THE REFORMATION

And It's Far Reaching Heritage Until the Great War

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The Birth of the Reformation

The Reformation is the most important event in the West's journey from the medieval to the modern period. Although it was essentially a religious event, it has to be born in mind that the West was a religious civilization. Religion was the thread that bound together all the elements of its intellectual, socio-political, and cultural life.

For some time now, the western church had been failing to draw any meaningful distinction between its visible institutional life and the kingdom of God. This gave to the church an unwarranted air of authority, a situation made worse by the fact that it had been infiltrated by a number of corrupt doctrines and practices. The medieval ideal of harmonious cooperation between the church and the state was little more than a pious wish, the two having been immersed in a constant struggle for power over many centuries. After the Black Death of 1348, an increasing number of kingdoms began to conduct their affairs independent of the sanction of the church.

Religion was not the only cultural force at work, however. In a movement known as the Renaissance, a new stream of cultural activity began to emerge through the patronage of wealthy aristocrats in 14th century Italy. Although the theme of their work remained largely religious, it was not carried out from the perspective of divine revelation but from the perspective of human experience. This change in perspective brought with it a renewed interest in the classical learning of the Greeks and Romans, the evidence of which can be seen in the philosophy of Ficino, the politics of Machiavelli, the literature of Petrarch, the paintings of Masaccio, and the sculpture of Donatello. Unfortunately, there were no advances in the natural sciences, the theoretical field remaining very much under the influence of Aristotle, and the practical field continuing to dabble in such things as alchemy, astrology, and magic. In music, the movement known as *Ars Nova* combined increasingly complex sounds with increasingly secular lyrics, beginning the gradual overthrow of plainchant. The strange board game imported from the east during the crusades rose to new levels of complexity, inspiring the first written chess manuals by Lucena and Damiano. The three most famous technological advances of the day were gun-power (which transformed warfare), the compass (which opened up the western hemisphere), and the printing press

(which inaugurated an age of mass communication). The cultural richness of this period bore with it a new ideal of human life, that of becoming the all-in-one Renaissance Man, the best example of which we find in Leonardo da Vinci. Together, these forces stretched the wineskins of medievalism to their bursting point, but the breach that enabled them to flow freely was undoubtedly the Reformation.

Reform and Counter-Reform

The Reformation clearly occurred at a time when a large number of changes were already taking place at every level of civilization. As an essentially spiritual movement, it acted as a catalyst for all the other elements of change that were already in the air. At the center of this movement was the troubled conscience of a single man named Martin Luther.

Martin Luther's story is of interest because it illustrates a condition that is common to all. By entering the monastery, he hoped to satisfy the demands of his conscience through a life of good works. But the more he advanced in the disciplines of external piety, the more he felt the burden of his own interior sinfulness. Although he might have taken his guilt as a sign of the futility of moral living, he instead found therein a revelation of a higher kind of life than that for which he had been aiming, one lived by faith in the grace of God. As Augustine observed so many centuries before: *The law was given that grace might be sought; grace was given that the law might be fulfilled.*

Martin Luther's spiritual life was immediately transformed from one characterized by works, uncertainty, and guilt to one characterized by faith, certainty, and joy. Later on, he would find this experience vindicated in the writings of Paul, and he would also attempt to formulate it in the statement that all men are justified by grace through faith in Jesus Christ. This was so contrary to the accepted views of the day that it shook the West to its very foundations. In the years that lay ahead, his defense of it would not only bring him into conflict with the authority of the papacy, but also with that of the empire. Indeed, before long, he would find himself embattled against the whole medieval system of church and state.

The Beginnings of the Reformation (1517)

The early history of this movement coincides with the life of Martin Luther. It began with his protest against the practice of selling indulgences and his posting of the ninety-five theses on the door of the chapel at Wittenberg on October 31, 1517. From there it progressed through a series of highly publicized arguments in print, as well as a number of unsuccessful attempts at reconciliation by the papacy.

The rift was irreparably widened after the debate between Luther and Eck at Leipzig in 1519. In that debate, the reformer publicly challenged the inerrancy of the church, taking his stand on reason, conscience, and Scripture. In the process, he also defended the ideas of the previously condemned heretic Jan Hus. There could no longer be any question that the reform movement was in open rebellion against the church.

After the election of the new emperor, the famous bull of excommunication *Exsurge Domine* was drawn up by Pope Leo X. As the bull made its way through the empire, popular support for reform began to spread not only in Germany (under the leadership of Luther), but also in Switzerland (under the leadership of Zwingli).[1] Luther responded to the threat of excommunication by publicly burning the edict and also by calling upon the local princes to begin legislative reforms within their territories (1520). In response, the emperor sought to secure the support of his princes at the annual diet in the city of Worms (1521). Martin Luther was brought before the diet, but refused to recant anything he had written, famously declaring: *Here I stand. I can do no other. God help me*. Having already been excommunicated by the church, he was now placed under the ban of the empire. His life was spared, however, through the intervention of the duke of Saxony, who arranged to have him whisked away to Wartburg Castle. During this time, Luther began his famous translation of the New Testament (usually called the Luther Bible), while his friend Melanchthon produced the first systematic theology of Protestantism (called the *Loci Communes*). It was also during this time that a more radical wind of teaching began to spread which sought to create a communistic utopia and which rejected all forms of civil and ecclesiastical authority. After coming out of hiding, Luther sought to refute this teaching (which has since become known as the Radical Reformation), while combining reformation teaching with a respect for civil and ecclesiastical authority in what has become known as the Magisterial Reformation.

Martin Luther was extremely productive during this period, writing on nearly every conceivable subject of natural, civil, and religious life. He also became increasingly involved in each of these areas of life, starting a family, reforming the services of his church, and giving counsel to the magistrates in the German Peasant's War (1525). Although this war marked the end of the Radical Reformation in Germany, it coincided with the rise of the Radical Reformation in

[1] **The Swiss Reformation**: While the German Reformation is associated with the name of Luther, the Swiss Reformation is associated with the names of Zwingli, Bullinger, Calvin, and Beza. Broadly speaking, the movement can be divided into two stages: (1) an early stage, marked by the leadership of Zwingli and his assistant Bullinger (Zurich, 1520-1531); (2) and a later stage, marked by the leadership of Calvin and his assistant Beza (Geneva, 1531-1564). Although the earliest creeds within this tradition were drawn up by Zwingli, the first to receive the universal sanction of the churches were drawn up by his assistant Bullinger. They are known as the First Helvetic Confession (Basel, 1536) and the Second Helvetic Confession (Zurich, 1566).

Switzerland (which survived to become known as the Anabaptist Movement).[2] Shortly after these events, he became embroiled in two famous controversies that had an important impact on the future of the movement: a philosophical debate over free will and predestination (contra Desiderius Erasmus), and a theological debate over the real presence in the communion ceremony (contra Huldrych Zwingli). As a result of these debates, he became increasingly estranged from those who had hitherto been his allies, both among the Italian Humanists and also among the Swiss Reformers. But in spite of this increasing isolation, he still managed to do work of local as well as universal significance. On a local level, he risked his life in order to care for his congregation when the Black Plague came to Wittenberg (1527), and he also drew up a catechism for the training of children throughout Saxony (1529). On a universal level, he produced the first major confessional statement of Protestantism, a document known as the Augsburg Confession (1530). Possessed of the doctrinal genius of Luther, but also of the intellectual sensitivity of Melanchthon, it remains to this day the earliest and most influential symbol of the Protestant Reformation.

In Martin Luther's final years the reform movement advanced from the continent to the British Isles.[3] Moreover, even though he continued to work in Germany, the movement's center of gravity began to shift to Switzerland. The driving force behind this shift was undoubtedly John Calvin, an extremely intelligent humanist lawyer who had converted in 1533. Although still a recent convert, he authored a catechism, a confession of faith, and the tremendously influential *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, all by the year 1536. He also began working on an equally influential system of church government known as the *Ecclesiastical Ordinances* by the year 1541. Both works were crucial to the practical reforms he was trying to implement at the free city of Geneva, a self-

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[2] **The Anabaptist Movement**: Unlike the radicals in Germany, the radicals in Switzerland did not approve of violent rebellion against civil authority, though they equally rejected the state's right to interfere in matters of religion. They were more aggressive about breaking with the traditions of popery, and they preferred the model of the house church over that of the institutional church, for which reason their adherents began to exhibit an extremely wide variety of positions on doctrinal issues (there being a much wider range of ability among their lay leadership). Their most distinctive teaching, however, was that the sacrament of baptism should not be administered to infants, but only to those who had made an explicit profession of faith in Jesus Christ. This, in turn, was designed to serve the larger goal of establishing a pure religion in which believers and non-believers would no longer be jumbled together in a single state church. Although they called themselves the "Brethren", their enemies dubbed them the "Anabaptists". They began to promulgate their teachings in the year 1523, but did not engage in the practice of re-baptism until the year 1525. The three earliest leaders were Grebel, Manz, and Blaurock, though the most learned and influential was Dr. Hubmaier. It was he who during the time of their persecution relocated the movement to the region of Moravia.

[3] **The English Reformation**: The Tudor monarch, Henry VIII, had opposed reform from the beginning. Nevertheless, when he was refused an annulment of his childless marriage, he sought to assert his independence from papal authority. This was officially established in the Act of Supremacy, whereby the king was declared the head of the Church of England (1534). Although his initial policy favored the doctrines of Protestantism (i.e., in the *Ten Articles*, 1536), his later policy favored the doctrines of Catholicism (i.e., in the *Six Articles* of 1539). At the end of his reign, the kingdom was de jure Protestant, but de facto Catholic.

governing enclave that had embraced Protestantism. As a self-governing city it enjoyed freedom from the authority of the pope and the empire, and it quickly became a melting pot of refugees seeking sanctuary from persecution. Its enemies dubbed it "the Rome of Protestantism". Its friends looked on it as an experimental model of what a union of church and state might ideally look like under Protestantism. But for all its advantages, the task of reforming the city was by no means easy, for there was a considerable faction of people who resisted the influence of John Calvin. This resistance was in no way connected with his scholarship, for he was the greatest exegete of the age, and his biblical commentaries had already begun to establish themselves as being quite simply the best in the world. Rather, it was connected with his theology, which at the theoretical level was characterized by a rigorous doctrine of divine sovereignty, and at the practical level by an equally rigorous enforcement of public and private morality. The doctrine of predestination, according to which God ordains the elect for salvation and the reprobate for damnation, was as essential to his supporters as it was unacceptable to his opponents. But perhaps most divisive of all was his use of the secular arm of the government to enforce what he perceived to be the proper moral standard for the church (e.g., censures, fines, and imprisonments were used to control or prohibit dancing, drinking, gambling, profanity, gluttony, immodesty, luxury, and the production of secular art, music, or literature). Accordingly, the theological tradition he inaugurated became known for the simplicity of its worship, the severity of its moral discipline, and the zeal with which it sought to bring both the church and the state under the all sovereign rule of Jesus Christ. As we shall see, it later became the inspirational model for the Puritans of New England, the most influential form of Protestantism in colonial America.

The Beginnings of the Counter-Reformation (1545)

By now, three strongholds of Protestantism had been established in Germany, Switzerland, and England.[4] For its part, the Roman Catholic faith remained entrenched throughout Italy, Spain, and Portugal. France was the most

[4] **The Anglican, German, and Swiss Reformations Compared**: The three main branches of the Reformation are characterized by the degree to which they depart from Romanism: the Anglicans are the closest, the Lutherans more moderating, and the Swiss more opposed. The Anglicans were the most conservative, at first differing from Rome only in that they rejected papal authority, though later, they adopted a more consciously Protestant theology. As for the Germans and the Swiss, a much deeper rift was already making itself felt on the level of doctrine. The former was more mystical in its piety (maintaining Christ's corporeal presence in the Eucharist), more tolerant of human traditions (accepting them if they were not contrary to Scripture), and placing its central emphasis on the doctrine of justification (i.e., man's need of God). The latter was more rationalizing in its piety (maintaining Christ's spiritual presence in the Eucharist), less tolerant of human traditions (rejecting traditions if they were not found in Scripture), and placing its central emphasis on the doctrine of predestination (i.e., God's sovereign election of man). At a practical level, the Germans did not attempt to foist external controls on the morality of individuals and gave greater autonomy to the state. The Swiss were noted for the severity of their moral discipline and sought to transform both the state as well as the church into the two arms of the Kingdom of God (a theocratic form of government pioneered by Calvin in Geneva and followed by the colonial Puritans in New England).

divided of all the states in Europe. Its people responded to the reformers ideas variously. Furthermore, the city of Geneva lay on the boundary between France and Switzerland, and this caused loyalties within its sphere of influence to be divided between Catholicism and Protestantism.[5] At any rate, the reformers' views were now thoroughly entrenched, and this naturally evoked a response of counter entrenchment.

Pope Paul III (1534 – 1549), the fourth man to hold papal office since the beginning of the Reformation, would become known as the leader of the Counter-Reformation. Near the beginning of his administration, he called for an official report on the areas of the church needing change, forthcoming in a document known as the *Consilia de Emendenda Ecclesia.* Over the next several years, he initiated three major programs of counter-reform: (1) first, the church formally accepted into its communion the religious order known as the Jesuits, an activist group bound by a special vow of obedience to papacy;[6] (2) second, the church established as a permanent feature of its curia the Roman Inquisition;[7] (3) and third, the church called for a general council to be held in the city of Trent, Italy (1545).

Although Trent is usually numbered as the nineteenth ecumenical council, it really amounted to an in-house discussion among Romanists. The papacy held supreme authority, and there were no representatives present from either Orthodox or Protestant expressions of Christianity. This in turn points to one of the main purposes of the council, which was to bolster the papacy's claim to being the one true church, a claim they chose to designate by the term "catholic". Those who rejected the decrees of the council were declared anathema, which in the language

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[5] **The French Reformation**: In France, the soil of the Reformation had already been prepared by the Renaissance. At the University of Paris, a humanist named Jacques Lefevre, already had anticipated some of the reformers ideas in his writings on Paul (1512) and had even produced a new translation of the New Testament into French (1523, later used by Calvin). Although a Roman Catholic, his theology and scholarship were effectual in making his countrymen more receptive to the ideas of Luther and Calvin. French Protestants were known as *Huguenots*, a term which may have had its origin in the earlier political history of the country. Whenever the French would ally themselves with the Swiss, their opponents called them *Eidgenossen* ("Confederates"). By transposing this word into a religious setting, a later version of it began to be used in reference to French Protestants, the perception being that they had treacherously aligned themselves with the religion of the Swiss. Persecution of the Huguenots peaked in 1534 under Francis I and again in 1547 under Henry II, causing large numbers of them to migrate to England.

[6] **The Jesuits**: About the time Calvin converted to Protestantism, a man named Ignatius of Loyola converted to Catholicism. Afterward, he authored his own manual of discipline and formed a religious order bound by extreme obedience to the papacy. This activist group became known as the Jesuits, or "the Society of Jesus". It subsequently acquired a reputation for its extreme devotion to papal authority and for its successful work of evangelism and education on behalf of the Roman Catholic Church. Perhaps its most energetic missionary was Francis Xavier, who established missions in Portugal, India, southeast Asia, China, and Japan (all by 1550).

[7] **The Roman Inquisition**: Although various inquisitions had been established on a local level throughout the Middle Ages, never before had the institution achieved recognition as a universal function of the church. Now, however, a charter with offices and men devoted to protecting orthodoxy and opposing heresy became a permanent feature of the hierarchy in Rome. The Roman Inquisition became the supervisory head of all the lesser inquisitions in Spain, Portugal, Mexico, and Peru. It would achieve its greatest notoriety for the condemnation of Galileo in 1633.

of the time would have been understood to mean excommunicated and damned. As we shall see, it was not one council but three, each having been called by a separate pope: the first was from 1545 – 1547 (coinciding with the death of Luther), the second was from 1551- 1552 (coinciding with the death of Bucer), and the third was from 1562 – 1563 (coinciding with the death of Calvin). In each stage, important measures were passed which would define the theology and practice of what has since become known as Roman Catholicism. Although the popular understanding within that tradition is that the council simply reaffirmed what had been believed all along, the historical record suggests that this was a time in which the church came to define itself in narrow opposition to Protestantism.

When Trent opened, it had just about twenty-five representatives (by the end, the number would increase to around two-hundred and fifty). One of the most important decisions of the council was to ground the doctrine of the church on the equal authority of both Scripture and tradition. In regards to Scripture, the council accepted the apocryphal books into the canon of Scripture,[8] established the Latin Vulgate as its authoritative translation,[9] and established as its authoritative interpreter the Roman Magisterium.[10] In regards to tradition, the council reaffirmed such practices as the veneration of relics, the saints, and especially Mary. But the greatest emphasis of the council was placed on the doctrine of salvation. The council carefully avoided any formulation which might lay it open the charge of full or partial Pelagianism. Nevertheless, it affirmed that justification was the result of a process of active cooperation between the sinner and grace, that one could never be certain of one's justification, and that one could forfeit its attainment through mortal sin. The council also affirmed that divine grace was

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[8] **The Apocrypha** are the books included among Greek (LXX) but not the Hebrew manuscripts of the Old Testament. Although these books were written by the Jews, they were written after the building of the second temple, a time when it was popularly believed that the spirit of prophecy had been quenched. As a result, even though they were widely read, they were never regarded as having the same degree of inspiration as their predecessors. Traditionally numbered as seven, they include I and II Maccabees, Judith, Tobit, Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom of Solomon, and Baruch (along with expansions to the books of Daniel, Esther, and Jeremiah).

[9] **The Vulgate**: The Vulgate, or "Common Version", was produced by Jerome in the 4th century. At the time, it was so named because it was presented as a vernacular translation for the people. Ironically, its acceptance as the official version of the church was precisely in reaction against the proliferation of such vernacular translations. Although this did much to safeguard the tradition of the church, it discouraged any interest in recovering older forms of the text, acquiring knowledge of the original languages, or even translating the text into a language that people could understand. As a result, the Bible became more an icon to be revered than a book to be understood by the adherents of Roman Catholicism.

