical inerrancy. It took its name from a sequence of tracts called The

Fundamentals that were issued between 1910 and 1915 in the United States, and the movement became institutionalized in 1919 and 1920, as Fundamentalism became a formal and militant party in denominational conflict in the United States.

The most obvious causes for the rise of Fundamentalism were the spread of Darwinian evolutionary theory and its acceptance in the more liberal parts of the Protestant churches as well as the higher criticism of the Bible. Fundamentalists in the United States felt that these two movements were subverting seminaries, bureaus, mission boards, and pulpits in the northern branches of denominations like the Baptists and Presbyterians. The Scopes trial in 1925, in which the

Fundamentalist champion William Jennings Bryan fought against the teaching of evolution in schools and defended the Genesis record as being scientific, coincided with the climactic denominational battles in those two churches.

The Fundamentalists tended to lose the political battles but survived with their own network of Bible colleges, radio programs, and publishing ventures. In the early 1940s they regrouped into several competitive Fundamentalist organizations that steadily gained followers, visibility, morale, and assertiveness. They prospered most when they moved from a generally

passive political posture to open participation, particularly in support of Ronald Reagan's successful presidential bids in 1980 and 1984.

Groups like the Moral Majority, founded by Fundamentalist evangelist Jerry Falwell, demonstrated how effective the television ministry of the movement could be. The Fundamentalists concentrated political energies on opposition to abortion, support of an amendment that would permit prayer in public schools, and identification with the causes of Israel and a strong military defense budget.

Evangelicalism

The third movement is Evangelicalism. Focused for decades in the ministry of figures like evangelist Billy Graham and journals like Christianity Today, this conservative and evangelistic group tended to agree with Fundamentalism on cardinal doctrines: the virgin birth, substitutionary atonement, and physical resurrection of Jesus. Most Evangelicals insisted on some version of biblical inerrancy, but gradually more and more scholars of the movement questioned whether that was the best way to assert faith in biblical authority. Nor did all agree with those Fundamentalists who stressed premillennialism.

Evangelicals, however, were more moderate than Fundamentalists; they agreed with the older-style Fundamentalists in substance but differed in style. They found Fundamentalists to be too negative about

culture, too withdrawn into sects, too rude and blustery and judgmental. When Evangelicals formed the National Association of Evangelicals in 1942, they were attacked from the Fundamentalist right much as they attacked the mainstream moderates and liberals. Most of them preferred to see themselves not as well-mannered Fundamentalists but rather as perpetuators of the 19th-century Protestant mainstream.

To that end the Evangelicals increasingly reentered the world of cultural, social, and political engagement. Rather than build Bible schools, they concentrated on liberal arts

colleges. Some Evangelicals even engaged in radical social programs and criticized conservative Protestantism's over-identification with militarism and unfettered capitalism. They also acquired considerable if slightly unpredictable political power in the United States and elsewhere.

Evangelicals also tended to be ecumenical; Billy Graham welcomed Catholic and mainstream Protestant leaders on his platforms, and he prayed with many kinds of Christians whom Fundamentalists would shun. Whereas Fundamentalists and Pentecostalists had counterparts in the Third World, Evangelicals tended to form

international movements and hold conferences designed to bring Christians of many nations together.

While Fundamentalists usually split off into churches of their own, millions of Evangelicals remained connected to mainstream denominations and increasingly moved fully into the mainstream. But they always endeavoured to keep alive their doctrinal distinctiveness and their passion for witnessing to Christ.

Theological movements within Protestantism

Meanwhile, a certain reaction could be observed in the Protestant tradition of theology. This was partly due to a general doubt about European liberalism after World War I and particularly due, in its further development, to a reaction against attempts by the Nazis to use liberal theology for some of their views of society. (See theological liberalism.)