[10] **The Roman Magisterium**: The magisterium refers to that office of the church whereby it hands down authoritative teaching. In effect, it means that the institutional church alone has the final authority when it comes to questions about the proper interpretation of Scripture. The highest seat of authority is that of the pope, followed by that of the councils, then the bishops, theologians, and priests. The advantage of this approach is that it provides doctrinal unity among its members. The disadvantage of this approach is that it serves as a hindrance to doctrinal correction and/or progress. It was an ominous sign of things to come that only two years before the calling of the council, a little book was published by Copernicus entitled *On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Spheres*. While on its initial release the heliocentric theory had met with interest, in the years to come it would become entangled in the ongoing battle over religious authority.

mediated to the individual through the seven sacraments, all of which were regarded as inherently efficacious: (1) in regards to infant baptism, no decrees were forthcoming; (2) likewise, in regards to confirmation, no decrees were forthcoming; (3) in regards to marriage, however, clerical celibacy was reaffirmed, and the validity of marriage was made dependent on priestly officiation; (4) in regards to ordination, the idea of a priesthood of believers was rejected and the authority to appoint clergy was given wholly to the church; (5) in regards to the anointing of those near death, the practice was affirmed as important for removing remnant sins, and therefore as a part of the larger penal system of atonement; (6) in regards to penance, the idea of purgatory was reaffirmed along with the accompanying practice of granting indulgences (though a number of restrictions were added at this point to prevent abuses); (7) the greatest attention was given to the sacrament of communion, namely, that it was a genuine sacrifice, that the elements were literally transubstantiated into blood and flesh, and that the mass was offered for both the living and the dead. A final matter of concern for the council was to control the spread of information about its proceedings. In those territories which recognized its authority, it became illegal to print independent commentary on the decisions of the council. Instead, official versions of the council's decisions were printed bearing the papal imprimatur. As a further measure, booksellers were required to provide lists of the books they were vending, and the church began putting some of these on a list of prohibited books, eventually known as the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*.[11]

The Reformation Advances on the Continent and on the Isles

Trent's resolutions naturally called forth a strong reaction from their opponents. The first of these came in just a few short months from the pen of John Calvin,[12] but death precluded the possibility of a similar response from Martin Luther. In fact, the latter's successors would not produce any response for twenty years,[13] in

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[1111] ***Index Librorum Prohibitorum***: The notorious list of prohibited books was active from 1559 to 1966 (i.e., until Vatican II). Naturally, the first books to be included in this list were those of the reformers, but other examples included certain copies of the Bible, the Koran, the Talmud, and controversial writings of the day by authors like Aretino, Boccaccio, Pulci, Rabelais, Machiavelli, Petrarch, Dante, and, alas, Erasmus. Some of the most famous writers to appear on the list over the years were Giordano Bruno, Johanne Kepler, Rene Descartes, Blaise Pascal, Immanuel Kant, Voltaire, Rousseau, de Sade, Victor Hugo, and others.

[12] ***Acts of the Council of Trent, with the Antidote*** (1547): In this work, John Calvin responds to the first session of the Council of Trent. His most basic charge is that that council is not free, impartial, or ecumenical. Furthermore, he asserts that the representatives are nothing more than minions of the pope, distinguished for neither piety nor learning. Nevertheless, he takes up each decree singly, stating them in their own terms, and then subjecting them to his very capable criticism.

[13] ***Examination of the Council of Trent*** (1565): In this work, Martin Chemnitz, the third in line after Melanchthon and Luther, provided what would for a long time be the standard work on all three sessions of the council.

large part due to the momentous events that were shortly to occur on the European Continent, followed by equally important developments in the British Isles.

On the Continent, the papacy began sending Jesuits into Germany. The emperor had designs of his own. Charles V had spent his entire career fighting the religious growth that was now found in every corner of the west. He had been charged with carrying out the papal decree *Exsurge Domine*, had heard the reformer's famous speech at the Diet of Worms, and had been present at the reading of the Augsburg Confession. Now, at last, he made a violent attempt to squash the movement through force of arms. After amassing an army of over fifty thousand troops, he marched into Germany in the summer of 1546.

On the British Isles, the House of Tudor had become famous for bringing to an end the thirty years of dynastic conflict between the Yorks and Lancasters known as the War of the Roses. This transpired on the momentous occasion when Henry VII defeated Richard III at the Battle of Bosworth Field in 1485. The Reformation began during the reign of his son, Henry VIII, whose conservativism initially inclined him to Catholicism, but whose desire for a marriage annulment eventually compelled him to embrace Protestantism. Nevertheless, he left the church in a very unsatisfactory position, which could only be described as *de jure* Protestant but *de facto* Catholic. The task of reforming the church passed to his successor. But who would his successor be? Over the term of his six marriages, he had managed to produce three children, Mary I (by his first wife, Catherine of Aragon), Elizabeth I (by his second wife, Anne Boleyn), and Edward VI (by his third wife, Jane Seymour). The crown naturally fell to his son, who was nine years old at the time, and who was therefore only able to rule with the assistance of a council of sixteen regents. Nevertheless, he had been raised a Protestant, and he was now under the protection of his uncle, who was also Protestant. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, declared him a second Josiah, and encouraged him to follow the example of the biblical boy-king by completing the reformation of England. The archbishop's advice was quickly put into practice following his accession to the throne in the year 1547.

The German Reformation after Luther (1546 – 1555)

Martin Luther had only been dead a couple months when the emperor's armies began to amass on the borders of his homeland. The German reformers who picked up his mantle immediately found themselves plunged into a military conflict. The battle was between the local militia of the Schmalkaldic League and the imperial forces of the Holy Roman Empire. Known as the Schmalkaldic War, it proved an embarrassing defeat for the home team. The emperor succeeded in buying off the loyalty of one of the princes, and the rest who remained faithful proved unable to cooperate with each another. In less than a year, the empire defeated the rebels at the Battle of Muhlberg in 1547.

The battle was followed by predictable measures. In *The Capitulation of Wittenberg*, the rightful Elector of Saxony, John Frederick, was thrown into prison and his position given over to the treacherous Duke of Saxony Maurice (1547). Charles V then instituted what has become known as the *Augsburg Interim*, a program designed to prepare for the reintegration of Protestants into Roman Catholicism (1548). The program required that the rebels readopt their traditional beliefs, except for the idea that the mass was a sacrifice. It also required them to readopt their traditional practices, though it granted the laity the right to receive communion in both kinds and the clerics the right to marry. Like most political leaders, the emperor was simply unable to understand the depth of the issues involved. His proposal was resisted alike by both Protestants and Catholics. Still, it had the force of law, and pastors who did not submit to it were deposed (e.g., Martin Bucer, who fled to England in 1549), while cities which did not submit to it were attacked (e.g., Magdeburg to which siege was laid in 1550).

Although Philip Melanchthon also rejected the terms of the *Interim*, he proposed a revised version of them to the emperor, hoping thereby to establish peace for both sides. The document he drew up is unique in the history of theology, attempting to combine a Protestant understanding of salvation with Catholic sacramental practices, subsequently known as the *Leipzig Interim*. His basis for attempting such a compromise lay in the distinction he drew between what we today would call primary and secondary doctrine, the latter of which he referred to as *adiaphora*, or "things indifferent". This document sparked what has since become known as the Adiaphoristic Controversy, in which those who supported it were dubbed "Philippists" and those who opposed called themselves the "Gnesio-Lutherans" (i.e., Authentic Lutherans). The Philippists drew heavy fire for their concessions to the Swiss in regards to the Eucharist (whereby they were suspicioned of crypto-Calvinism) and their concessions to Rome in regards to the synergism between faith and good works (whereby they were suspicioned of crypto-Catholicism). John Calvin even became involved in the dispute, producing a public attack on the interim as well as a personal letter of rebuke to his friend Melanchthon. In that letter, he argues that his friend had overextended the idea of secondary doctrine and gives unguarded expression to his alarm at their inability to present a united front: *For you see how the eyes of many are turned upon us, so that the wicked take occasion from our dissensions to speak evil, and the weak are only perplexed by our unintelligible disputations. Nor in truth, is it of little importance to prevent the suspicion of any difference having arisen between us from being handed down in any way to posterity; for it is worse than absurd that parties should be found disagreeing on the very principles after we have been compelled to make our departure from the world. I know and confess, moreover, that we occupy widely different positions; still, because I am not ignorant of the place in his theatre to which God has elevated me, there is no reason for my*

concealing that our friendship could not be interrupted without great injury to the Church (July 18, 1550).

The *Interim* came very near to bringing ruin on German Protestantism. Strange to say, the movement was saved by the very man who had betrayed it in the first place, Maurice of Saxony. He had sided with the emperor in the Schmalkaldic War and was now currently involved in laying siege to the insubordinate city of Magdeburg. As later developments would reveal, however, he had been deliberately protracting the siege in order to buy enough time to raise an army and enter into a political alliance with the French king. To be sure, Henry II was no friend of the Reformation. But while he was committed to burning heretics in his own lands, he was not averse to helping them thrive in the lands of his enemies. Together, Maurice and Henry mobilized their armies, stirred up the rebels, and drove the emperor out of their lands (1552). Henry acquired a considerable number of territories in the process. Maurice therefore broke off his treaty with France and struck up a new one with Germany (this time not with Charles V, but with his brother Ferdinand I). In this way, he was able to negotiate for the lifting of the *Interim* in a treaty known as the *Peace of Passau* (1552). In just a few short years, the faith of the reformers would at last achieve legal recognition in the empire with the *Peace of Augsburg* (1555). A principle was adopted known as *cuius regio eius religio* ("whose realm, his religion"). On the basis of this principle, the Holy Roman Empire was now officially divided into two camps, one Catholic and one Protestant (citizens who did not identify with the religion of a given realm were free to relocate). Nevertheless, it is important to understand the limited significance of this document: while it marked the victory of the reform movement within Germany, it did nothing for the legal status of the Swiss, and certainly not for the more radical Anabaptists. Although political protection was afforded to John Calvin in the city of Geneva via the Swiss Confederacy, his followers were persecuted in France, unwelcome in Germany, and at best tolerated in England. As for the Anabaptists, they were persecuted in every corner of the west, and this naturally drove them to the east where they eventually settled in the lands in and around Moravia. This shows that the reformers were not above denying to others the liberties they had only recently acquired for themselves. Indeed, it would take a very long time before there would be any widespread advocacy for what we today would call "religious tolerance".[14]

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[14] **On Religious Intolerance**: Of all forms of persecution, religious persecution is the worst because it is done in the name of God. Nevertheless, religious intolerance had for many centuries become the norm within the medieval system of church and state. Those who did not subscribe at least nominally to the religion of the state were at best ignored and at worst denied rights to life, liberty, and property. To be sure, the practice was in many cases maintained not as much out of hatred for one's fellow man as out of the mistaken impression that the church ought to be modeled after the kind of theocracy found in ancient Israel. The New Testament, however, nowhere offers even meagre support for the practice, the earliest believers being the victims rather than the perpetrators of violence. In the early patristic period, the practice was not even possible since the Christian religion was outlawed. Its origins

The English Reformation after Henry VIII (1547 - 1553)

Although Edward VI was king, he was only a boy. It is therefore to the archbishop Thomas Cranmer that we must credit many of the projects of reform. He, in turn, was heavily influenced by the refugee Martin Bucer, originally a member of the German Reformation, but also deeply influenced by the Swish Reformation, and now a major force in the English Reformation. Together, all three sought to revise the doctrinal beliefs, ecclesiastical laws, and liturgical worship of the Anglican Church (sometimes referred to as the Edwardine Injunctions).

Upon the accession of the new king, the archbishop undertook a visitation of all the churches throughout England. In that visitation, he provided the bishops with a document containing twelve sermons expounding the most fundamental doctrines of the Reformation, often referred to as the *First Book of Homilies* (1547). These sermons were to be read in the vernacular at the weekly service, and they incorporated the reformers' teaching about faith and justification, and they opposed works based sacramentalism (advocating the spiritual understanding of the Eucharist). Their subjects were: (1) the reading of Scripture; (2) the misery of mankind; (3) the salvation of mankind; (4) faith; (5) good works; (6) Christian love; (7) swearing and perjury; (8) falling away; (9) death; (10) obedience; (11) prostitution and adultery; (12) strife and contention.

At a practical level, the churches were to lift the ban on clerical marriage and abolish images, priestly vestments, processions, offerings for the dead, etc. The archbishop also sought to reform the liturgy, the fruit of which was the first edition of the *Book of Common Prayer* (1549). Hitherto, the rites of the church had been divided into separate manuals, varied with local custom, and drew from the rites of Rome. Henceforth, the rites of the church were to be contained in a single volume, uniform in their language, and incorporating ideas taken from the Reformation. As a further measure, the new prayer book was established as the sole legal form of worship in the realm by the *Act of Uniformity*. The local magistrates were to instructed to enforce this act by punishing illegal worship with fines, deposition,

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must be traced rather to the era of Constantine, and especially the first council of Nicaea, after which the tools of deposition, banishment, and imprisonment were used against the heresy of Arianism (325 AD). In the reign of Theodosius, penal legislation against heresy was passed into law, inclusive of the death penalty (379 AD). Advocates of the practice included such notables as Augustine and Aquinas. Opponents of the practice included such notables as Ambrose of Milan and Martin of Tours. Among the reformers, attitudes about this issue are most evident in their treatment of the Anabaptists. Bucer, alone, gave them sanctuary. Luther believed they ought to be banished, though he reserved the death penalty for political rebels. Calvin was the most severe in approving of violent measures. In fact, the only unqualified advocates of religious tolerance at this early period were the Anabaptists (later followed by the Socinians, Arminians, Quakers, Presbyterians, and Latitudinarians). The most infamous case of religious intolerance from this period was that involving the Spanish radical Michael Servetus. Because of his very public advocacy of a pantheistic and non-Trinitarian form of Christianity, he was burnt at the stake by the order of John Calvin, but also with the approval of leading Catholics and Protestants (Geneva, 1553).

and imprisonment (in some cases, imprisonment for life). The sweeping manner in which this was done generated hostility, especially in those territories where there were already grievances against institutional over-reach, leading to what has become known as the Prayer Book Rebellion. Within a month, a whole series of uprisings broke out among the peasantry, the most famous being Kett's Rebellion, but others without names in Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, and Norfolk. In hindsight it became known as "the year of the many-headed monster." The rebels were forcibly suppressed, but the regency of Duke Seymour of Somerset (aka "the good duke") was replaced by that of John Dudley Duke of Northumberland (aka "the wicked duke"). As the nicknames of the two dukes suggest, the change in the king's regency would not be without political effect.

After the rebellion, a steady stream of reforming activity followed. As influential divines raised criticisms about their first efforts at change, secondary revisions were introduced that wrought change upon change. During this period, the archbishop remained under the influence of the German Reformation through Martin Bucer, but came increasingly under the influence of the Swiss Reformation through Peter Martyr, John Hooper, and John Knox.[15] Through their suggestions, he continued to revise the prayer book, attempted to re-write the canon of ecclesiastical law (the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*), and successfully produced the first official statement of doctrine for the church (the *42 Articles*). The *Book of Common Prayer* (1552) removed all references to the sacrifice of the mass and added to the recitation of the commandments the phrase "Lord, have mercy." The rites of consecration were rendered serviceable for public communion alone, and ritual gestures and vestments were removed. The daily office was reduced to morning and evening prayers, and each was preceded by a statement of general confession and absolution. The requiem was dropped, which meant no intercessory prayers for the dead, and also that burial services would henceforth be conducted at the gravesite. In spite of these improvements, a point that would prove controversial in the days to come was the baptismal formula, which solemnly pronounced the infant "regenerate". The *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* (1552) was intended to provide a new standard for church government. It was hoped that a general council might be convened in which the leading reformers of the day could establish a single system that would unite

[15] **John Knox** was a clergyman who had just arrived from Scotland in 1549. In the years prior, he converted to Protestantism under the influence of travelling theologians who were proponents of the Swiss Reformation. Although he attempted to teach these ideas while serving as a preacher at St. Andrews, the royal administration was seeking independence from England, and therefore advocacy of Roman Catholicism. Although Mary, the Stuart Queen of Scots, was just a girl, her regent James Hamilton and her mother Mary of Guise had already begun actively persecuting Protestants. Knox found himself exiled to England, but immediately acquired a post as royal chaplain. His travels would take him to all three centers of the reformed faith: England, Switzerland, and Germany. Eventually, however, he would return to Scotland, where he would become the primary founder of the Scottish "Kirk" (see below).

Protestants. Although invitations were extended, the journey proved impractical for Melanchthon, Bullinger, and Calvin. The archbishop was therefore compelled to produce his own revision of canon law, a project which he completed but which was ultimately rejected by the House of Lords. As for the *42 Articles* (1553), these were intended to provide a new standard for church doctrine. They were partly drawn from the archbishop's earlier homilies, but also from the wide range of men who were influencing him. When at last they were made public, they met with the approval of the king but were still unpopular with a great many of the bishops. Although it was the archbishop's task to procure subscription to the articles from his clergymen, a sudden change in the winds of politics would prevent their ever actually being adopted. The young king had grown ill, and his untimely death would precipitate the reign of a queen whose zealous persecution of Protestantism would win for her the title "Bloody Mary."

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From the Continent to the Isles

In the initial chapter, we explored the birth of the Reformation. We also saw it spread from Germany to Switzerland to England. Three major cities had now become the hub of cultural change in the civilized world: Wittenberg, Geneva, and Canterbury.

Here, it will be convenient to draw a distinction between what was happening on the continent and what was happening on the British Isles. Although both were parts of Europe, they were separated by more than just the English Channel. The Reformation proceeded differently on the mainland than it did on the isles, and what was said of the biblical patriarchs of old proved equally true here: the older would serve the younger.

Nevertheless, to proceed in an orderly fashion, we will begin with the continent. Since the German Reformation was the older son, it had more time to grow, and by now it had penetrated into Iceland, the Baltic countries of Estonia and Latvia, and the Scandinavian countries of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. Although the Swiss Reformation was the younger son, it was by far the more persuasive of the two, in no small part due to the clarity, economy, and consistency of its theology. John Calvin was largely responsible for this, but while his gift for presenting the gospel won assent in the minds of men, it did nothing to sway the governments of their overlords. Theirs would be a story of continual persecution, not only in Catholic countries like France and the Netherlands, but also in Protestant countries like Germany and England.

On the Continent

Charles V had spent his entire life trying to consolidate his empire and arrest the teachings of the reformers. Having failed on both fronts, he stepped down from the throne, retired to a monastery, and divided the empire among his relatives. He gave his eldest son Philip II the Spanish half of the empire (which also included territories in Italy, the Netherlands, and the New World). He gave his brother Ferdinand I the Austrian half of the empire (which also included territories in Germany, Bohemia, and Hungary). All this took place around the year 1555.

Spain already had a long history of zealous intolerance for heretics. True to form, it was successful in promoting Catholicism and suppressing Protestantism. The task was not easy, however, especially when dealing with educated scholars and clergy. A number of writers attest to the existence of underground churches and suggest that their influence would have spread very quickly had not the authorities been so vigilant in snuffing it out by means of the prison, the rack, and the flame. In fact, the new emperor pursued these methods so aggressively that within just fifteen years he had successfully uprooted every trace of outside reform (though his reign was not without the traces of inward reform).[16] Nevertheless, he would have a harder time holding onto his more remote acquisitions, for example the Netherlands and the New World.

Austria was the homeland of the Hapsburg Dynasty, and therefore, the center of the Holy Roman Empire (that is, ever since the imperial crown passed from the family of Charlemagne to that of Otto). Nevertheless, it was also situated near the heartland of the Reformation, and although officially Catholic, the majority of its people were by now thoroughly Protestant. Its new emperor, Ferdinand, was himself the primary architect of the Peace of Augsburg, the document which had granted legal recognition to both Protestants and Catholics. Unlike his nephew, he was more moved by the demands of moral justice than those of religious uniformity. His was a reign marked by religious tolerance, but he nevertheless sought by peaceful means to encourage his subjects to remain faithful to the Church of Rome. His favorite motto was: *Let justice be done, though the whole world perish*.

The Battle for Lutheran Orthodoxy (1555 – 1580)

The Peace of Augsburg is usually taken to mark the end of the reformation period in Germany. The treaty recognized the right of rulers to organize their territories under whatever religion they deemed appropriate, whether Protestant or Catholic. As a result, armed conflict did not arise between the various state for over a half century (i.e., from 1555 to 1618).

Thus began a period of consolidation for the established Lutheran Church. Unfortunately, it was still very much divided over the issues that had arisen in the Adiaphoristic Controversy. The progressive wing followed Melanchthon's

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[16] **The Revival of Carmelite Mysticism** was one of the most important events of this period. This monastic order was specifically devoted to the practice of contemplative prayer, and one of several instituted during the Crusades (Mt. Carmel, Palestine in the 13th century). In Spain, this order became the fountainhead of a new wave of teaching, according to which mystical experience could be enjoyed by the ordinary layperson who strove to incorporate contemplative prayer into the ordinary circumstances of everyday life. At a time when the official church was suspicious of anything not under its formal control, it furnished a basis for individuals to pursue a free interior life of piety. It also produced an impressive array of what are now recognized as classics of mystical literature: e.g., St. Teresa of Avila's *The Interior Castle*, St. John of the Cross' *The Dark Night of the Soul*, and Brother Lawrence's *Practicing the Presence of God*.

spiritual interpretation of communion and synergistic view of salvation (called the "Philippists"). The conservative wing followed Luther's corporeal interpretation of communion and monergistic view of salvation (called the "Gnesio-Lutherans"). Melanchthon had been trying to broaden the horizons of his native church by bringing it into communion with other Protestants, Roman Catholics and even the Greek Orthodox (he went so far as to engage in a literary correspondence with the Patriarch of Constantinople). Unfortunately, his efforts met with stiff resistance, and the final years of his life were beset by opposition from within and without. His moderate views were regarded by many as a betrayal of the spirit of his master, and he was suspected of being a closet Calvinist or Romanist. A large number of theologians gathered to publicly express opposition to his views (Weimar, 1556). In the following year, his inability to agree with the other reformers was exposed to public ridicule at an inter-religious dialogue between Protestants and Catholics (Worms, 1557). In the wake of this event, a large number of people turned back to Roman Catholicism, encouraged by the missionary activity of the Jesuits and one of particular ability named Peter Canisius.

Melanchthon died shortly after these unhappy events. In his final prayers, he pleaded for the unity of the church and gave thanks that he was at last free from the "fury of the theologians" (1560). Nevertheless, in spite of all the opposition, a collection of his writings began to circulate throughout Germany known as the *Corpus Philippicum*. These, in turn, began to gain important political advocates in a number of territories, the most important of which was the Palatinate. Governor Frederick III, although officially a Lutheran, had secretly converted to Calvinism. Almost immediately, he began to reform the churches in his area, stripping them of their images, vestments, and rituals. Most importantly, he commissioned the production of a new catechism, hoping that it would placate the Lutherans (by side-stepping the doctrine of divine election) and the Calvinists (by side-stepping the doctrine of the corporeal presence). This resulted in the production of what has become the most widely used catechism of the Reformation, the *Heidelberg Catechism* (1563). Nevertheless, the non-committal position of this work on the aforementioned issues drew heavy fire from all sides. It was rightly perceived as an attempt to admit the influence of the Swiss Reformation, a movement that was not legally recognized within the Holy Roman Empire. As such, it was opposed by all the most important representatives of the German Reformation, who by now were thoroughly entrenched against any form of outside influence. The stage was set for a conservative backlash.

Predictably, this backlash coincided with the turnover of political leadership in the country (ca. 1575). The conservative party was successful in proving that there had been a deliberate and sustained attempt by influential pastors and teachers to Calvinize Germany. As well meant as this attempt may have been, it was contrary to law and this gave its opponents all they needed to secure the

imprisonment of a large number of people on the grounds of "Crypto-Calvinism". Now having secured the backing of the state, they set about producing an official statement of doctrine that would fortify the traditions handed down by Luther against the innovations introduced by Melanchthon. The document was commissioned by the state and drew upon the learning of many theologians, the most important of which was Martin Chemitz. Widely regarded as the preeminent defender of orthodox Lutheranism, he is also known as "the Second Martin". He was the most important voice in the drafting of the *Formula of Concord*, a document which sought to provide an authorized interpretation of the Augsburg Confession (1577). This, in turn, was later incorporated into a much larger work called the *Book of Concord*, a massive collection of doctrine including the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, the Athanasian Creed, the Augsburg Confession, the Apology for the Augsburg Confession, the Smaller and Larger Catechisms, the Treatise on the Power and Primacy of the Pope, the Schmalkald Articles, and finally, the aforementioned Formula of Concord (1580). The appearance of these works marks the beginning of a period known as "the Lutheran Orthodoxy" (i.e., from 1580 to the German Enlightenment). Although it succeeded in ending the dispute over the legacy of Luther, it is difficult to avoid the impression that what began as the outgrowth of a dynamic spiritual experience had now degenerated into a tome of static dogmas. As with all such movements it generated a reaction, and from this point forward we can observe the emergence of two broad trends within Lutheranism: (1) one which emphasized practical piety and found an early exponent in the writings of Johann Arndt (1555 – 1621); (2) and another which continued the struggle for right doctrine and found its greatest exponent in the writings of Johann Gerard (1582 – 1637).

The International Influence of Calvinism (1555 - 1598)

In the foregoing, we have seen that there was an ongoing struggle to formulate clear doctrine among the members of the German Reformation. This stood in stark contrast to the virtual unanimity of opinion found among the members of the Swiss Reformation. It's no accident therefore that when people were ready to embrace reform, they were increasingly drawn to the clear thinking of John Calvin over the rumbling thunder of Martin Luther. Calvin's final years would prove his most successful, being marked by the departure of his opponents and the unconditional acceptance of his authority at Geneva from 1555 – 1564. During this fruitful period, he devoted much attention to the reformation of his homeland in France, and afterward the international influence of his teachings reached such a pitch as to nearly absorb the efforts at reformation in Germany (see the crypto-Calvinist movement above) and England (see the Puritan movement below).

In Eastern Europe, Calvinism enjoyed some small success in Bohemia,[17] more in Hungary,[18] but most of all in Poland (which at this time included Lithuania). Poland was a large independent kingdom wedged between the Holy Roman Empire in the west and the Ottoman Empire in the east. Unique for its time, the government found it expedient to adopt a policy of religious liberty, largely because of the ethnic diversity of its subjects. Although the state was officially Roman Catholic, it provided a home for the Russian Orthodox and also welcomed the arrival of Protestants (whether Hussite, Lutheran, or Calvinist). In view of its tolerant attitude, it served as an ideal homeland for marginalized religious groups, including Muslims, Jews,[19] and Socinians (i.e., the group now referred to as Unitarian).[20] In spite of all this diversity, the religion of choice among the upper classes was that of Calvin (arguably because it gave the lay nobility greater ecclesiastical power). The religion of choice among the peasantry was that of Catholicism (arguably because it gave the lay nobility less ecclesiastical power). In the years to come, the battle would be won by the latter, largely due to the efforts of the Jesuits.

In Western Europe, Calvinism's successes would exhibit greater staying power. The first of these was in the Netherlands, from which we derive the label "Dutch Calvinist". This is hardly surprising considering the fact that it was the homeland of such independent spirits as Gerhard Groot, Thomas a Kempis, and Desiderius Erasmus. We may also recall that it boasted the first martyrs of Lutheranism, the monks Henry Boes and John Esch (burned at the stake in Brussels in 1523). From that moment forward, however, the spread of reformation ideas was ruthlessly suppressed by Emperor Charles V (though the precise number of those martyred is not really known). After Philip II took the throne, he adopted

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[17] **Bohemia** is an old name for the lands ruled from Prague, occupied by the western Slavs or "Czechs", and encompassing Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia. It was the homeland of the oldest reform movement led by Jan Hus (1369 – 1450). Although it welcomed Lutherans, Calvinists, and Anabaptists, the region remained predominately Hussite. While technically part of the Holy Roman Empire, it was only 10% Catholic and about 90% Protestant. Later, when efforts to enforce the established religion began to reappear, the traditional religion would seek refuge in the eastern half of the country, known as Moravia. From there, they would derive the name that has stuck with them ever since, "The Moravians."

[18] **Hungary** lay on the extreme borderland of the empire. Rule of the region was divided between the empire, the indigenous Huns and the Muslim Turks. As a result, the region enjoyed a relative degree of religious tolerance, its rulers not wanting to take political risks by alienating the peoples living within their domain. Nevertheless, in all three of its political divisions, the land became largely Protestant, the Lutheran faith being confined to the towns of the German settlers, and the Calvinist faith being more popular among the native Magyars.

[19] **Ashkenazi Jews** are those who settled in the region of the Holy Roman Empire and who spoke the dialect known as Yiddish. By the 16th century, nearly all of them had settled in Poland, which then boasted the largest concentration of Jews throughout Europe.

[20] **The Unitarian Church** was founded by Faustus Socinus in Poland in 1565. Although the group called themselves the Polish Brethren, they were known by their enemies as Socinians (or sometimes more offensively as "Arians"). This religious group was marked by a strong tendency toward theism, but remained skeptical about certain historical doctrines of the church, such as original sin, the need for sacrificial atonement, and the Trinity. In many ways, it was a precursor of the deistic approach to religion that would become fashionable during the Enlightenment. Because its adherents denied the doctrine of the Trinity, they were later referred to as "Unitarians".

the philosophy of Rehoboam: "My father scourged you with whips; I will scourge you with scorpions" (I Kgs. 12:11). Although protest came in the form of apologetic efforts (i.e., Guido de Bres' Belgic Confession of 1561),[21] it was only by more violent means that religious freedom would ultimately prevail (i.e., William of Orange's Dutch Revolt of 1568). Sometimes called the Eighty Years' War, it was the first successful war of independence in Europe. Although the conflict drew on for a long time, within ten years it had successfully established a republican form of government (1581). Now in possession of a Bible, a confession, and political independence, the religion of the state became that of Calvinism.

John Calvin's most important mission was to his fellow Huguenots in France. A symbol of the Middle Ages, it had for a thousand years been the homeland of the imperial aspirations of Charlemagne, and was therefore accounted the most distinguished possession of the Roman Church. Up to now, open advocacy of reform had been held in check by persecution, but in secret it was continuing to win large numbers of people (including influential nobles, such as the House of Bourbon). In fact, the tide of public support grew so strong that advocates were emboldened to openly establish a church for the Huguenots (Paris, 1555). It was in response to the needs of this church that John Calvin was employed to write the French Confession of Faith (1559). Now, with a large number of people in open defiance of the crown, a tremendous amount of tension began to build between the factions of Protestantism and Catholicism. A prophet who had recently been invited to deliver oracles to the royal court was making vague pronouncements about imminent disaster. Although his oracles were met with justifiable skepticism, when he successively predicted the unusual events surrounding the death of the king, the name on everyone's lips was that of "Nostradamus". As the king's successor was only a teenager, the government came under the control of his advisors, who just so happened to be a group of ultra-conservatives known as the House of Guise (a powerful noble family, claiming descent from Charlemagne, and with designs on the crowns of both France and Scotland). Those who hoped the new administration might occasion a change in religious policy were sorely disappointed, and a plot was hatched to sue for their demands by abducting the young king (the Amboise Conspiracy of 1560). This was followed by a series of an unsuccessful attempts at reconciliation, and war eventually broke after royal officials slaughtered sixty-three unarmed Huguenot worshippers in the notorious Massacre of Vassy (1562). Thus began the French

[21] **The Belgic Confession** is to this day regarded by many as the doctrinal standard of the Reformed Church. Although its author is not otherwise well known, he was a student of Theodore Beza and heavily influenced by John Calvin's French Confession of Faith (see below). The use of this confession as a standard of orthodoxy is largely due to the fact that it was the first to achieve legal recognition by any state and was later used as a bulwark against the doctrines of Jacob Arminius.

Wars of Religion, a very bloody conflict which waxed and waned for over thirty years (from 1562 to 1598). John Calvin had disapproved of any attempt to advance the cause of reform through violence, and he died shortly after its outbreak (1564). Michel de Montaigne was by far the most distinguished individual to have lived through the conflict, throughout the course of which he wrote his *Essays* (beginning in 1570).[22] A full account of the war lies beyond the scope of the presence chapter, but two events are worthy of special mention: (1) the killing of thousands of men, women, and children in the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre (widely regarded as having broken the moral authority of the conservative party, 1572); (2) and the final victory of religious freedom in the Edict of Nantes (after the passing of the crown to the house of Bourbon, 1598). The state was still officially Catholic, but it granted legal recognition to Protestantism.

On the Isles (1553 - 1603)

The English Reformation is forever associated with the Tudors. It was reluctantly inaugurated by Henry VIII. It was enthusiastically embraced by his son Edmund VI, and it began to take definite shape under the leadership of the archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Cranmer.

After the king had fallen ill, questions were raised about his successor. In order to ensure the continuance of his religious reforms, he willed that the crown be passed to his first cousin, Lady Jane Grey (thereby disinheriting his half-sister Mary). After his death, a lot of political maneuvering took place that is difficult to unravel, but it ended with the denial of the king's wishes and the passing of the crown to Mary I (the traditional theory being that her accession was secured by the machinations of the "evil" Duke of Northumberland). Charges of treason followed, along with a series of executions, and most notably that of Lady Jane Grey.

Hitherto, Queen Mary I had professed to accept the new reforms. Even after taking office, she asserted that no one would be compelled to change their religion. But she was already by this time in secret communication with the papacy. The public was alarmed when she began to openly court relations with the Spanish, accepting marriage into their royal house and employing them in her cabinet. She also granted a position to the papal legate cardinal Reginald Pole, appointing him

[22] **Michel de Montaigne** was born to a wealthy family in France in 1533. The recipient of a humanist education, he served as both a lawyer as well as a magistrate, but eventually retired from public life to his chateau in 1571. Today, his reputation rests primarily on a philosophical work he produced while in retirement, the aforementioned *Essays*. The fundamental thesis of his work was to proceed from an honest examination of himself to a better understanding of the world. In the process, he explores a number of values that would become increasingly important for the modern outlook, such as pragmatism, skepticism, and tolerance.

as the new archbishop of Canterbury. The kingdom was poised for a return to Roman Catholicism.

The Reign of Bloody Mary (1553 - 1558)

Mary I immediately set to work. She abolished the religious laws of the previous administration, reinstituted Romanism, and imprisoned leaders like Thomas Cranmer. Most importantly, the medieval laws against heresy were revived, and this enabled her administration to proceed with what would henceforth be known as the Marian Persecutions. A large number of reformers left the isles for the mainland, most notably John Fox, who would later compile accounts of the atrocities that followed in his famous *Book of Martyrs*. For her part, the queen declared to parliament that she had been predestined and preserved by God to the succession of the crown for no other end save that he might make use of her above all else in the bringing back of the realm to the Catholic faith.

The first public execution took place in London in the year 1555. It involved the burning of a clergyman named John Rogers, an event that would be vividly recounted in the aforementioned work by John Fox. When asked if he would recant his views, he replied, "That which I have preached I will seal with my blood." When it was asserted that he was a heretic, he said that such would be determined on the Day of Judgment. When it was said that the saints would never offer up prayers for him, he asserted that he would nevertheless offer up prayers for them: *And there in the presence of a great number of people, he was burnt to ashes, washing his hands in the flame as he was burning. A little before his burning, his pardon was brought, if he would have recanted; but he utterly refused it. He was the first martyr of all the blessed company that suffered in Queen Mary's time that gave the first adventure upon the fire. His wife and children, being eleven in number, ten able to go, and one sucking at her breast, met him by the way, as he went towards Smithfield. This sorrowful sight of his own flesh and blood could nothing move him, but that he constantly and cheerfully took his death with wonderful patience, in the defense and quarrel of the Gospel of Christ.*

A series of martyrdoms followed in quick succession. The most notable, however, was undoubtedly that of the former archbishop, Thomas Cranmer. After being forced to watch the public burning of his colleagues, he was overcome by fear and made multiple recantations of his beliefs in writing. The authorities remained unconvinced, and the day of his execution was set to occur at Oxford in March of 1556 (a violation of canon law, which asserted that recanting heretics were to be spared). When at last his final hour came, he repented of his cowardice, vowing: *Forasmuch as my hand has offended in writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be burned*. And indeed, it was observed that when the stake was lit, he stretched forth his hand into the flames and exclaimed: *That unworthy hand. Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.* It had been hoped that the recanting of his beliefs

would injure the spirit of reform, but the sight of his repentance advanced it all the more. That same year, hundreds of other believers ascended the scaffold to give their lives, and but the martyrdoms served only to stoke the fire of popular sympathy for the Reformation. As one advisor remarked to the queen: *You have lost the hearts of twenty thousand that were rank papists within these twelve months*.

Happily, the reign of the queen was not destined to last. Try as she might, she was unable to produce an heir (a fact she regarded as divine punishment for allowing heretics to dwell in her lands). On the other hand, she became sick with influenza (a sickness which reached epidemic proportions that year). After her death, the crown passed to her virgin half-sister Elizabeth. In the meantime, one important consequence of this brief reign of terror had been the migration of a large number of scholars to John Calvin's Geneva. This had a twofold consequence, the smaller of which was the influence of the English on the Swiss Reformation, but the larger of which was the influence of the Swiss on the English Reformation. The most immediate result of this moment of cross-fertilization was the production of what would later become known as the Geneva Bible. The translation was begun by William Wittingham, who in turn had benefitted from the pioneering work of scholars such as Wycliffe, Tyndale, and Coverdale. More importantly, however, he was the first to include a scholarly apparatus for use by the layperson, such as introductions, notes, cross-references, maps, and indices. In other words, it was the world's first study Bible, and it is significant that the explanatory notes were largely from the theological perspective of John Calvin. It was the Bible used by Shakespeare, Cromwell, Knox, Donne, Bunyan, and the Pilgrims. It was the most influential version of the Bible before the production of the King James Version.

The Reign of the Virgin Queen Elizabeth I (1558 - 1603)

A new era began with the accession of Elizabeth I. Under her rule, the religious, cultural, and material leadership of the western world passed to England. In that short space of time, we encounter some of the most notable individuals ever to appear on the stage of world history (the queen's personal acquaintances alone included people like Sir Francis Drake, Sir Walter Raleigh, and John Dee). Although John Calvin's religious influence was at its apex, the queen was neither a champion of Protestantism (like Edward) nor a champion of Catholicism (like Mary). Instead she sought a *via media* between Catholicism and Protestantism, and the balance she attempted to strike has become known as the Elizabethan Religious Settlement. She re-instituted the *Supremacy Act* (making herself head of the church), the *Act of Uniformity* (legally requiring the clergy to use the established liturgy and the laity to go to church), but in practice she remained committed only to outward uniformity (no attempt was made to persecute people

who privately held to other creeds). Thomas Cranmer's earlier reforms were largely accepted, including the new prayer book, the episcopal system of church government, and the articles of dogma (reduced from forty-two to thirty-nine).[23]

When the clergy who had been persecuted under the former regime returned home, they brought with them the principles of the Swiss Reformation. This had several consequences, the most important of which was the rise of English Puritanism, but another of which was the Scottish Reformation[24] (though, unfortunately, there was no corresponding Irish Reformation).[25] Those who had seen what Calvin was doing in Geneva were unimpressed with what Elizabeth was doing in England. Although subject to the crown, they immediately became a voice of popular, ecclesiastical and even parliamentary dissent. A major complaint of theirs was the religious authority given to the crown and its diffusion from the top down through the episcopal system of ecclesiastical governance. They complained that the church did not engage in the preaching of Scripture and that the entire focus of the service was only ever on the performance of the liturgy. They also objected to such things as priestly vestments, ritualized gestures, religious iconography, the use of the apocrypha, the observance of traditional festivals, the neglect of the Sabbath, and especially, the formalistic and impersonal approach to the sacraments of baptism and communion.