In both the 19th and 20th centuries liberal theology met much criticism on the ground that it narrowed Christianity to the limits of what men believed themselves to be experiencing or turned what was objective truth into subjective feeling. Though himself no conservative, Kierkegaard was the most extreme of these critics. All the conservative theologians—including the earliest members of the Oxford Movement in England, the evangelical tradition

generally, and those many who stood by the inerrant word of the Bible and in the 20th century came to be called by the name Fundamentalist—opposed the liberals on the same grounds. But in the 20th century there was a reaction even within the liberal camp. Beginning in 1918 a reaction against all theologies emphasizing religious experience was led by Karl Barth of Basel and Emil Brunner of Zürich. This theological movement, called Neoorthodoxy, widely influenced Protestant thinking in Europe and America. Barth and his disciples regarded their work as a reassertion of the true sovereignty of Scripture and as a return to the authentic principles of the Reformation. In America Reinhold

Niebuhr was almost as influential in reacting against liberal Christian philosophies as they applied to society and to man. Yet that the questions the older theologians had sought to meet still remained was shown by the influence exerted by the German theologian Rudolf Bultmann of Marburg, who sought to "demythologize" the New Testament by discovering its core truths and thus allowing its significance for faith to be more fully disclosed. Refugees from Nazi Germany, such as Paul Tillich, interpreted European developments to Americans. (See United Kingdom.)

The Neoorthodox synthesis did not outlast the generation of the giants who

gave voice to it, and Protestant theology after the mid-1960s was in disarray. Europe lost its hegemony, though certain theologians, among them Jürgen Moltmann, began to take elements of Neoorthodoxy and combine them into variously described movements, such as "theology of hope," "political theology," "theology of revolution," or Protestant versions of "liberation theology." Espoused in the Third World by theologians who stressed witness to the fact that God sides with the oppressed and the poor or in the United States by feminists or black theologians who developed new interpretations of biblical and traditional texts, these theologies called into question what

seemed to be the patriarchalism, elitism, and racism of much earlier academic theology.

Numerous movements adopting liberation theologies coexisted. In general they shared a tendency to particularize Protestant thought. One approach was to make much of cultural contexts. Thus, there was African or Asian, feminist or black theology. In all these cases interpretations were perceived as coloured by the "pre-understanding" people or groups brought to the reading of the texts. Another approach was to focus on "narrative theology" or "story theology" in an effort to move from abstract theology to

concrete understandings centring on people. Finally, thanks to the rise of Pentecostalism and Fundamentalism, there developed across the Protestant spectrum fresh attention to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit and to eschatology, the teaching about "the last things."

The ecumenical movement

The ecumenical movement was in origin exclusively Protestant (though Eastern Orthodox leaders soon took part) and was at first largely dominated by Protestant thinking. Its origins lay principally in (1) the new speed of transport across the world and the movement of populations that mixed the denominations as never

before; (2) the world reach of traditional denominations;

(3) the variety of religion within the United States and the problems that such a variety created; and (4) the younger churches of Africa and Asia and their contempt for barriers raised by events of European history for which they felt no special concern. There was always a strong link with the missions, and an American Methodist missionary leader, John R. Mott, whose travels did as much as anything to transform the various ecumenical endeavours into a single organization, represented in his own person the harmony of missionary zeal with desire for Christian unity. A conference at Edinburgh in 1910, which

marks the beginning of the movement proper, was a World Missionary Conference. From it sprang conferences on life and work (led by the Swedish Lutheran archbishop Nathan Söderblom), dealing with practical problems, as well as conferences on faith and order, at which theologians sought to examine their theological differences with sympathy. In the beginning Roman Catholics refused to participate; the Eastern Orthodox participated only through exiles in the Western dispersion; and the Nazi government refused to allow Germans to go far in participating. By the end of World War II in 1945 it was evident that there was a new atmosphere, and the

World Council of Churches was formally constituted at the Amsterdam conference in 1948. The entire movement depended for most of its money and for part of its drive on the Americans; but its headquarters was in Geneva, and, under the guidance of its first General Secretary, Netherlands Reformed administrator W.A. Visser ‘t Hooft, it never lost sight of the fact that the traditional problems of divided Christian Europe had to be met if it was to succeed. (See Methodism.)

In the years after 1948 the ecumenical movement brought Protestants into an ever-growing dialogue with the Eastern Orthodox and the Roman Catholics.

After John XXIII became pope in 1958, the Roman Catholics at last began to participate in the ecumenical movement. Although the definitions of the second Vatican Council (1962-65) were unacceptable to most Protestants, they had a breadth quite unlike the definitions of the first Vatican Council in 1870 and encouraged those (usually liberal) Protestants who hoped in time to lower this greatest of barriers raised by the 16th century.

(E.C.N./M.E.M./W.O.C.)

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Part One: The Ten Commandments:

The Simple Way a Father Should Present Them to His Household

The First Commandment

You must not have other gods.

Q. What does this mean?

We must fear, love, and trust God more than anything else.

The Second Commandment

You must not misuse your God's name.

Q. What does this mean?

We must fear and love God, so that we will not use His name to curse, swear, cast a spell, lie or deceive, but will use it to call upon Him, pray to Him, praise Him and thank Him in all times of trouble.

The Third Commandment

You must keep the Sabbath holy.

Q. What does this mean?

We must fear and love God, so that we will not look down on preaching or God's Word, but consider it holy, listen to it willingly, and learn it.

The Fourth Commandment

You must honor your father and mother. [So that things will go well for you and you will live long on earth].

Q. What does this mean?

We must fear and love God, so that we will neither look down on our parents or superiors nor irritate them, but will honor them, serve them, obey them, love them and value them.

The Fifth Commandment

You must not kill.

Q. What does this mean?

We must fear and love God, so that we will neither

harm nor hurt our neighbor's body, but help him and care for him when he is ill.

The Sixth Commandment

You must not commit adultery.

Q. What does this mean?

We must fear and love God, so that our words and actions will be clean and decent and so that everyone will love and honor their spouses.

The Seventh Commandment

You must not steal.

Q. What does this mean?

We must fear and love God, so that we will neither

take our neighbor's money or property, nor acquire it by fraud or by selling him poorly made products, but will help him improve and protect his property and career.

The Eighth Commandment

You must not tell lies about your neighbor.

Q. What does this mean?

We must fear and love God, so that we will not deceive by lying, betraying, slandering or ruining our neighbor's reputation, but will defend him, say good things about him, and see the best side of everything he does.

The Ninth Commandment

You must not desire your neighbor's

house.

Q. What does this mean?

We must fear and love God, so that we will not attempt to trick our neighbor out of his inheritance or house, take it by pretending to have a right to it, etc. but help him to keep & improve it.

The Tenth Commandment

You must not desire your neighbor's wife, servant, maid, animals or anything that belongs to him.

Q. What does this mean?

We must fear and love God, so that we will not release his cattle, take his employees from him or seduce his wife, but urge they to stay and do what they ought to

do.

The Conclusion to the Commandments

Q. What does God say to us about all these commandments?

This is what He says:

"I am the Lord Your God. I am a jealous God. I plague the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of those who hate me with their ancestor’s sin. But I make whole those who love me for a thousand generations."

Q. What does it mean?

God threatens to punish everyone who breaks these commandments. We should be afraid of His anger because of this and not violate such commandments. But He promises grace and all good things to those who keep such commandments. Because of this, we, too, should love Him, trust Him, and willingly do what His commandments require.

Part Two: The Creed

The Creed: The Simple Way a Father Should Present it to His Household

The First Article: On Creation

I believe in God the Almighty Father, Creator of Heaven and Earth.

Q. What does this mean?

A. I believe that God created me, along with all creatures. He gave to me: body and soul, eyes, ears and all the other parts of my body, my mind and all my senses and preserves them as well. He gives me clothing and shoes, food and drink, house and land, wife and children, fields, animals and all I own. Every day He abundantly provides everything I need to nourish this body and life. He protects me against all danger, shields and defends me from all evil. He does all this because of His pure, fatherly and divine goodness and His mercy, not because I've earned it or deserved it. For all of this, I must thank Him, praise Him, serve Him and obey Him. Yes, this is true!

The Second Article: On Redemption

And in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord, Who was conceived by the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered

under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, died and was buried, descended to Hell, on the third day rose again from the dead, ascended to Heaven and sat down at the right hand of God the Almighty Father. From there He will come to judge the living and the dead. Q. What does this mean? A. I believe that Jesus Christ is truly God, born of the Father in eternity and also truly man, born of the Virgin Mary. He is my Lord! He redeemed me, a lost and condemned person, bought and won me from all sins, death and the authority of the Devil. It did not cost Him gold or silver, but His holy, precious blood, His innocent body—His death! Because of this, I am His very own, will live under Him in His

kingdom and serve Him righteously, innocently and blessedly forever, just as He is risen from death, lives and reigns forever. Yes, this is true.

The Third Article: On Becoming Holy

I believe in the Holy Spirit, the holy Christian Church, the community of the saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and an everlasting life. Amen.