Although the Puritans persisted, they did not enjoy success. In point of fact, the queen's religious formalism enabled a flourishing of secular culture in Elizabethan England that would never have been tolerated in Calvin's Geneva. This cultural shift, while not opposed to religion, redirected man's creative energy to those aspects of human life that lay beyond the range of traditional piety, and was expressed in secularly themed art, music, and literature. Its greatest

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[23] **The Thirty-Nine Articles** seek to define the church's position, not on every possible article of belief and practice, but specifically in relation to the articles of belief and practice espoused by Roman Catholics and other sects of Protestantism.

[24] **The Scottish Reformation**: The ideas of the reformers began to appear in the form of translations, literature, and preaching in Scotland as early as the 1520s. Nevertheless, the monarchy, the parliament, and the nobles all officially endorsed Romanism, and the peasantry was hardly in a position to make a bid for Protestantism (early attempts at reform simply ended with preachers being burned at the stake). After the reign of Bloody Mary, John Knox returned to St. Andrews, where he was able to raise a significant following of nobles, commoners, and foreign allies. When Queen Mary of Guise brought in troops from among her Catholic allies in France, Knox brought in troops from among his Protestant allies in England. Upon the queen's sudden death, the two sides agreed to a truce and also withdraw their forces in the Treaty of Edinburgh (1560). The Scotch Parliament then gave the crown to Mary Queen of Scots, even as it abolished her native faith of Roman Catholicism. The new official Protestantism was organized around documents drawn up by John Knox: (1) the *Scotch Confession*; (2) the *Book of Discipline* (which organized the church as a presbytery); (3) and the *Book of Common Order* (which established a liturgy after the patterns laid down in the Swiss Reformation).

[25] **Irish Reformation** was non-existent. Although the king had formally declared the region Protestant, the remote peasantry remained strongly Roman Catholic. The Pale, that part of the island directly controlled by the English, occupied nothing more than a small segment of its eastern coast. Beyond the Pale, the region remained under the control of local feudal lords, the clans of whom were in an apparently constant state of warfare. Although royal decrees were sent over the channel, they remained in effect only so long as there was an official presence enforcing them and quickly fell by the wayside whenever that presence was withdrawn.

achievements belonged to the latter, and include the productions of Sir Philip Sidney (*Astrophel and Stella*), Edmund Spenser (*The Faerie Queene*), Christopher Marlowe (*Doctor Faustus*), Ben Johnson (*Every Man in his Humour*) and, of course, William Shakespeare (*Romeo and Juliet*, *Henry V, Hamlet,* etc.). Although the era is not particularly renowned for its achievements in the natural sciences, it did witness the emergence of some important thinkers like Thomas Digges, Thomas Harriot, and William Gilbert (the last of which laid the foundation for modern electromagnetic theory in his seminal *De Magnete*). As for the queen's foreign policy, she proved very successful in protecting her rule at home and expanding it abroad. Although the papacy challenged the rightfulness of her claim to throne, she weathered its very public excommunication of her (the bull *Regnans Excelsis*) and also survived its attempt to have her assassinated (the *Ridolfi Plot*). And although the states on the continent had hitherto enjoyed dominion over the sea, she made such an international powerhouse out of the Royal Navy that it was ultimately able to defeat the Spanish Armada. She was the first of her dynasty to begin activities in the orient, granting a charter for the East India Company. She was also the first of her dynasty to begin activities in the occident, such as the transatlantic triangle of slave-trade under John Hawkins, the raiding of gold-carrying galleons off the Spanish Main under Francis Drake, and the attempt to establish a colony on the island of Roanoke under Sir Walter Raleigh. For many people, these achievements gave birth to a religio-patriotic zeal which saw Protestant England gaining superiority over the Catholic states of France, Portugal, and especially, Spain.

Nevertheless, one man's gold is another man's trash. While such earthly achievements were a glory to most Anglicans, they were a shame to the Puritans: England was no Geneva. When the queen passed laws, the non-conformists simply refused to obey them. Matters came to a head with the rise of John Whitgift as Archbishop of Canterbury, for he began drawing up very specific proposals for the punishment of anyone who denied the religious authority of the crown, failed to attend church or sought to establish private churches of their own (1583). He also sought control over the press, and this provoked the circulation of a series of pseudonymous tracts attacking the state church, named the *Marprelate Tracts* after their pseudonymous author (1588). This battle between the Royalists and the Puritans marked the rise of our first shining star within Anglican theology. As Germany had its Luther and Switzerland its Calvin, so England had its leading divine in a man named Richard Hooker. Up to now, the *via media* had essentially been embraced as a matter of practical expediency, but it was about to receive its legs as a principle of theological depth. Richard Hooker was descended from common stock, received a good education at Corpus Christi College in Oxford, and began his career as a priest in London. He began to achieve public notoriety after preaching a sermon which did not agree with the theology of what had become a

very influential lobby of Puritans. This sparked a public debate, in which he argued that Scripture was not the only source of divine revelation, but ought to be understood and applied with reference to the ordinary canons of reason and experience (the view known as *prima scriptura*). He also argued that salvation was not solely attributable to predestination but also depended on the free response of persons to divine grace (the view known as synergism). And finally, he argued that persons who were unaware or misinformed about the nature of salvific grace could nevertheless be saved, meaning thereby noble pagans and Roman Catholics (the view known as inclusivism). Richard Hooker's theological positions were distinct from those of Catholicism, but they set him at odds with those of Protestantism (at least in its most prominent form, which by now was Calvinism). By far, his most important work was his monumental *The Law of Ecclesiastical Polity* (1594). Although it began as a defense against Puritanism, it had by the time of its completion developed into a full-fledged theology and ecclesiology of Anglicanism. All throughout, the work attempts to integrate philosophical reasoning with the traditions of Scripture, the Patristics, and the Scholastics (in making such an attempt, he shows himself very much under the influence of Thomas Aquinas). He gives a much fuller account of *prima scriptura*, synergism, and inclusivism. But he also addresses issues of governance, arguing that divine revelation offers no definitive plan for the organization of the state or the church, and therefore, that man is free to organize them in whatever way is found most suitable for his time and place. In this way, he argues for the permissibility as well as the expediency of monarchs, bishops, and clergy (contra his opponents insistence on the necessity of a priesthood of believers, lay leadership, and a presbytery). His primary contention is that any form of government can go bad. What matters is the piety and morality of the persons who have been invested with power.

3

From the Old World to the New World

In the previous chapter, we saw the advance of reform on both the continent and the isles. Now we will examine the final condition in which it left Europe and its subsequent advance to the Americas. This brings us into the 17th century and what is sometimes referred to as the Early Modern Period.

When we talk about the modern world, we are talking about a world in which the march of western civilization has ceased to be conducted under the banner of Christendom. As we have seen, the breaking up of the old order didn't happen at all once but came in stages following the onset of the Black Death, the most important of which were the Italian Renaissance (which opened the door to the secular outlook), the Ottoman Conquests (which broke the power of Byzantium) and the Protestant Reformation (which broke the power of Rome).

Nevertheless, it's important to recognize that the emancipation of the various states from the power of the church did not necessarily mean that they ceased to be religious. What it meant was that their rulers were now in a position to decide for themselves what kind of views they wanted to promote or tolerate within their lands. This, in turn, gave rise to a variety of possible relationships between the church and the state, some more hostile and some more friendly. As we shall see, the former would prove more characteristic of Europe, while the latter would prove more characteristic of America.

The Old World (1600 – 1659)

At this point, we shall have to begin speaking of the continent and the isles as "the Old World". By now, it was largely divided between conservative Catholics and progressive Protestants. A smaller section of the population consisted of Jews and Muslims. Even smaller still were a number of free thinking individuals who sought to overcome the religious divisions of their age by turning to pantheism.[26]

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[26] **Pantheism** is simply the view that the whole of reality is a single entity: god, man, and the world. With the breaking up of old certainties and the advancement of new knowledge, it was only natural that certain minds would be inclined to believe that man was being led to a higher form of religious consciousness. Accordingly, we find a number of individuals who combined an interest in math, science, and philosophy along with an interest in astrology, alchemy, and even magic. The most celebrated at this time was Giordano Bruno, an Italian born in 1548.

The main strongholds of Catholicism were in Italy, Spain, and Portugal. Italy remained the homeland of the church. Spain still boasted the most powerful empire in the world. Portugal still led the charge in the areas of trade, exploration, and colonization. The church's achievements in the intellectual sphere were no less impressive, the scholastic tradition having been revitalized by an influx of new thinkers, the most notable of whom were Luis de Molina,[27] Robert Bellarmine,[28] and Francisco Suarez.[29] The papacy also began sponsoring artistic productions which it hoped would have immediate appeal to the uneducated, a grand emotive style called "Baroque", and exemplified in the works of Caravaggio, Bernini, and Rubens. Nevertheless, the golden age was rapidly losing its luster, a fact that played no small part in the production of one of the greatest literary masterpieces of all time, Cervantes' *Don Quixote*.

Protestantism had become entrenched everywhere else on the continent and the isles. On the continent it was about to suffer one final gust of opposition from the new emperor Ferdinand II, while on the isles it would continue to thrive under the rule of King James (both dealt with in the sections below). In the brief decade or so before either of these events, however, we encounter a couple individuals of far reaching significance, one arising in the midst of the German Reformation and another arising in the midst of the Swiss Reformation. The first important individual from this period was Jakob Bohme, a man who had a mystical vision of

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He combined the new heliocentric hypothesis with a philosophical cosmology, according to which the universe was an infinite system, unified by forces of attraction and repulsion, and animated by a world soul. He got into the most trouble for his apparent denial of the cardinal doctrines concerning Mary, Christ, and the Trinity. He was tried by the Inquisition and burned for heresy in Rome in 1600.

[27] **Luis de Molina** is best known for his attempt to provide a solution to the problem of free will and predestination. He does this by introducing the concept of divine "middle knowledge", according to which the deity not only has foreknowledge of what agents will do under the conditions of the actual world, but also of what they would have done under the conditions of any possible world. As a result, God is able not only to predestine the end of all his creatures but is also to include their free will decisions in the reckoning without in any way impinging on his sovereign control. This view inaugurated a protracted dispute between the Jesuits (who supported it and averred that their opponents were Calvinists) and the Dominicans (who opposed it and averred that their opponents were Pelagians). Eventually, the papacy concluded that the dispute concerned a matter of secondary doctrine and therefore that both views were permissible (the *Congregatio de Auxiliis* [1598 – 1607]).

[28] **Robert Bellarmine** was an important cardinal, theologian, and priest. He is best known for his involvement in the age's celebrated disputes over astronomy. The hypothetical character of the heliocentric theory was a matter greatly insisted upon by Bellarmine. Nevertheless, it had gained considerable ground in view of its simplicity (as demonstrated by Copernicus), its mathematical accuracy (as demonstrated by Kepler), and its consistency with celestial phenomena (as observed by Galileo). In Galileo's enthusiasm to justify the new cosmology in light of the Scriptures, he effectively challenged the church's claim to being infallible in its interpretation of the Scriptures. As Galileo pointed out, the passage about the sun standing still in the sky could be taken as an accommodation to ordinary ways of speaking and not as an assertion of scientific fact. But as Bellarmine pointed out, this is not how the church had traditionally understood that passage.

[29] **Francisco Suarez** is rightly regarded as one of the most important scholastic theologians (second only to Thomas Aquinas). He was very careful to stress the proper role of philosophy, the method of which consisted in logical reasoning, and the field of which consisted in metaphysics. He was also extremely painstaking in his devotion to careful reasoning and measured conclusions. Accordingly, his work has exercised a wide influence, being used by theologians in the Lutheran, Calvinist, and Anglican traditions, and also by philosophers as diverse as Descartes, Locke, Leibniz, Schopenhauer, and Heidegger.

reality while contemplating a beam of sunlight in Germany in 1600. Years later, he attempted to unpack the content of this vision in a work that paired theological orthodoxy with the contemporary flair for combining science with mysticism. The result of his labors was a work that brought together theology, cosmology, alchemy, and even magic, provocatively entitled *Aurora*. Naturally, the publication of this work caused a great scandal, since at various points it could not help but depart from orthodox Lutheranism. While of questionable intellectual value, it proved an important source of inspiration to all those who afterward championed the cause of free inquiry against religious orthodoxy, and was spoken of highly by later visionaries such as Schopenhauer, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel. Another important individual from this period was Jacob Arminius, a man who re-awakened the debate over free will and predestination in the camp of Dutch Calvinism. Although informal debates about this issue had appeared in the past, they became a matter of public import with the appointment of this man to the University of Leyden in 1603. As professor of theology, he endorsed most of the tenets of Calvinism, but took exception to the doctrines of unconditional election (averring that election was conditional) and irresistible grace (averring that grace was resistible). In general, his argument was that the Scriptures used to justify these doctrines had been misconstrued, and further, that they undermined divine justice and human responsibility. Although attempts were made to engage these ideas in a public forum, they were cut short by the death of Arminius. His legacy was carried forward by his supporters who expressed their views in five points of Remonstrance: (1) election conditioned on foreseen faith; (2) atonement of unlimited extent; (3) total depravity; (4) a prevenient but resistible grace and; (5) the ability of believers to apostatize. The matter was adjudicated at an international synod, the representatives of which officially canonized the five points of Calvinism and rejected the five articles of Arminianism (Dort, 1618). The synod also deposed the ministers of Arminianism, many of whom were subsequently beheaded, imprisoned, or exiled. Among those who escaped, the most distinguished was a jurist, philosopher, and theologian named Hugo Grotius (who arranged a prison break by hiding within a chest of books).[30] Arminianism had been defeated on the continent, but it would reappear later in England, and from there it would make its biggest impact in America (i.e., via the influence of John Wesley and the Methodists).

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[30] **Hugo Grotius** is best known for his work on the church and state entitled *On the Law of War and Peace*. As he lived in a period beset by religious wars, he had observed a great deal of violence in the service of religious zeal. He believed that a foundation for broad international consensus could be laid by appeal to natural moral law (which all men have access to through reason, whether or not they subscribe to revelation). This in turn equally provided legitimate grounds for international war, justifiable on grounds of self-defense, punishment, or retribution. Although many of these ideas were not original, they exercised a deep influence on the future policy of governors, kings, emperors

The Momentous Thirty Years War (1618 – 1648)

By far, the most important event on the continent in this period was the destructive conflict known as the Thirty Years War. It was the last great religious war between Catholics and Protestants, and therefore, is usually taken to mark the end of the continental Reformation, and the beginning of the Early Modern Period.

The ambition to restore the empire to its former glory was still entertained by most Holy Roman Emperors. Furthermore, even though the reformers had been granted a legal right to exist, they had not been granted the legal right to deprive the empire of its property. When large numbers of people converted, the lands in which they lived inevitably came under the control of Protestantism. This, in turn, served as a legal basis for efforts to reclaim those lands by imperial forces still faithful to Catholicism. The first such attempt at reclamation began at the city of Donauwerth in 1607. Although the city was retaken without conflict, the event resulted in the formation of an armed Protestant Union in 1608 and the formation of an armed Catholic League in 1609. Years later a similar move was made against the whole country of Bohemia, but on this occasion the people took the occasion to formally declare their independence from the Austrian Hapsburgs (1618). In the conflict which followed, imperial forces not only succeeded in retaking the land of Bohemia, but also successfully reclaiming the Palatinate (1620). When Spain followed up with an attempt to retake the Netherlands, it became apparent to all that a war for the whole continent was on between Protestants and Catholics.[31] Before long, the empire found itself pitted against kings from Denmark, Sweden, and even France (which became involved to advance its political interests, even though it was still officially Roman Catholic).

The particulars of the war are naturally only of interest to military historians. It was remembered as the most devastating conflict yet to have occurred in the history of continental Europe. In the end, those nations governed by Protestantism were eventually victorious over the imperial forces backed by Catholicism (with the very important exception of the French). The terms of victory were laid out in a document called the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. To adjudicate disputes over land ownership, an imperial tribunal was established consisting of both Protestants and Catholics. Meanwhile, the status quo of land ownership was accepted, much to the advantage of the French (now expanded into Alsace and Lorraine), and much to the disadvantage of the Holy Roman Empire (now shrunken, fragmented, and largely reduced to the region in and around Austria). Although the pope rejected the terms of this treaty, it is highly significant that his views were neither consulted nor listened to by the political powers of Europe. The transition out of the Middle Ages had officially come to term: to be sure, the papacy had not ceased to exist as

[31] **Rembrandt van Rijn** began his painting career at this point. He was pulled out of school and apprenticed as a painter the year Spain declared war on the Netherlands (1620).

an important factor in the life of the western church, but its edicts could no longer regarded as binding on the state. For the present, it continued to maintain its hold on the papal states located throughout Italy but would eventually be deprived of even these in the days to come.

In the aftermath of the war, a whole host of newly liberated states set themselves to the laborious task of reconstruction. Meanwhile, the major power on the continent was no longer the empire, but the Kingdom of France. It began to operate as an absolute monarchy, even while officially espousing Roman Catholicism. Louis XIV would enjoy a record setting reign of seventy two years from his newly established palace at Versailles from 1643 to 1715. During this period, he continued to court the favor of the papacy but repeatedly set it below the authority of the king, thereby creating an atmosphere of cultural freedom that was usually reserved for Protestants. His rule saw a tremendous flourishing of culture, from the art of Poussin, to the literature of Madam de la Fayette, to the plays of Racine, Moliere, and Corneille. The church was also blessed with the charitable work of Vincent de Paul, the sermons of Bossuet, and especially, the theology of Cornelius Jansen (d. 1638). The latter was the father of a movement called Jansenism, known for its opposition to the Jesuits, but especially, for its strong advocacy for the theology of Augustine (causing its followers to espouse ideas about sin and grace more consistent with Protestantism). The most important developments, however, were to be found in the writings of two intellectuals through whom the religious conversation of western civilization began to move beyond the question of Protestantism versus Catholicism: Rene Descartes (1596 – 1650) and Blaise Pascal (1623 – 1662). For Rene Descartes,[32] the breaking down of the religious consensus and the advance of secular knowledge had created an intellectual atmosphere in which it was becoming easier to doubt and more difficult to trust than ever before. Therefore, instead of pouring the new wine of man's rapidly advancing knowledge into the old wine skins of medieval scholasticism, he proposed to create a new system from the ground up based on reason alone. Although he hoped his system might be taken up by the church, it found a more ready audience among people outside the church, largely because it narrowed the

[32] **The Philosophy of Descartes** is of considerable interest in its own right. In most respects, his view of the world was not very different than that of the medieval scholastics: he believed in an all sovereign deity, in a multiplicity of finite minds, and in a world of finite objects. It is apparent, therefore, that he was less interested in propounding a radically new view of the world and more interested in setting that view of the world on more certain foundations. What was unique was his attempt to attain for this view the same kind of certainty usually reserved for mathematics, and therefore his attempt to make of philosophy an axiomatic system such as we find in the geometry of Euclid. He is regarded as the founder of continental rationalism, but apparently he did not realize that the attainment of such certainty would require the postulation of a universe very different from that which we ordinarily conceive: one in which the relation of cause-and-effect would be reduced to that of logical implication, and one in which the multiplicity of existing things would be reduced to various aspects of a single existing substance. The boldness to postulate such a pantheistic system is later found in the writings of his more radical disciple Spinoza (the first modern philosopher to employ the new system in expounding a worldview different from that of the church).

scope of his inquiry to those facts which could be verified through objective reason, and therefore, declined to discuss any matters arising from a subjective commitment to divine revelation. As in politics where there had arisen a separation of church and state, so now in academia there arose a separation between reason and revelation (a distinction certainly acknowledged in the Middle Ages, but which had never before resulted in their being divided into two separate bodies of knowledge). The new system was known as "Cartesianism", and it very quickly established itself at universities throughout France, the Netherlands, Germany, and England. In spite of the merits of this modern approach, however, there were those who warned of its inability to deal with life's most important problems. The earliest of these was the famous mathematician, scientist, and philosopher Blaise Pascal (1623 – 1662). He, too, was a French Catholic, but he acquired a reputation as a defender of Jansenism (for which reason he has also remained popular among Protestants). In regards to this new system of thought, he argued that the scope of man's mental vision was in danger of being confined to a narrow range of purely factual truths, and that this would likely blind him to the far more important truths of aesthetic, moral, and spiritual life. When it came to religion, he did not deny that valid arguments could be made in support of natural theology, but he was skeptical about their value as a means of persuasion. The reasoning of such arguments was often so unusual and their conclusions so weighty that they could really only be of use to people who had already been convinced on other grounds. Moreover, these arguments didn't have anything to say about the God revealed in the history of Israel or in the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. In the end, the highly personal kind of reasoning that brought people to a living religious faith was fundamentally different than the more impersonal kind of reasoning employed in math, science, history, etc. One of his most famous quotes in this connection was, "The heart has reasons of which reason knows nothing." Together, Descartes and Pascal laid the groundwork for what would be an ongoing conversation between the mechanistic view of the world revealed by the sciences and the teleological character of human existence addressed by religion.

The House of Stewart, and the Rise of Dissent, Separatism, and Revolution

Although the continent had at last achieved rest in its struggle for reform, the isles had a long way to go before they were through seeing splinter groups arising from Reformation. New ones began with the death of the queen and the passing of the crown from the house of Tudor to the house of Stewart. This brought about the Union of the Crowns, an event uniting under a single banner of the hitherto separate realms of Ireland, Scotland, and England. King James was to be the highly successful though controversial ruler of this realm from the years 1603 to 1625. He, too, was committed to the *via media* of Anglicanism, but he was also committed to an idea known as the "Divine Right of Kings". In fact, he had

already written several works arguing that divine providence vested the kingship with absolute authority, subject to no earthly power (e.g., the church, parliament, or the people). With so much authority being placed in the hands of an openly autocratic ruler, it's not surprising to learn that his accession was attended by a series of plots to remove him from the throne (e.g., the Main Plot, the Bye Plot, and the Gunpowder Plot). All attempts failed, and indeed the king ran much of his administration without the aid of parliament, though he did not in the process prove himself an evil dictator.

King James I's administration was culturally rich. In foreign affairs, he wisely stayed out of the Thirty Years War and began the first successful colonization of the New World (see below). In domestic affairs, he continued to encourage the advance of secular disciplines. Just a few shining lights were the philosophy of Francis Bacon (the founder of empiricism), the science of William Harvey (who described the circulatory system), the mathematics of John Napier (who introduced logarithms), the engineering of Cornelis Drebbel (builder of the first navigable submarine), and the literary works of John Donne (along with the continuing career of Shakespeare). When it came to religion, the king was an advocate of the *via media*, a position he hoped might ultimately work for the reconciliation of Protestants and Catholics. Accordingly, his administration began with a renewal of the old grievances between Anglicans and Puritans. In the *Millenary Petition* of 1603, the latter were willing to concede royal supremacy but also made a number of specific requests. The king eagerly granted one of these, which was to produce a new translation of the official Scriptures (replacing the Bishop's Bible).[33] As for the other requests, he rightly perceived them as an attempt to overthrow the existing order, especially when they suggested that he abolish the episcopacy and replace it with a presbytery (in effect, revoking his ecclesiastical authority and giving it to the people). The king's decree was not sufficient to end the battle, however. While there was indeed a political faction who supported the absolute authority of the monarch to do as he wished (called the Tories or Royalists), there was also a political faction who believed that he was accountable to the representatives of the people (called the Whigs or Parliamentarians [a great many of whom were Puritans]). Battle lines were drawn: although the king could act without the approval of parliament, only parliament was able to levy the taxes he needed to carry out his projects. Eventually, the king sought to bypass parliament by acting through his bishops and by pursuing

[33] **The King James Version** was translated from the *Textus Receptus* by a team of forty-seven Anglican scholars between 1604 and 1611. It included the Old Testament, the New Testament, and the Apocrypha. It was immediately recognized as one of the greatest scholarly and literary achievements of its age and would in the course of time, supplant the use of other versions in English. This process of supplanting occurred immediately with the clergy, but it would take longer with the laity (most of whom continued to prefer the less grand but more studious Geneva Bible).

independent sources of revenue. For a great many people, the state church was seen as a political tool, and this gave rise to an increasing number of dissenting groups, the equivalent of the Radical Reformation in England. Since these groups had no legal standing, they had to meet in secret, and this meant that they had to adopt a form of church government known as Congregationalism.[34] When authorities began arresting the members of these separatist congregations, a number of them fled the isles and formed important splinter groups. One of the earliest of these was led by John Smyth, who founded a group subsequently known as the Baptists in the Netherlands in 1609.[35] Another of these was led by William Bradford, who founded a group subsequently known as the Pilgrims in America in 1620 (see below).

The attempt by the king to wield absolute authority continued with the reign of his son, Charles I (1625 – 1649). He ruled without the assistance of parliament, married a Catholic named Mary, and sought to advance the Protestant teachings of Arminius. What is more, he deliberately went out of his way to make life difficult for the Puritans, aggressively persecuting all instances of non-conformity in England, Scotland, and Ireland. The Wars of the Three Kingdoms is a phrase used to refer to the military conflicts he stirred up in all three of these regions, including the Bishops War, the Scottish Civil War, and the Irish Rebellion. In order to get money to pay the debts he racked up by fighting all these wars, he was eventually compelled to call for a meeting of parliament, which agreed to help him out should he agree to address a number of grievances. The king refused, thus ending the aptly named "short parliament" (1640). Nevertheless, the king's need was greater than his resolve, and only months later he made another appeal for the assistance of parliament. On this occasion, however, the representatives immediately set about

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[34] **Congregationalism** is a form of church government in which a gathering of believers governs its own affairs without accountability to a larger body, such as a presbytery (council of elders) or episcopacy (hierarchy of bishops). The Scriptures attest to the early existence of such gatherings, though later evidence suggests that they were often absorbed into larger groups. In the Medieval Period, the mainstream of religious culture was organized into an episcopate, headed by a single bishop in the west (the Roman Church) and by a council of bishops in the east (the Orthodox Church). After the Reformation, the main branches of continental thought opted for a state run episcopacy (as in Lutheranism) or a church run presbytery (as in Calvinism). The only groups to advocate a return to congregationalism were the radical reformers in Germany (the Zwickau Prophets) and the radical reformers in Switzerland (the Anabaptists). On the British Isles, the king transformed the church into a state run episcopacy, but here, too, the more radical branch of reform began to suggest a return to congregationalism. A theoretical defense of congregationalism was written by Robert Brown in 1582 (the followers of whom were called "Brownists"). But the practical implementation of congregationalism did not really take off until the time of King James in the years 1603 to 1625 (i.e., with the Baptists and the Pilgrims).

[35]**The Baptist Church**: John Smyth was originally a priest but eventually became a dissenter, fleeing the isles and becoming a congregational minister in Amsterdam. Like all the other radical reform movements, he rejected infant baptism and moved for a separation of church and state. In his theology, he was won over to Arminianism, and in his ecclesiology he advocated a congregational form of organization divided into pastors and deacons. As for style of worship, he was among the first to reject the liturgy altogether in favor of spontaneity in prayer, song, and preaching (all of which he taught would better facilitate the "leading of the Spirit"). The movement's earliest statement of faith was drawn up by another important leader named Thomas Helwy, the *Thomas Helwy Statement of Faith* (1611).

passing an act which stipulated that meetings were to be held every year, that elections were to be held every three years, and that these could only be dissolved by an agreement of its members (signed into law by a reluctant but frightened king). Thus began what has been aptly named "the long parliament" (1640 - 1660). It was a period of intense political struggle between progressive Parliamentarians and conservative Royalists, which ultimately matured to armed conflict in the English Civil War (1642 – 1651). In the midst of this tumultuous period, the theological members of parliament called for a religious council to reform the doctrines and practices of Anglicanism, and this has become known as the Westminster Assembly (1643 – 1653). Although the standards proposed by this council were not ultimately adopted by the official church in England, they were adopted virtually everywhere else by churches within the Reformed Tradition. The council's most enduring legacy was undoubtedly its doctrinal statement, known as the Westminster Confession of Faith.[36] The council's proposals on ecclesiology, however, proved more contentious, with one party supporting Episcopalianism (led by James Ussher),[37] another party supporting Presbyterianism (led by George Gillespie), another supporting Congregationalism (led by Thomas Goodwin), and still another averring that the question of church polity was a matter of indifference (led by John Lightfoot). Beyond the names just mentioned, the individuals who lived during this time and were either directly or indirectly involved in the proceedings of the council amount to a virtual who's who of important theologians, writers, and poets. The most notable among non-clergyman was John Milton. The most notable among the clergy were John Bunyan, John Owen, and Richard Baxter.

It is well known that the aforementioned conflict ended with the execution of the Charles and the replacement of the monarchy with the First Commonwealth of England. This in turn was initially governed by parliament (1649 – 1653) and then by the famous Oliver Cromwell (1653 – 1660). Cromwell is one of the most controversial figures in western history, estimates running from high praise to outright condemnation. In his early life he converted to congregational Puritanism, became a staunch supporter of the Parliamentarians, and served as the leader of their "New Model Army". Possessed of tremendous religious zeal and a firm conviction that divine providence was guiding him in the leadership of the elect,

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[36] **The Westminster Confession of Faith**: This document provides the fullest doctrinal statement of Calvinistic Puritanism. It's most important feature is to be found in the very influential way it seeks to organize the theological narrative of the Bible, usually referred to as Covenant Theology (or sometimes Federal Theology). According to this scheme, Scripture is organized around three covenants: a covenant of redemption, a covenant of works and a covenant of grace. The covenant of redemption is established between the members of the Trinity. The covenant of works is established with the offspring of the first Adam. And the covenant of grace is established with the offspring of the second Adam (i.e., Christ).

[37] **James Ussher**: The archbishop achieved notoriety not for his work in politics but for his work in biblical studies. Unfortunately, the only aspect of his work to which any attention is still given is his estimation of the creation of the universe at 6 pm, October 22, 4004 BC.

his life manifested a bold unapologetic activism. After gaining the upper hand in the war, he approved the execution of the king and proceeded on a violent crusade to stamp out his enemies in England, Scotland, and Ireland. Upon returning from his campaign, he found parliament in disunity and therefore lost no time in assuming stewardship over government (though ultimately declining the offer of the kingship). He would spend the rest of his administration devoted to post-war reconstruction, and to the reformation of the church along lines that would be more tolerant religiously (whether Congregational, Presbyterian, Episcopal, Baptist, or even Jewish). Of all the groups the new dictator sought to accommodate, the most important was that of a newly founded sect mockingly referred to as "Quakers," though calling themselves "the Religious Society of Friends". George Fox, the founder of this society, had been raised by financially successful parents in the tradition of the Puritans. Although he received no formal education, he was very serious about religion, and from an early age he sought to employ himself in manual labor and in contemplative prayer (he even worked for a while as a shepherd, seeking to follow the pattern of Abraham, Moses, and David). At a certain point, he began to grow troubled by the superficiality and violence he saw around him and also by the temptations and depressions of young adulthood. He sought consolation in long walks, meditations, and studies of the Bible. As a result of these practices, he began to grow convinced of a certain number of beliefs, all of which drew heavily upon the idea that the true religious life consisted in the possession of a certain "Inner Light". As the possession of this was less a matter of intellect and more a matter of experience, he urged that the proper guide for religious life was not simply the Church, or even the Bible, but especially the Holy Spirit: (1) religious conversion was more about inner transformation than outward rituals; (2) the church was not an outward building, but a community of individuals bound together by their mutual possession of the Spirit; (3) pastoral leadership had little to do with education but everything to do with the calling of the Spirit. The rapid spread of these beliefs is hardly surprising when we consider the amount of religious violence that had arisen over such matters as doctrine, church government, and the liturgy. The new movement had a number of features which provided grounds for suspicion, however: they had no set places or times for worship, they did not participate in the sacraments of baptism and communion, and they seemed ambivalent when it came to formulating a doctrine of the Trinity (thereby raising questions about the extent to which they were really Christians). In addition, political authorities were suspicious of their refusal to take oaths or to remove their hats when in the presence of a superior or to be willing to bear arms on behalf of their country (thereby raising questions about the extent to which they were really Englishmen). Fox's writings indicate that he did, in fact, have a high view of Christology as well as a sincere patriotism toward England. Nevertheless, his teachings were perceived by many as a threat to religious and political order.

The New World (1607 – 1681)

The Renaissance was an age of exploration. The means were the compass, the astrolabe, and cartography. The motives were God, glory, and gold. Portugal spearheaded exploration into the East Indies, beginning with Prince Henry the Navigator around 1415. Spain spearheaded exploration into the West Indies, beginning with Columbus in 1492. From that point on, the New World would become a meeting ground for native Indians, imported Africans, and colonial Europeans.

The first phase of colonial history took place in South America (the settlers of which were largely Catholics from Italy, Portugal, and Spain). After the discoveries of Columbus, a wave of exploration followed which we associate with names like Giovanni Caboto, Pedro Cabral, Amerigo Vespucci, Vasco Nunez de Balboa, and Ferdinand Magellan. These in turn were followed by privately funded expeditions of conquest on the mainland, for example, as in the adventures of the conquistadors against the Mayans, the Incas, and the Aztecs (beginning in Mesoamerica, 1519). These, in turn, were followed by efforts to create a colonial empire, outfitted with riches, land, and labor (i.e., via the enslavement of the native population). Historians are now more ready to acknowledge the evils caused by the advance of western civilization,[38] but it is only fair to acknowledge that these were also attended by voices of protest from the very beginning.[39] By the turn of the century, Italy had colonized Guiana, Portugal had colonized Brazil, and Spain had colonized all the rest (the Caribbean Islands, South America, and Central America, along with what would eventually become the states of Mexico, Florida, Texas, and California). It also boasted the oldest permanent colony in the Americas, the city of Saint Augustine (Florida, 1565).

The second phase of colonial history took place in North America. The earliest wave consisted of Catholics who laid the foundations for New France in 1605. Samuel de Champlain established the secular colony of Quebec in 1608 (the foundation of modern day Canada), and the Jesuits spread their religious influence from the St. Lawrence into the Mississippi all the way down to New Orleans (later

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[38]**The Native American Population** was reduced by more than 30%. Although some of this was due to war, a good deal more was due to the spread of smallpox, measles, and typhus. The survivors were supposed to be placed under the protection of the empire, but the colonialists usually subjected them to forced labor (either on plantations, in mines, or diving for pearls).

[39] **Friar Bartolome de Las Casas** was the first voice of protest against the mistreatment of the natives. Although originally a participant in the conquests, he later became a friar (1514). He spent the remaining years of his life fighting for the rights of the natives (producing an important work entitled *The Tears of the Indians*). As a result of his labors, an office was established named "Protector of the Indians", the holder of which would serve as a representative of their interests in the royal court.

revoked in the Louisiana Purchase). As for the history of the United States, this began with the spread of Protestants, some of whom wanted to transplant their Old World nations into fresh soil, and others of whom wanted to create a new nation altogether. In the following section, we will see examples of the former in the colonies of New England, New Netherland, and New Sweden. We will also see examples of the latter in those colonies settled by the Puritans, Baptists, and Quakers. As everyone knows, while the former exerted a tremendous influence, it was the latter that would ultimately become definitive for the identity of America. For them, the new world was to become the ideal expression of harmony between the church and state, a sanctuary for all the world for freedom and a "city set on a hill". To be sure, the nature of that harmony was understood differently by the likes of John Winthrop, Roger Williams, and William Penn. Still, there can be little doubt that these three above all others are to be credited with bringing the principles of democracy, separation of church and state, and the natural rights of man to the American Constitution.

The Transplanting of Old Nations

As we have seen, most of the old world states had already established their legal right to exist in Europe. For them, the journey over the pond was not in order to found a new nation, but in order to transplant an old one. Indeed, all of the major religious-political powers we have looked at so far performed some such transplant: one of these was Catholic (i.e., in the colonial region of Maryland[40]); the others were Protestant (i.e., in the colonial regions of Virginia, New York, and Delaware). While each of these was an important element in the chemical makeup of our country, none of them would succeed in making the new a mere extension of the old, and thus they would prove to be of only secondary importance in forming the national identity of America.

The first old world transplant was descended from the English Reformation. Here, of course, we refer to colony named after King James (Virginia, 1607). The hardships that beset this early settlement are well known, and its settlers were motivated more by profit than religious aspiration. About a hundred young men made camp in the coastal swamplands under the leadership of John Smith. The early years were marked by starvation, disease, and war with the natives. Relief

[40] **Maryland** was the only one of the thirteen original colonies not hostile to Catholicism. King Charles I granted a charter to Lord Baltimore to establish a sanctuary for his co-religionists during the ravages of the Thirty Years War, located around the northern bay of Chesapeake in 1634. The king was suspicioned of having sympathies for the older faith, and indeed the colony was named after his Catholic wife, Henrietta Maria. The material culture of the region was not very different from that of the other southern colonies, and its attempt to provide a safe haven from religious persecution was short-lived. Recognizing the precariousness of their situation, the colony granted religious tolerance to Protestants (1649). When a majority of the latter seized the colony later on, religious tolerance was not granted to Catholics (1689). The colony was absorbed into the south, became officially Anglican, and even today bears little evidence of ever having been Roman Catholic.

came with the cultivation of tobacco, expansion to more hospitable regions, and establishing of friendly relations with the Algonquian. The process, however, was slow, and the death toll had been tremendous (archaeology of the region has uncovered mass graves and evidence of cannibalism). After about ten years, the colony began to attract a larger number of colonists, imported its first slaves, and established a degree of autonomy through a governor and a legislative assembly called the House of Burgesses (the oldest in the country). It was even able to afford the building of a church (also the oldest in the country, at least within the tradition of Protestantism). From the beginning, the colonial church was beset by numerous difficulties. The king was still its head, but he lived far away from the action. The region was organized into about fifty parishes, but these were so far apart that it was difficult to get a sufficient number of chapels, priests, and congregants. The government had almost no ability to enforce its edicts concerning the doctrines and practices of the home church. For the average layperson, religious piety became a matter of paying taxes, being a good citizen, and participating in the solemn rituals connected with birth, marriage, and death.