Q. What does this mean? A. I believe that I cannot come to my Lord Jesus Christ by my own intelligence or power. But the Holy Spirit call me by the Gospel, enlightened me with His gifts, made me holy and kept me in the true

faith, just as He calls, gathers together, enlightens and makes holy the whole Church on earth and keeps it with Jesus in the one, true faith. In this Church, He generously forgives each day every sin committed by me and by every believer. On the last day, He will raise me and all the dead from the grave. He will give eternal life to me and to all who believe in Christ. Yes, this is true!

Part Three: The Lord's Prayer

The Our Father

The Simple Way a Father Should Present it to His Household

Introduction

Our Father, Who is in Heaven.

Q. What does this mean?

A. In this introduction, God invites us to believe that He is our real Father and we are His real children, so that we will pray with trust and complete confidence, in the same way beloved children approach their beloved Father with their requests.

The First Request

May Your name be holy.

Q. What does this mean?

A. Of course, God’s name is holy in and of itself, but by this request, we pray that He will make it holy among us, too.

Q. How does this take place? A. When God’s Word is taught clearly and purely, and when we live holy lives as God’s children based upon it. Help us, Heavenly Father, to do this! But anyone who teaches and lives by something other than God’s Word defiles God’s name among us. Protect us from this, Heavenly Father!

The Second Request

Your Kingdom come.

Q. What does this mean?

A. Truly God's Kingdom comes by itself, without our prayer. But we pray in this request that it come to us as well.

Q. How does this happen? A. When the Heavenly Father gives us His Holy Spirit, so that we believe His holy Word by His grace and live godly lives here in this age and there in eternal life.

The Third Request

May Your will be accomplished, as it is

Heaven, so may it be on Earth.

Q. What does this mean? A. Truly, God's good and gracious will is accomplished without our prayer. But we pray in this request that is be accomplished among us as well.

Q. How does this happen? A. When God destroys and interferes with every evil will and all evil advice, which will not allow God's Kingdom to come, such as the Devil's will, the world's will and will of our bodily desires. It also happens when God strengthens us by faith and by His Word and keeps living by them faithfully until the end of our lives. This is His will, good and full of grace.

The Fourth Request

Give us our daily bread today.

Q. What does this mean? A. Truly, God gives daily bread to evil people, even without our prayer. But we pray in this request that He will help us realize this and receive our daily bread with thanksgiving.

Q. What does "Daily Bread" mean? A. Everything that nourishes our body and meets its needs, such as: Food, drink, clothing, shoes, house, yard, fields, cattle, money, possessions, a devout spouse, devout children, devout employees, devout and faithful rulers,

good government, good weather, peace, health, discipline, honor, good friends, faithful neighbors and other things like these.

The Fifth Request

And forgive our guilt, as we forgive those guilty of sinning against us.

Q. What does this mean? A. We pray in this request that our Heavenly Father will neither pay attention to our sins nor refuse requests such as these because of our sins and because we are neither worthy nor deserve the things for which we pray. Yet He wants to give them all to us by His grace, because many times each day we sin and truly deserve only

punishment. Because God does this, we will, of course, want to forgive from our hearts and willingly do good to those who sin against us.

The Sixth Request

And lead us not into temptation.

Q. What does this mean? A. God tempts no one, of course, but we pray in this request that God will protect us and save us, so that the Devil, the world and our bodily desires will neither deceive us nor seduce us into heresy, despair or other serious shame or vice, and so that we will win and be victorious in the end, even if they attack us.

The Seventh Request

But set us free from the Evil One.

Q. What does this mean? A. We pray in this request, as a summary, that our Father in Heaven will save us from every kind of evil that threatens body, soul, property and honor. We pray that when at last our final hour has come, He will grant us a blessed death, and, in His grace, bring us to Himself from this valley of tears.

Amen.

Q. What does this mean? A. That I should be certain that such prayers are acceptable to the Father in Heaven and

will be granted, that He Himself has commanded us to pray in this way and that He promises to answer us. Amen. Amen. This means: Yes, yes it will happen this way.

Part Four: Holy Baptism

The Sacrament of Holy Baptism:

The Simple Way a Father Should Present it to His Household

I

Q. What is Baptism? A. Baptism is not just plain water, but it is water contained within God's command and united with God's Word.

Q. Which Word of God is this? A. The one which our Lord Christ spoke in the last chapter of Matthew: "Go into all the world, teaching all heathen nations, and baptizing them in the name of the Father, the Son and of the Holy Spirit."

II.

Q. What does Baptism give? What good is it? A. It gives the forgiveness of sins, redeems from death and the Devil, gives eternal salvation to all who believe this, just as God's words and promises declare.