A second old world transplant was descended from the Swiss Reformation. At the time, the colony was called New Netherland (founded on Manhattan Island in 1623). The region was explored by Henry Hudson, settled by the Dutch, and officially dedicated to Calvinism. Here again, however, it is important to understand that the purpose of the colony was not religious, but economic. Even before settlers began to arrive, it established itself as the primary hub of slave traffic from Africa (annually bringing in upward of five thousand). Five years after its initial founding, the first minister to arrive found himself among a not very pious people (in fact, many had left behind their church certificates, not thinking they would need them). To remedy the situation, a church was built, services were held, and the sacraments administered (three times a year given the scarcity of attendance). Nevertheless, the task would prove well-nigh impossible given the colony's high level of religious and ethnic diversity, the earliest native stock being Mohawk and Mohican, and the earliest foreign stock being Dutch, French, and German. The attraction of diverse elements was due to at least three factors: first, intolerance could only hinder the success of a trading colony; second, the colony's location served as an ideal gateway for people coming into the new world; and third, provision for religious liberty had already been granted in the founding document of the Dutch Republic (i.e., the Union of Utrecht). In a colony so far from home, there were few resources with which to steer the people who came to it into the mainstream of official Calvinism. In just a few decades, the colony was overrun with Jews, Papists, Mennonites, Lutherans, Puritans, Independents, and Atheists. Although the region still retains to this day the imprint of the Dutch, it was like so many others eventually taken over by the English (i.e., during the

Dutch-Anglo Wars of 1652 – 1674). In honor of the king's brother, the Duke of York, it would eventually be renamed "New York".

A third old world transplant was descended from the German Reformation. At the time, it was called New Sweden (founded around the bay of the Delaware River in 1638). Although the region was initially explored by men travelling south from Virginia, it was subsequently settled by the Swedes, the official religion of which was Lutheran. A wide variety of ethnic groups marched under the banner of this nation, inclusive not only of Swedes but also of the Finns, the Germans, and the Dutch. As in the previous two cases, their primary aim was to establish a trading colony, particularly in the areas of tobacco, wine, lumber, and livestock (attempts to become involved in the slave trade were not successful, neither with the foreign Africans or the native Susquehannocks). As a secondary aim, however, a more deliberate attempt was made to spread their religion (that is, the practices of the Swedish Church and the doctrines of the *Augsburg Confession*). In both undertakings, one of the most important advantages of the settlers was their skill at fashioning rough-hewn dwellings from raw lumber, an artifact that would become known to future generations as "the log cabin". Accordingly, the churches of these early settlers did not survive, though more permanent structures now stand on their original sites (e.g., Holy Trinity Church in Delaware, Gloria Dei Church in Pennsylvania, and Holy Trinity Church in New Jersey). From very early on, it is evident that Lutheran services were held in the Swedish language, and also, that there was toleration for Calvinist services in the Dutch language. Beyond that, we don't know much more about the religious conditions that prevailed in the colony, though later history suggests that members of the home church quickly became a minority, while the motley crew of those engaged in secular business became the majority. Eventually the colony was absorbed by New Netherland in 1655, and this, in turn, by New England in 1664. It was named after the river originally explored by the English, "Delaware".

The Creation of a New Nation

In all the foregoing, we see an effort to transplant previously established states by Catholics and Protestants, whether Anglican, Calvinist, or Lutheran. In the next section, we will look at efforts to create a new state by those colonists who had not yet attained a legal right to exist in the Old World. Whereas in the former case we have largely to deal with a desire for profit, in the latter case we catch the first glimpses of a love of country that would ultimately shape the government of the New World. All of these groups we are about to mention had been persecuted on the isles, and all of them shared the same basic goal of creating for themselves a free and just society. More importantly, however, they wanted to furnish an example of an ideal system of government, so that their nation might be an example for the rest of the world, "A City set on a Hill".

The initial group came in two separate waves, both of whom settled in the region subsequently known as Massachusetts. The first were separatists from the royal church, one of many that fled from the isles to the continent and known today as the "Pilgrims". After living in exile for twelve years, about a hundred of them decided to set sail again in the year 1620, this time for the Americas. In *Of Plymouth Planation*, their leader, William Bradford, names among the reasons for this departure the hardships of trying to live in a foreign country and the negative effect it was having on their aging congregation and its children. He recounts how they landed on the coast, named the colony "Plymouth", and drew up a provisional form of government called "the Mayflower Compact". The story of their first year remains one of the most beloved chapters in our national heritage: after a deadly winter, in which nearly half of the colonists died, those who remained received much needed help from the indigenous Wampanoags, led by Massasoit, and arbitrated by Squanto (the celebration of which is still observed in the national holiday of "Thanksgiving"). In spite of the importance of this early group, it was eventually overshadowed by a much larger wave of colonists who were devoted to the task of purifying the royal church, the so-called "Puritans". After having labored for many years in the service of this cause, the accession of Charles I persuaded a large number of them to immigrate to Boston in the year 1630. In his famous sermon, *City on a Hill*, their leader John Winthrop argued that the new settlement should not only serve as a sanctuary from religious persecution but also as a shining example of the true church. He became the colony's first governor, assisted by a council of elders, who in turn were elected from among the larger body of church-going citizens. Church membership, therefore, became the most important condition for holding public office, and although individual churches continued to be organized congregationally, the religious oversight of the government operated as the functional equivalent of a presbytery. In effect, the colony became a theocratic union of church and state, patterned after John Calvin's famous city of Geneva.

In retrospect, it's easy to see that the aforementioned vision of nationhood was not fitted to unite the colonies. It did not offer freedom and justice for all but only for those who were members of the established church. Accordingly, it soon found itself engaged in the same kind of persecution that it had sailed over the waters to escape. John Cotton, the most distinguished clergyman of the early colonial period, was an influential spokesperson for this policy, who famously equated tolerance with "the liberty to tell lies".[41] He was also the key player in the

[41] **John Cotton** was a clergyman who arrived at Boston in 1633. He was known to be an accomplished preacher, pastor, and scholar. Over the course of his ministry, he secured the admiration of both his supporters as well as his detractors. Theologically, he steered the colony away from the doctrine of "Preparationism" (the view that moral effort needed to precede conversion, and therefore was associated with Arminianism) to the doctrine of "Free Grace" (the view that divine election alone needed to precede conversion, and therefore associated with Calvinism).

administration's three most famous confrontations with heterodoxy, each of which resulted in the establishing of a new colony. The first involved a clergyman named Thomas Hooker, who became pastor of Cambridge around 1631. He disagreed with the practice of limiting the vote to those who were formal members of the church and subsequently established a new colony in the region now known as Connecticut. The foundation of its government was to be based on the free consent of the people, and the terms were laid out in a document called *The Fundamental Orders of Connecticut* (the earliest forerunner to the American Constitution). The second involved a clergyman named Roger Williams, who took charge of the church at Salem in 1631. He was a separatist, and therefore, an outspoken critic of the way in which most of the settlers had joined the church and state. He was also one of the first to argue that the royal authority of the king did not sanction the taking of land away from the Indians. When a general assembly found him guilty of sedition, he sought temporary refuge among the Indians, after which he established a new colony on Rhode Island. It was the first settlement to explicitly endorse freedom of religion and the home of the first colonial Baptist Church.[42] The third is sometimes referred to as the Antinomian Controversy (1636 – 1638). A certain faction of people had begun to host weekly meetings in their homes to discuss the sermons and had been arriving at their own conclusions regarding certain doctrines of the church. The most vocal leader of this group was a woman named Anne Hutchinson, who claimed divine inspiration for her teaching that the evidence of salvation was to be found in the interior experience of grace rather than on the outward show of works. Her teaching was perceived as a threat to the structures of authority and law, and she and her followers were tried, excommunicated, and banished. Many of them went to live in the previously established colony of Rhode Island, but others went north and settled in what would eventually become the colony of New Hampshire. Unfortunately, attempts to make religious or political changes in this region were abortive: it became the hub of numerous independent settlements, all of which were eventually reabsorbed into the government of the Massachusetts Bay Colony (as a result, those who fled there for freedom were eventually required to relocate).

The three examples we have just looked at show that there were different ideas abroad about what it meant to be a "City on a Hill". While the spirit of Calvin's Geneva prevailed in Massachusetts, the idea of two separate kingdoms, first articulated by Luther back in Wittenberg, was now beginning to materialize in places like Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire. To be sure, these

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Ecclesiologically, he was the single most important influence on the colony's eventual advocacy of Congregationalism over Presbyterianism. He referred to the conjoining of Puritanism with Congregationalism as "The New England Way."

[42] **The Particular Baptists**: As it grew out of Puritanism, the early Baptists in America were Calvinists rather than Arminians. As such, they are often referred to as the Particular Baptists in distinction from the General Baptists.

initial experiments arose as piecemeal reactions to persecution, but a grand initiative to found a colony based on the values of freedom and tolerance was shortly to appear with the chartering of Pennsylvania. In the years leading up to the founding of this twelfth colony, however, the most important colonial developments continued to occur in the bay settlement at Massachusetts. Religiously speaking, it came to accept as its standard of doctrine the Westminster Confession of Faith, and as its standard of ecclesiology the aforementioned system of Congregationalism (heresy was now punishable by death). Since its system of government depended on a biblically informed congregation, it was the first colony to establish a public grammar school, a university[43] and a printing press[44]. As everyone knows, however, the greatest problems in the colony concerned its relationship with its mother country and its growing dependence on slave labor. The groundwork for revolution was laid when the mother country began passing a series of laws forbidding trade with anyone else but her, the so-called Navigation Acts (the first of which was passed in 1651). The groundwork for civil conflict was laid when conflicts with the native population resulted in their being captured, enslaved, or traded for slaves from Africa (as in the Pequot War from 1634 to 1638 or in King Philip's War from 1675 to 1678). In regards to both of these issues, the pre-eminent leader in the effort to establish independence[45] and abolish slavery[46] was not the older colony of Massachusetts but the newer colony of Pennsylvania. Its founder, William Penn, was born into a Puritan household in London in 1644. Nevertheless, his father was largely preoccupied with the advancement of his

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[43] **Harvard University** was named after a patron who donated a substantial sum of money to the school along with four hundred of his books. It was primarily instituted for the training of clergy and founded at the city of Cambridge in 1636 (the first graduating class was in 1642). From the very beginning, the problem of maintaining religious orthodoxy while meeting the demands of free inquiry troubled the college. Its first president was dismissed because he advocated believer baptism (Henry Dunster). Its second president was dismissed because he advocated full immersion baptism (Charles Chauncy). Its third president was dismissed on religious grounds as well, though these are less well known (Leonard Hoard [a distinguished correspondent of Robert Boyle and Isaac Newton]).

[44] **The Cambridge Printing Press** was established at Harvard in 1639. Its first production was a handbook of the psalms, known as *The Bay Psalm Book* (1640). Among the first original productions were the poems of Anne Bradstreet, the first collection of which was called *The Tenth Muse Lately Sprung up in America* (1650). Another important work was a translation of the Geneva Bible into Algonquin, known as *The Eliot Indian Bible* (1663).

[45] **"The Cradle of Liberty"** is an expression used to refer to the colonial center of the revolution, usually regarded as being either Boston or Philadelphia. Boston was certainly the center of the most famous reactions against royal authority, as in the organization of the Sons of Liberty and their famous Boston Tea Party. Philadelphia, however, was the center of the more constructive effort to put something else in its place, to which we owe such documents as the Declaration of Independence and the United States Constitution. In either case, however, when it came to human resources, it is important to remember that the oldest, wealthiest, and noblest stock still came from the colony of Virginia (the state which would also supply the nation's earliest presidents).

[46] **On the Abolition of Slavery**: In general, the authority of Scripture was invoked to sanction the institution of slavery. Unfortunately, the racially-based system found in the colonies bore little resemblance to the economically based system found in the Law of Moses (a far-fetched attempt to bridge this gap was made by associating Africans with the Hamites of Gen. 9:27). The first to argue that the practice was inconsistent with the principles of Christianity was Roger Williams, who attempted to abolish slavery from the colony of Rhode Island in 1652 (unfortunately the law was simply ignored). It wouldn't be until much later that organized protests against the practice would be resumed with the Quakers of Pennsylvania in 1688.

military career and his mother with conforming to the social conventions of the day. As a young man in search of truth, he experimented with earthly vanities as well as the more traditional avenues of religion, but he was ultimately drawn to the newly founded sect known as "Quakers". Penn's new faith was rejected by his parents, so he came to live among the Quakers, eventually marrying the step-daughter of Isaac Penington and meeting the movement's leader George Fox (1668 – 1669). From this point forward, he embarked on a career of preaching, writing, and church planting. Among his most important achievements, he established missions in Ireland, Holland, and Germany (the latter of which brought him into connection with such persecuted minorities as the Moravians and the Anabaptists [e.g., the Mennonites, the Amish, and the Brethren]). His persistence eventually won the respect of his father, who in exchange for a lifetime of military service secured money and political protection for his son. After his father's death, he used his newly acquired influence for good and managed to secure from the king a charter for the mass migration of a large number of Quakers (a charter so grand, it rendered him the largest private land owner in the world). He affectionately referred to his colony as a "holy experiment," a haven of religious freedom and tolerance that would be neither greedy for gain nor exploitative of the native population (though he was still tolerant toward the use of imported slaves). It was eventually called "Pennsylvania", and among its first immigrants included Quakers, Huguenots, Lutherans, Mennonites, Amish, Catholics, and Jews (1681). In drafting the governing documents of his colony, he was the first to suggest the idea of constitutional amendments, and the first to suggest the possibility of uniting all of the colonies under a single federal government. His work was praised by Voltaire and carefully studied by the likes of Thomas Paine, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson.

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The Age of Piety, Enlightenment, and Revolution

In the previous chapter, we took our first glimpse into the modern world. As mentioned, the defining feature of this period is to be found in the disentanglement of the powers of the church from those of the state. And as we have seen, the seeds of this fruition were sown in the beginnings of the Protestant Reformation (i.e., in Luther's sharp distinction between the kingdoms of men and the Kingdom of God).

In general, it can be said that the medieval states tended to break apart in three stages, the first of which involved liberation from papism, the second of which involved liberation from monarchism, and the third of which involved adopting one or another form of democracy. On the continent, the greatest amount of effort was spent on the first stage. So most of the states were simply transformed into monarchies after the Thirty Years War (the most notable exceptions being Italy, Spain, and Portugal). On the isles, the greatest amount of effort was spent on the second stage, whether it should be ruled by king or parliament (which is to say, the representatives of the people).

The political battle on the isles has a lot to tell us about what was involved in making this step. The monarchy had in its favor the idea that divine sanction was given to duly appointed kings, while the democratic alternative suffered under the stigma that ordinary people were not fit to govern themselves. Accordingly, the debate was waged on two fronts: there were those who supported the idea of a monarch (i.e., the Anglicans, following the pattern of Luther's Wittenberg), and there were those who supported the idea of a free people under biblical law (i.e., the Puritans, following the pattern of Calvin's Geneva). Interestingly, however, there was also a third alternative: namely, that of creating a purely secular democracy, free from both monarchic and ecclesiastical authority. But this in turn raised the question of whether mankind had the moral and intellectual resources to govern himself from the ground up. As we shall see, the ability to give an affirmative answer to this question depended largely upon two important movements which served to disentangle religion from politics, Pietism and the Enlightenment.

The Old World Come of Age

The modern period has sometimes been called "a world come of age." This phrase simply refers to the fact that the modern man carries within himself a greater sense of his own individual rights and responsibilities. In the present section, we encounter three important events that have contributed to this frame of mind: Pietism, the Enlightenment, and the British and French Revolutions.

Pietism was a movement of religious revival that spread from England to the Netherlands to Germany (that is, in the three traditional heartlands of Protestantism). In its earliest stages it arose as a reaction to the sterile orthodoxy of the state churches, but in its later stages it also provided a counterblast to the rising tide of rationalism in the universities (i.e., to the influence of Descartes). The original inspiration for this movement came from the Puritans, for in the course of their struggle against the Anglicans, a number of divines began turning their attention from the standards of outward practice to the disciplines of inner piety (e.g., William Perkins, Lewis Bayly, William Ames, Richard Baxter, and John Owen). In the course of time, this more interior approach to religion was carried over the channel into the Netherlands, where it generated a similar movement known as the Second Dutch Reformation (e.g., Jean Taffin, Godefridus Udemans, Willem Teellinck, and Gysbertus Voetius). By the time it reached Germany, it acquired the named Pietism and was increasingly associated with the name of its most influential spokesperson Philipp Jakob Spener (fl. 1663).[47] In Spener's writings, interior mysticism, practical morality, and doctrinal orthodoxy achieved what has become widely regarded as its classical expression. His teaching was attacked by the vanguard of orthodox theology, but it resulted in the founding of the University of Halle. From there it came to exercise an important influence on the Moravians.[48] and from them on the Methodists. Beyond that, however, we see little of the revolutionary spirit in Germany that was shortly to stir throughout

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[47] **Philipp Jakob Spener** was greatly influenced by the mystical literature of Johann Arndt (within the Lutheran tradition) and also by the practical piety of Jean de Labadie (within the Calvinist tradition). His teaching first began to gain a hearing in Frankfurt in the 1660s. He taught that the zeal for right doctrine had been strangling the cause of holiness within Lutheranism. In his work entitled *Earnest Desire for a Reform of the True Evangelical Church*, he calls for: (1) the practice of meeting in homes to study the Scriptures; (2) increased participation of the laity in the management of the local church; (3) the combination of doctrinal knowledge with spiritual practice; (4) the kindly treatment of heretics; (5) the incorporation of devotional exercises in the academic life of universities; (6) preaching aimed at practical piety rather than rhetorical praise.

[48] **The Moravian Church** has the distinction of being the only reformed church older than Protestantism. For many centuries, it had preserved the teachings of the 15th century martyr Jan Hus. By now, however, they had been reduced to a mere remnant by the ravages of the Thirty Years War. Nevertheless, a small company of them migrated to the estate of one Count Zinzendorf in the region of Lusatia in 1622. After retiring from political life, the count became a cleric of the church, bringing them under the influence of Pietism and establishing missions for them throughout India, England, and America (in the latter case through his connections with William Penn). As we shall see, it was the Moravians who transmitted the traditions of Pietism back to England and America and who, in the course of time, provided the immediate backdrop for the event known in England and America as the Great Awakening.

England, France, and America in the 18th century. The old medieval system of government was still very much a reality in Catholic Austria, while the collectivity of secessionist monarchies followed the lead of Protestant Prussia. Although the latter was quickly establishing itself as the most powerful nation in central Europe, it would remain a monarchy well into the 20th century.

The Enlightenment was very different. For most of the Middle Ages, the intellectual life of the west had operated under the presumption of Christianity. Its truth claims had been backed by a tremendous amount of authority, and this lent itself more to an attitude of acquiescence than to one of critical inquiry. Now, however, man had attained a substantial amount of freedom, along with tangible gains in nearly every field of human knowledge. He had overturned medieval physics, politics, and philosophy, as well as made huge strides in medicine, navigation, and warfare. All of this begged the question of whether the continuation of human progress might not require him to submit his religious beliefs to the tribunal of rational criticism. The earliest spokesperson for this idea was the philosopher Francis Bacon, who called for a re-evaluation of all existing knowledge, the provision of which would require a readiness to question authority and a confidence in the power of reason (d. 1626). The individual who laid the foundation for carrying such a project out was the philosopher Rene Descartes, who as we saw previously replaced medieval scholasticism with a modern system of knowledge that subjected old ideas to systematic doubt and only admitted those new ideas which could be established on the basis of rational proof (d. 1650). Although he insisted that the modern method did not apply to matters belonging to the sphere of religious faith, it is understandable if others regarded this as an arbitrary limitation. Most thinkers were persuaded that reason should be free to pursue its course without the intrusion of external authority. It has become customary to associate this new attitude with a posture of hostility to religion, but even a cursory glance at the facts reveals that this was far from the case. To be sure, there were those for whom the free exercise of reason led to atheism, the earliest examples being Thomas Hobbes and Baruch Spinoza. But there were also those for whom the free exercise of reason led to deism, the earliest examples being Herbert of Cherbury and Claude Gilbert. Finally, there were those for whom the free exercise of reason led theism and/or a receptivity to revealed religion, the earliest examples being Nicolas Malebranche, Ralph Cudworth (leader of the Cambridge Platonists).[49] and Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (the fountainhead of the

[49] **The Cambridge Platonists** were a group of Anglican clergyman who taught at the University of Cambridge (Benjamin Whichcote, John Smith, Nathaniel Culverwel, Peter Sterry, and Henry More). As advocates of the free use of reason, they were fully prepared to leave behind the dogmatic posture of Puritanism. Nevertheless, they believed reason had taken a wrong turn with the empiricism of Thomas Hobbes and that it needed to return to the path of rationalism laid down by Descartes. At the same time, they felt that his methods need not imply a purely mechanist view of nature but could be used to recover the teleological view of nature found in Plato, and that this, in turn, should serve as a prelude to the revealed religion of Christianity.

Scholastic-Cartesian-Leibnizian-Wolffian Tradition).[50] The Protestant philosopher Pierre Bayle achieved fame as the earliest historian of ideas during this period, and he was himself an enigmatic combination of cool-headed reasoning and heartfelt piety, possessing both the objectivity of Descartes as well as the subjectivity of Pascal (his most famous work was the *Historical and Critical Dictionary* [Netherlands, 1697]).

The British Revolution (1660 - 1763)

On the British Isles, absolute power monarchy had occasioned a struggle between the king and parliament. Previously, we saw how this struggle gave birth to the English Civil War (1642 - 1649). The aftermath of this war is called the Interregnum, a period in which the reins of the government passed from the king to parliament to the stewardship of Oliver Cromwell (1649 – 1653). This, in turn, was followed by the Restoration, a period in which the reins of the government retraced their steps from the protector to parliament to Charles II (1660 - 1688). To a great many, it seemed a particularly discouraging case of all for naught: after years of bloody sacrifice and six government turnovers they had come no further than where they had started. The battle was not over yet, however, and the country now stood on the threshold of its most significant revolution. To be sure, the old way of things had been restored, but it no longer found itself ruling over the same people. The vast majority no longer believed in the divine right of kings, but neither did they wish to return to the biblical commonwealth of the Puritans. Instead, we find the desire for political and religious freedom that has since become the hallmark of all western democratic republics.

Charles II ruled for a full twenty-five years (1660 – 1685). He became known as the "Merry Monarch", a reference to his notorious hedonism in which the public also indulged following the ten years of moral austerity they had experienced under Puritanism. Although the king was not very religious, it was his rule which secured the victory of Anglicanism and broke the political power of the Puritans. He demanded absolute conformity to the requirements of the state church in all three spheres of his kingdom, outlawing private assembly, making it mandatory for the laity to attend church, and by requiring the clergy to use the liturgy. In England, Puritan ministers left by the thousands in order to establish

[50] **The Scholastic-Cartesian-Leibnizian-Wolffian Tradition** was a school of thought that sought to combine medieval scholasticism, the mechanistic view of nature advanced by Descartes, and the teleological view of reality advanced by Leibniz (in particular his theory of monads, according to which reality is not an aggregate of atoms that make up the physical world, but rather a hierarchy of invisible minds that project a purely phenomenal world, the various purposes of which work toward the achievement a single providential end, guided according to a pre-established harmony). The task of bringing these three strands of tradition together was carried out by the great systematizer Christian Wolff in the 18th century Germany. He provided the first philosophical system to be used by the state sponsored school systems, the appearance of which occasioned a conflict between those who advocated Pietism and those who advocated Enlightenment (in fact, Christian Wolff was deprived of his chair at the University of Halle in 1723, though he was later invited back in 1740).

separate congregations on the continent. In Scotland, the Presbyterian covenanters were forced underground and reduced to holding illegal services in the countryside. In Ireland, however, the Catholics received official protection from the more rigorous requirements of the law (giving rise to the just suspicion that the king harbored secret sympathies toward Romanism). Most non-conformists went into hiding but in the process produced what are universally regarded as among the finest gems in religious literature, such as Isaak Walton's *The Compleat Angler*, John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, and John Milton's *Paradise Lost*. Before long, however, popular taste in literature would turn to secular prose novels like Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, Samuel Richardon's *Pamela*, Henry Fielding's *Tom Jones*, and Laurence Sterne's *Tristam and Shandy*.

Charles' son didn't rule very long (1685 – 1688). James II was openly Catholic and had begun courting a political alliance with France. Parliament, therefore, arranged for an invasion of the country by the king's son-in-law and his eldest daughter (both of whom had been serving as regents in the Netherlands). The reign of William and Mary set the future agenda for the isles: they were elected by parliament, staunchly Protestant, and determined in their opposition to France. When they arrived on the coast, the king went into hiding, thus effecting a bloodless revolution (later dubbed the Glorious Revolution). The new administration immediately set about producing a document that would lay out the legal rights and responsibilities of the monarch, parliament, and the citizenry. From thenceforth, the English Bill of Rights served as the country's established constitution (though there continued to be disagreement about the proper balance of power, the Tories granting more to the king and the Whigs granting more to parliament). The Jacobites were the opponents of the new system, consisting mostly of royalists, dissenters, and Catholics (largely concentrated in northern England, Ireland, and Scotland).[51] As for William's foreign policy, he sought to contain the absolute monarchy of the French by forging alliances with the other nations of Europe. Louis XIV, therefore, began taking steps to break up these alliances and forge alliances of his own, and thus was initiated a series of worldwide conflicts known as the Second Hundred Years War (roughly spanning 1689 - 1763). Unlike the Thirty Years War, these nations were no longer fighting to preserve their religion, but rather, their colonial empires. Accordingly, a new fight broke out every time it looked like political power was about to change

[51] **The Jacobite Uprising of 1745** was the last of several attempts by this faction to re-establish the monarchy of the Stuarts. A large number of highland clansmen gathered around the heir apparent at Glenfinnan in 1745. Popularly known as "Bonnie Prince Charlie", he led the army south, scoring a number of initial victories, but he was eventually defeated at the Battle of Culloden in 1746. This broke the strength of the royalist party, and it placed Scotland more firmly into the hands of the English (the aftermath of this event is used as the setting for Robert Louis Stevenson's *Kidnapped*).

hands, either because a monarch died, because he tried to expand into someone else's territory, or because he flip-flopped in his political allegiances. In many ways, these battles set the pattern for modern international warfare, spanning the continents of Europe, Asia, and America (they are widely regarded as preludes to World Wars I and II).

As for the religious makeup of the country, the supremacy of the state church was ensured by restricting the right to hold public office to communicating Anglicans. A more tolerant atmosphere was created by granting the right of assembly to Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Quakers (it was not granted to atheists, Catholics, or Unitarians). Those bishops who regarded their institution as the ark of true religion became known as the "high church" (claiming for the episcopacy a chain of authority leading back to the apostles), while those who remained in fellowship with dissenting groups became known as the "low church" (also known as broad churchmen, or "Latitudinarians"). The king, for his part, favored the latter group, appointing John Tillotson as archbishop of Canterbury. Although raised by Puritans, Tillotson was among those who converted to Anglicanism during the Restoration. His preaching was highly regarded in its time, and it exhibited a number of features that were soon to become normative in the state church, namely, a decreased emphasis on the interior values of Pietism and an increased emphasis on the prudential and intellectual values of the Enlightenment. Accordingly, the signal virtues of the church were to be found in its austerity, tolerance, and intellectualism (its most distinguished members included scientists like Isaac Newton and Robert Boyle and philosophers like John Locke, Samuel Clarke, and George Berkeley). Its signal vices were that it was neither very fervent, nor very energetic, nor very evangelical (no doubt in reaction against the excesses of the Puritans, Baptists, and Quakers). One remarkable exception to these trends was William Law, a scholarly Jacobite, who combined the principles of Pietism with those of the Enlightenment and who exercised a profound influence on the likes of John Wesley and Samuel Johnson. But this was more the exception than the rule, and thus a prolonged struggle emerged between those who began to espouse deism and those who continued to espouse the revealed religion of the Bible. The controversy began with the publication of John Toland's *Christianity Not Mysterious* (1696), a work which immediately called forth a storm of opposition. The best work of the deists was Matthew Tindal's *Christianity as Old as the Creation* (regarded as a kind of deistic Bible, 1730). Other deists included Shaftesbury, Anthony Collins, Thomas Woolston, Thomas Morgan, Thomas Chubb, and Bolingbroke. The best work of the apologists was Joseph Butler's *The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed* (which garnered praise even from its detractors, 1736). Other apologists included Lardner, Bentley, Samuel Chandler, Thomas Sherlock, Zachary Pearce, Richard Smalbrooke, James Foster, John Conybeare, John Chapman, William Warburton, and John Leland. By

the middle of the next century, the deistic movement was in decline: its arguments had proved very effective in dislodging inadequate ideas about religion, but they proved less effective against more capable presentations of Christianity. Nevertheless, the influence of the deists spread to the other two democratic republics, France (e.g., Voltaire) and America (e.g., Thomas Paine, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson).

The French Revolution (1715 – 1799)

When we last saw the French, they were flourishing under the autocratic rule of Louis XIV, and they were mostly made up of Protestants and Catholics. In less than a hundred years, the country would have no king, almost no Protestants, and significantly fewer genuine Catholics. All of this was the result of what is universally recognized as one of the most violent religio-political movements in history, the French Revolution. The French Revolution birthed yet another secular republic for western civilization, but this one was different from the others in that it was hostile to Christianity.

The causes of the revolution are usually traced back to the reign of Louis XIV, beginning with his persecution of the Huguenots. It is important to understand that this change of policy did not emerge from any specific act of provocation but out of his general belief that no one should be exempt from royal authority. Since the reformed religion was still legal, the king instead sought to make its adherents miserable by quartering soldiers in their houses, using extortion to get their property, and taking away their children, thereby providing strong incentives for them to convert or leave the country (the Dragonnades of 1681). As a next step, the king revoked their legal right to exist, resulting in the closure of schools, the burning of churches and the exile of pastors (the Edict of Fountainebleu of 1685). Before long, the reformed faith could only be found in the rural countryside, and though valiant attempts were made to organize an underground church and to engage in guerilla warfare, they too were eventually subdued by the crown (the rebels were sent to the gallows following the Camisard War of 1702 - 1704). The king had driven out the Protestants and returned the country to Catholicism (a feat which won for him the commendation of the papacy). But the victory had come at great cost to France: domestically she had deprived herself of several hundred thousand of her best citizens, and in foreign relations she had become a stench in the nostrils of the nations around her that supported Protestantism.

The king then set out to destroy Jansenism, hoping thereby to purify Catholicism (though he only succeeded in driving large numbers of people away from it). He requested the pope issue a bull, and the latter promulgated a document entitled *Unigenitus* in 1713. Although its purpose was to condemn the teaching of Cornelius Jansen, the document could not do so without reasserting a number of

increasingly unpopular ideas, one being the absolute authority of the king and the pope, and another being their right to coerce obedience through the power of the sword and the threat of excommunication. It polarized the whole country, putting the people on one side, and the aristocracy, the king and the pope on the other. What is more, the resentment against authoritarian rule was only increased with the accession of his son Louis XV (1715 – 1774). Quite unequal to the office of kingship, he largely left the government in the hands of his mistress and spent the remainder of his time in ignoble pursuits. His reign saw a sharp increase in cynicism toward both the church and the monarchy, the former because of the dogmatism and hypocrisy of the clergy and the latter because of the immorality and extravagance of the aristocracy. Public intellectuals had little difficulty arguing that these tired old authorities were now the enemies of progress, the most famous among them being Voltaire, Diderot, and d'Alembert. Voltaire was undoubtedly the greatest, possessed of a brilliant mind, a witty pen, and a white-hot hatred for any institution that would use supernatural authority to immunize itself against rational or moral criticism. Around the middle of his career, another important voice was added to the chorus of dissent with the publication of Montesquieu's *Spirit of the Laws*, a scholarly bit of political theory which drew an unfavorable contrast between despotic governments and those which employed a balance of powers. Another important voice was Rousseau's *The Social Contract*, a more doctrinaire work of political theory which advanced the social contract theory of government with missionary zeal. As if these domestic squabbles were not enough, we have already seen that they were joined by a large coalition of foreign nations led by Britain. A century of international opposition came to final term in the massive conflict known as the Seven Years War (known in America as the French and Indian War, 1754 – 1763). Briefly put, the war ended with a crippling national debt and the loss of most of the colonial territories formerly held by France (the largest of which were Canada and Louisiana).[52]

The revolution occurred during the reign of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette (1774 – 1791). The king found himself at the head of an extremely unpopular administration that was spiraling into debt. According, he tried to find ways to create a more democratic atmosphere and to improve the country's political situation (mostly notably, by supporting the American Revolution). Unfortunately, the monarch's concessions of power did little more than embolden his enemies, and his involvement in the war merely hastened the country's descent into

[52] **The Suppression of the Jesuits**: In the aftermath of the war, there came a growing recognition that the papacy had managed to extend its control over international affairs long beyond its term via the order of the Jesuits. Thus, there began a movement to expel members of the order from the positions of political influence, beginning in Portugal, and then moving on to France, Italy, and Spain. In undertaking these expulsions, the terms of the order's constitution and the history of its operations were thoroughly examined and maligned. Eventually the pope was compelled to dissolve the order and employ its adherents as teachers in Eastern Europe (an exile from which they would not re-emerge until after the Napoleonic Wars).

bankruptcy. Now at the end of his resources, he called for the representatives of all three classes of society to meet at Versailles in 1789 (the three classes of society being the clergy, the nobility, and the common folk). Such a meeting had not been called in nearly two hundred years, and it came at a point when the common folk (who made up about ninety-five percent of the population) were hostile to the upper classes (who controlled as much as half of the country's wealth). When the meeting opened, the representatives of the people pushed through a motion to have the assembly's proceedings ratified by majority vote, in effect establishing a single chamber legislature, and declaring themselves "the National Assembly". Although the king threatened to dissolve the self-appointed parliament, its members managed to hold him in check by organizing what had hitherto been a mob into an army, which they called "the National Guard". Now in de facto control of the government, the assembly embarked on a series of breath-taking changes: it abolished the financial privileges of the nobility, drew up rules for the clergy in a document called *The Civil Constitution of the Clergy,*[53] and also drew up a bill of rights called *The Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen*.[54] Its crowning achievement, however, was the *Constitution of 1791*, which established a parliamentary monarchy (grudgingly accepted by Louis Capet). Unfortunately, the new order was not radical enough to please everyone involved: the king tried to flee the country, the clergy refused to take the oath of allegiance and the wealthy still remained very much in power. Furthermore, the rest of the nations on the continent had already begun conspiring to invade their age old rival in its moment of weakness. When war broke out between France and Austria in 1792, the country was brought to the brink of collapse, and the populace became ripe for desperate measures. A radical political group organized a mob, after which they seized the king, dissolved parliament, and called for a national convention to make further reforms to the government. This resulted in the establishing of the First French Republic, the most radical members of which succeeded not only in beheading the king (January 1793), but also their more conservative political opponents (June 1793). The government was now in the hands of a radical political party which not only caused domestic division (the rural parts of the

[53] **The Civil Constitution of the Clergy** sought to transform the church into a department of the state. Clergy were to be bound by an oath of allegiance to the constitution. In turn, they were to be elected by the people and paid by the government. The terms were almost universally rejected by the clergy, who naturally came to be viewed as enemies of the revolution. As a result, a growing faction of people began to clamor for a new religion of the state that might take the place of Christianity.

[54] **The Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen** was one of the most important documents of the revolution and was heavily influenced by the English Bill of Rights and the Declaration of Independence. It seeks to provide a definitive statement of the natural rights of all human beings, and it asserts that these are not grounded in the authority of the state but in the authority of "the Supreme Being". The purpose of government is to protect these rights, which consist of liberty, equality, property, security, and resistance to oppression. In order that it may carry out this function, the government is vested with rights of its own, such as the right to pass laws, collect taxes, and use force.

country immediately began organizing a counter-revolution), but foreign opposition (the rest of the nations were galvanized in their mutual hatred of France). To meet these challenges, the republic vested almost unlimited political power in a small executive body which they called the Committee of Public Safety. Its purpose was to protect the people against foreign and domestic enemies, and its most famous leader was Citizen Maximilien Robespierre. In just one year, it raised from among its own citizens the largest standing army in the world and was successful in holding back its foreign enemies in Europe. It also established a court system for trying and executing anyone "who either by their conduct, their contacts, their words or their writings, showed themselves to be supporters of tyranny or enemies of liberty" (or "who have not constantly manifested their attachment to the revolution"). Thus began the famous Reign of Terror (1793 – 1794), a brief period in which mass executions performed by means of the guillotine took the lives of tens of thousands of nobles, politicians, and commoners (the most notable of whom were Queen Marie Antoinette, Olympe de Gouges [an early spokeswoman for the rights of women and slaves], and Antoine Lavoisier [the father of modern chemistry]). This temporary override of the natural rights of man was supposedly justified by "the will of the people", but the theory is that it would pave the way for a subsequent "Republic of Virtue". As if the moral questionability of this policy were not enough, it was accompanied by a deliberate policy of "de-christianization", pursuant of which it attempted to destroy the practices and beliefs of Catholicism.[55] Happily, the new republic grew increasingly suspicious of its radical leadership: the Committee of Public Security was disbanded and Robespierre himself executed on July 28, 1794. In order to curb the autocratic tendencies of the government, a new constitution was drawn up which introduced a two chamber legislature (thereby balancing the legislative branch), and a council of five individuals to act as executors (thereby balancing the executive branch). It also provided for a free market economy and the free practice of religion (though the state as a whole would never again place itself under the authority of the papacy in Rome).