Q. What are these words and promises of God? A. Our Lord Christ spoke one of them in the last chapter of Mark: "Whoever believes and is baptized will be saved; but whoever does not believe will be damned."

III.

Q. How can water do such great things? A. Water doesn’t make these things happen, of course. It is God’s Word, which is with and in the water. Because, without God’s Word, the water is plain water and not baptism. But with God’s Word it is a Baptism, a grace-filled water of life, a bath of new birth in the Holy Spirit, as St. Paul said to Titus in the third chapter:

"Through this bath of rebirth and renewal of the Holy Spirit, which He poured out on us abundantly through Jesus Christ, our Savior, that we, justified by the same grace are made heirs according to the hope of eternal life. This is a faithful saying."

IV.

Q. What is the meaning of such a water Baptism? A. It means that the old Adam in us should be drowned by daily sorrow and repentance, and die with all sins and evil lusts, and, in turn, a new person daily come forth and rise from death again. He will live forever before God in righteousness and purity.

Q. Where is this written? A. St. Paul says to the Romans in chapter six: "We are buried with Christ through Baptism into death, so that, in the same way Christ is risen from the dead by the glory of the Father, thus also must we walk in a new life."

Part Five: Confession

How One Should Teach the Uneducated to Confess

Q. What is confession? A. Confession has two parts:

First, a person admits his sin

Second, a person receives absolution or forgiveness from the confessor, as if from God Himself, without doubting it, but believing firmly that his sins are forgiven by God in Heaven through it.

Q. Which sins should people confess?

When speaking to God, we should plead guilty to all sins, even those we don't know about, just as we do in the "Our Father," but when speaking to the confessor, only the sins we know about, which we know about and feel in our hearts.

Q. Which are these?

Consider here your place in life according to the Ten Commandments. Are you a father? A mother? A son? A daughter? A husband? A wife? A servant? Are you disobedient, unfaithful or lazy? Have you hurt anyone with your words or actions? Have you stolen, neglected your duty, let things go or injured someone?

Part Six: The Sacrament of the Altar

The Sacrament of the Altar:

The Simple Way a Father Should Present it to his Household

Q. What is the Sacrament of the Altar?

It is the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ under bread and wine for us Christians to eat and to drink, established by Christ Himself.

Q. Where is that written?

The holy apostles Matthew, Mark and Luke and St. Paul write this:

"Our Lord Jesus Christ, in the night on which He was betrayed, took bread, gave thanks, broke it, gave it to His

disciples and said: "Take! Eat! This is My body, which is given for you. Do this to remember Me!" In the same way He also took the cup after supper, gave thanks, gave it to them, and said: "Take and drink from it, all of you! This cup is the New Testament in my blood, which is shed for you to forgive sins. This do, as often as you drink it, to remember Me!"

Q. What good does this eating and drinking do?

These words tell us: "Given for you" and "Shed for you to forgive sins." Namely, that the forgiveness of sins, life and salvation are given to us through these words in the sacrament. Because, where sins are forgiven, there is life and salvation as well.

Q. How can physical eating and drinking do such great things?

Of course, eating and drinking do not do these things. These words, written here, do them: "given for you" and "shed for you to forgive sins." These words, along with physical eating and drinking are the important part of the sacrament. Anyone who believes these words has what they say and what they record, namely, the forgiveness of sins.

Q. Who, then, receives such a sacrament in a worthy way?

Of course, fasting and other physical preparations are excellent disciplines for the body. But anyone who believes these words, "Given for you," and "Shed for you to forgive sins," is really worthy and well prepared. But whoever doubts or does not believe these words is not worthy and is unprepared, because the words, "for you" demand a heart that fully believes.

Morning Prayer

My Heavenly Father, I thank You, through Jesus Christ, Your beloved Son, that You kept me safe from all evil and danger last night. Save me, I pray, today as well, from every evil and sin, so that all I do and the way that I live will please you. I put myself in your care, body and soul and all that I have. Let Your holy Angels be with me, so that the evil enemy will not gain power over me. Amen.

Evening Prayer

My Heavenly Father, I thank You, through Jesus Christ, Your beloved Son, that You have protected me, by Your grace. Forgive, I pray, all my sins and the evil I have done. Protect me, by Your grace, tonight. I put myself in your care, body and soul and all that I have. Let Your holy angels be with me, so that the evil enemy will not gain power over me. Amen.

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