[55] **De-christianization** was probably the most important religious event of the revolution. It involved the marriage, expulsion, and execution of priests. Churches were re-named, pillaged, or sometimes transformed into places of worship for the new state religion. The Cathedral of Notre Dame was re-named "the Temple of Reason." The Christian calendar was replaced with a Revolutionary calendar, the first year of the new era set to coincide with the birth of the Republic (September 22, 1792). Sunday worship was abolished, and new festivals were instituted in honor of Virtue, Intelligence, Labor, Opinion, and Reward (and especially the Holy Trinity of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity). Robespierre was the primary leader behind the deistic state religion, which he called "the Cult of the Supreme Being", and he personally presided over its first annual festival (a grand affair, the culminating point of which involved the emergence of a woman dressed as Lady Liberty emerging from the doors of the Temple of Reason).

The New World Come of Age

Previously, we saw that the colonization of the western hemisphere took place in three stages: the first involved the settlement of South America by the old imperial Catholics of Italy, Portugal, and Spain; the second involved the settlement of North America by the French Catholics (i.e., in Acadia, Canada, and Louisiana); and the third involved the settlement of the east coast of America by various representatives of Protestantism (the Lutherans from Sweden, the Calvinists from the Netherlands, the Anglicans from Britain, and groups without a country like the Puritans, Baptists, and Quakers). Although most of the colonial activity in the west was simply designed to transplant old world nations onto new soil, a few of the colonists were interested in creating a better kind of society which could serve as an example to the rest of the nations, a City on a Hill.

The attempt to create a new nation faced some formidable obstacles. The most obvious was that the colonies were bound by different political loyalties. Accordingly, the early history of the colonies was largely shaped by the struggle between Britain and France. Whenever a new episode of war erupted between the two nations, the colonists sought to strengthen their patron's cause by ambushing travelers, raiding forts, and burning towns. This tumultuous phase in colonial history began appropriately enough with the Glorious Revolution, and its first installment is usually referred to as King William's War (1688 – 1697), a series of border disputes between the inhabitants of the Massachusetts Bay Colony (allied with the Iroquois) and the French Canadians (allied with the Wabanaki).[56] The second installment is referred to as Queen Anne's War (1702 – 1713), and this time the border dispute took place in both the north against the French (allied with the Wabanaki) and the south against the Spanish (allied with the Apalachee). Although the first war ended with no clear victor on either side, the second war favored the British, giving them control over the northern region that would later become Maine and the southern region that would later become Georgia.

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[56] **The Salem Witch Trials** took place in the midst of the war (i.e., in Massachusetts, from February of 1692 to May of 1693). Unfortunately, this phenomenon was not unique, but was an extension of similar episodes that had been occurring for centuries in the old world as a result of the scholastic association between witchcraft and such phenomena as heresy, schism, and wars of religion. In fact, the phenomenon was so widespread that it saw the publication of a practical manual for how to deal with witches, Heinrich Kramer's *Malleus Maleficiarum* (1486, Germany). Trials against witches were held at Trier, North Berwick, Fulda, Basque, Wurzburg, Bamberg, Salzburg, and Geneva and in two centuries this had claimed the lives of as many as 50,000 people. The Salem hysteria was premised on an atmosphere of superstitious fear occasioned by dramatic fits performed by mischievous children, and it proceeded through the giving of credence to unsubstantiated accusations. It resulted in the execution of twenty-two people (8 men and 14 women). The committee for investigating, trying, and executing witches had been encouraged by pastor Cotton Mather (the leading religious authority in the community), but it was disbanded by governor William Phips (who had hitherto been busy involved in the war, and whose opposition to the trials crystalized when suspicions of witchcraft began to be directed at his wife).

The British were on their way to becoming the dominant influence on the continent. But even if this dominance united the colonies in their opposition to Catholicism, it did precious little to unite them as Protestants. At a time when religion was looked on as the basis of political unity, it was no small matter that the colonies lacked a state church: they were divided up into Lutherans, Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers, Puritans, and Anglicans. The Lutherans had produced few churches, avoided involvement in matters of the state, and remained very much self-enclosed (their exclusive understanding of communion prevented them from entering into fellowship with other believers). The Presbyterians, likewise, did not have a great number of churches, and those which they did have remained under the authority of the eldership far across the ocean (the approval of which was necessary for the local church to even appoint ministers). The Baptists were more welcoming to outsiders and had a more efficient system of church government, but they were simply too few in number to exercise much of an influence (by the end of the century, they still had only twenty-four churches). As for the Quakers, while their passivist tendencies provided a safe haven for groups fleeing persecution, those same tendencies prevented them from maintaining and impressing their way of life on any of the surrounding colonies (in fact, they exercised tolerance to such a degree that they were quickly outnumbered and lost political influence in their own colony). In short, the only groups that possessed the resources to unify the colonies were the Puritans and the Anglicans. The Puritans had gotten a head start as far as creating a growing population, a thriving economy (fishing, shipbuilding, manufacturing), and a system of higher education (Harvard). But the maintenance of religious uniformity proved elusive in spite of a century's worth of banning, whipping, and hanging (all they succeeded in doing was to drive people away to found new colonies in places like Rhode Island, Connecticut and New Hampshire). The Anglicans had gotten off to a rough start, but their fortunes were now improving with the turn of events overseas, and they, too, hit upon a valuable export (tobacco, sugar, cotton) and also began creating colleges of their own (William and Mary). The mother country had expanded their colonial acquisitions with the taking of Delaware (1664), New Jersey (1674), and New York (1674). She also made efforts to promote Anglicanism and prohibit Catholicism in all her territories (most notably, the colony of Maryland, 1688). Finally, she had even begun planting churches in the midst of the other colonies (the earliest of which was King's Chapel, planted in Boston in 1689). This race to create religious uniformity in the colonies was in many ways the first major contest between the north and the south, but as we shall see, it would not be won by either side. The unification of the colonies would not be brought about by pressing them into the mold of a single religious creed or a single church hierarchy, but rather, through the creation of a free democratic republic based on the broad principles of Pietism (in which interior piety is set over doctrine and ecclesiology) and the Enlightenment

(in which reason is given the freedom to pursue its course without the intrusion of alien authorities).

The Awakening and Enlightenment of America (1700 - 1743)

As we have seen, the battle for religious unity was no mere squabble over private convictions, but a matter touching upon the public welfare of all the colonies. In fighting it out, however, the intense focus on right doctrine and ecclesiological control had not only failed to bring about the desired unity, but had brought many of the colonial churches into a low condition, both intellectually as well as spiritually. To be sure, this proved far less urgent to the Anglicans, for the mother country virtually ensured the continuance of their established religion. It was a much graver matter for the Puritans, however, whose way of life depended on the initiative of informed and pious church goers. Unfortunately, the religious zeal that inspired the first colonists had grown faint, and the new generation was marked by a vague air of skepticism and materialism.[57]

"The Great Awakening" refers to the revival of evangelical fervor that began in the middle colonies around the turn of the century. The fact that it began in the middle colonies provides a clue to its origin, which owed to the spread of Pietism rather than to what was then the mainline of Anglicanism and Puritanism. This, in turn, came over the ocean from the Netherlands, where as we saw earlier there had been a resurgence of pietistic teaching during the Second Dutch Reformation. This teaching was transmitted to the colonies beginning with the arrival of pastor Guiliam Barthold, who worked as a teacher, travelling evangelist, and church planter (i.e., in the Passaic River Valley [New Jersey 1694 – 1726]). The spread of this teaching to a much larger area was carried out by Domine Frelinghuysen (i.e., in the Raritan Valley [a crossroads between the colonies of New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania, 1720]). A school for training pastors how to preach effectively within this tradition was established in a small log cabin by William Tennant (this being the remote ancestor of Princeton University [Pennsylvania, 1727]). In just a few years, the revivalist style preaching of this school's graduates began to draw crowds of hundreds throughout the middles colonies, even spreading north into New England (one of the most effective early preachers was the provost's son, Gilbert Tennent). A religious movement was underway in the colonies, but it

[57] **The Half-Way Covenant**: The scarcity of conversion testimonies was accompanied by a reduction in the number of baptized children, communicating adults, and politically active members of colony. As a concession, the leaders of the community hit upon the idea of a "half-way covenant", according to which individuals who accepted the creed and were morally upright could still have their children baptized (though they were still not permitted to take communion or to vote, 1662). The idea was that this would provide generational continuity: the continued exposure of the young to the teaching at church might provide a stepping stone to conversion, and this in turn might pave the way for full church membership and political involvement. The real outcome, however, was that the churches became increasingly filled with a large number of people who no longer made religion the chief preoccupation of their life.

consisted in the revival of interior piety rather than in a zeal for the high ecclesiology of the Anglicans or the doctrinal purity of the Puritans.

"The American Enlightenment", on the other hand, refers to a movement in which the spirit of advocacy for the free exercise of reason sailed over the ocean to the colonies. It began with the donation of a large number of old world books to the library of the recently established university of Yale in 1714. These in turn began to exercise a tremendous influence through the work of a clerical student named Samuel Johnson, who said that their contents broke upon his mind like a flood of light. Johnson became increasingly concerned about the narrowness of the materials being used in the colonial universities, and he embarked on a teaching career which sought to expose his students to modern mathematics, biology, and medicine, along with the groundbreaking works of Francis Bacon, Rene Descartes, John Locke, Robert Boyle, Isaac Newton, and George Berkeley (all of which together became known as "the New Learning"). Johnson's researches also led him to make a deeper investigation into the history of his faith, a process which confirmed him in his Christianity, but also led him to reject Puritanism for Anglicanism (a very public decision in which he was followed by nine other ministers, and referred to by his opponents as "the Great Apostasy"). Thereafter, he devoted himself to doing missionary work on behalf of the mother church, and he also initiated an intellectual war of ideas between Anglicanism (which sought to establish a permanent home for the new curriculum at King's College in New York) and Puritanism (which by now had reinstated the older system of learning at Yale in Connecticut). In addition, the free exercise of reason led to the emergence of deistic thought in the colonies, the most notable exponent of which was the printer, scientist, and inventor Benjamin Franklin. Franklin was among the first to promote colonial institutions in which the members were bound together not by their adherence to any particular religious creed, but through their shared commitment to belief in a deity, natural moral law, and practical common sense. Examples of this can be found in his advocacy of the Freemasons,[58] his founding of the American Philosophical Society,[59] and his co-founding of the University of Pennsylvania.[60] More importantly, however, he was the first to take definite steps

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[58] **The Freemasons** were a fraternity of stonemasons, first attested in 17th century Europe. The members held meetings in lodges, and as a condition of their membership, they were required to confess belief in a deity, but were not permitted to debate matters of religion or politics. The organization was built up around a core of masonry skills and moral values and sought to preserve these through rites of initiation and symbols which they put on their buildings. Because of the secrecy of the group and the mysteriousness of their symbols and rituals, they were often suspected of being involved in more than just masonry, and therefore, became a magnet for conspiracy theories.

[59] **The American Philosophical Society** was a community of scholarly individuals. Its name is a little misleading, since it was directed less toward the theoretical and more toward the practical aspect of knowledge (especially such areas as politics and technology). Its members included such notables as George Washington, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Paine, James Madison, etc.

[60] **The University of Pennsylvania** was preceded by such notable institutions as Harvard, William and Mary, Yale, and Princeton. It was the first colonial school specifically dedicated to professional rather than religious training.

toward uniting the colonies on the basis of what might be called “enlightened pietism”; that is, a broadly religious citizenry and the provision of a secular democratic republic (indeed, he is responsible for drafting an initial proposal for such government in the Albany Plan for penning the first draft of the Articles of Confederation as well as for serving as a delegate in both Constitutional Conventions).

Jonathan Edwards is perhaps the greatest early example of enlightened pietism, for he straddled both the Great Awakening and the American Enlightenment. Born into a pastor’s family, he grew up amidst the austere religiosity of colonial Puritanism. Trained at Yale, he received an excellent education in the maths, sciences, and humanities, and took a particular interest in the physics of Newton, the politics of John Locke, and the philosophy of George Berkeley. After becoming senior pastor over a small local congregation, his deeply intellectual and emotionally stirring preaching began persuading large numbers of people to repent of their sin and put their faith in the gospel (Northampton Massachusetts, 1729 - 1734). Shockingly, a number of individuals were driven to take their own life, but the congregation grew by about three hundred, and the spirit of revival began spreading to such outlying areas as South Hadley, Northfield, Coventry, Windsor, and Stratford. Those who responded negatively to the fresh burst of religious enthusiasm were dubbed “the old lights”, while those who responded positively became known as “the new lights”. The latter by their very nature disrupted the status quo of the established church, and this unfortunately resulted in a large number of splits throughout the congregations of New England. These splits were not driven by innovations in doctrine (which remained Calvinist), nor by innovations in ecclesiology (which remained congregational), but rather by virtue of the fact that the new teaching subordinated both of these things to the individual’s experience of having been personally transformed through the power of the gospel (this being the fundamental sign of their inclusion in the Kingdom of God). In other words, the revival called into question the importance of the social hierarchies that had grown up within the colonies: a new basis for kinship was discovered in the fact that people everywhere were being redeemed for a common destiny, thus undermining the idea that their present station in life was somehow an expression of the will of God. The members of this new family might belong to other churches or other nations or even be slaves. Accordingly, the movement did much to soften the differences that divided up the colonists, most significantly, in the area of race. As the conversions occurred among people of all races, they precipitated a disagreement about slavery among the clergy and a growing distaste for slavery among the populace (though

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As such, students who attended were not required to subscribe to a particular statement of faith, and their classes were largely geared toward achieving practical success in one or another of the applied sciences.

they did not yet result in widespread efforts at abolition). All of this provided rich material for thought for this intellectually inclined pastor, who produced the first studies in the psychology of conversion, of the differences between real and apparent religious experience, and of the spiritual equality between whites and blacks (although he was himself a slave owner, he denounced the practices of the slave trade and looked for the time when the institution would be abolished).

The spirit of revival was not limited to the Puritans but also reached the Anglicans, and here our attention is drawn to the Methodist Revival led by such men as Howell Harris, George Whitefield, and John Wesley. Although this movement began in England, its inclusion in this section is justified by the fact that it left its greatest impression on America. As we have seen, the ousting of Puritanism and the advent of the Enlightenment had given rise to deism among some and to the cooling of evangelical fervor among others. Nevertheless, there were plenty of conditions at hand for anyone who wanted to revive the old-time religion in the written testimony left behind by the Puritans. Early examples of traditional piety can be found in the hymnody of Isaac Watts (who began pastoring in London in 1701) or in the living testimony of the Moravians (attested on the isles as early as 1728). As a result, the revival on the isles was not a single movement, but involved a plurality of individuals who experienced an evangelical quickening at different places and different times. The earliest examples can be found in the evangelistic preaching of Griffith Jones (ca. 1731) and Howell Harris (ca. 1735). The most influential individuals, however, came from a religious organization devoted to the rediscovery of pious living which began at Oxford in 1729. Its founders called it the Holy Club, but outsiders mockingly referred to its members as "Methodists" (in reference to the methodical way in which they devoted themselves to prayer, study, and ascetic and charitable works). The most influential members were, of course, George Whitefield (who experienced an evangelical conversion in 1735), and John Wesley (who experienced an evangelical conversion in 1738).[61]

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[61]**John Wesley** (1703 - 1791): John Wesley began his work of revivalism in Britain (though it would later spread to America). It followed in the aftermath of a famous conversion experience, in which, as he put it, his heart was "strangely warmed" upon listening to a presentation of Luther's commentary on Romans by the Moravians (Aldersgate, 1738). For about a year he conducted his ministry within that group, though he eventually broke with them over the issue of quietism (i.e., the belief that passive contemplation should be the true expression of mystical life). Afterward, he sought to promote a more active expression of mystical life in what would come to be called the Methodist Society (England, 1739). Although he formally belonged to the state church, he flouted many of its conventions, preaching in open fields, appointing lay ministers, and planting new churches. As the new communities lacked formal oversight, he developed a set of general rules whereby they might become self-regulating, including a rotational system for collecting tithes, appointing ministers, and holding general conferences (the so-called *Methodist Discipline*). His practical industry is almost without parallel in the history of evangelism for its energy, organization, and effectiveness. As for his teaching, he became one of the most influential spokespersons for the abolition of slavery and for the theology of Jacob Arminius.

The first centers of their revival activity were located on the isles, but they were also given access to the colonies through their connection with James Oglethorpe (founder of the colony of Georgia). It was he who assigned the pastoral leadership of his colony to John Wesley, who in turn assigned the work of evangelizing the colonies to George Whitefield. And it was the work of the latter which brought revival to the Anglicans (paralleling the earlier revival among the Puritans). George Whitefield brought the spirit of revivalism in the colonies to an unprecedented pitch, first visiting the southern colonies (1738), then the middle colonies (1739), and finally the northern colonies (1740). He was the planet's first open air mass evangelist, and his efforts met with the approval of the redoubtable Jonathan Edwards (though the aging preacher was beginning to have reservations about the authenticity of much of the phenomena associated with revival, thoughts he would later record in a work entitled *Religious Affections*). His daily preaching drew crowds numbering in the tens of thousands (a number that initially met with skepticism but was verified by such notable attendees as David Hume in Scotland and Benjamin Franklin in Massachusetts). Although the evangelist did not meet with the approval of David Hume, he found one of his most ardent supporters in Benjamin Franklin (who, although he did not share the evangelist's beliefs about the gospel, was prepared to support any movement which contributed to the promotion of colonial religiosity). As before, the revival brought about the conversion of a large number marginalized individuals, especially slaves (in the northern colonies, opposition to slavery was very high by the time of the revolution). Furthermore, these new converts had been united into a new community on the basis of shared experience rather than on dogma or ecclesiology. Thus, we come to the end of the dominion of southern Anglicanism and northern Puritanism. To be sure, these groups continued to exist, as did the smaller communions of Lutherans, Presbyterians, and Quakers. But all of them together were soon to be overcast by the denomination whose flexibility adapted itself most easily to the spirit of revivalism, that is, the Baptists. Thousands of members were added, hundreds of churches were built, and missions organizations began to flourish in other colonies (they even founded their own school on Rhode Island, Brown University).

The American Revolution (1775 – 1783)

As a result of the foregoing movements, the colonies were able to establish a broad cultural identity basis of enlightened piety (whether deistic or evangelical). The spirit of revivalism began to cool, however, as they became increasingly engulfed in a political struggle for independence (though it continued to advance overseas under the influence of John Wesley and would revisit the colonies after the war in a Second Great Awakening). In the meantime, however, war erupted once again between the empires of Britain and France (known in the colonies as

King George's War, 1744 – 1748). As before, the colonies of both empires took part in a much smaller struggle to renegotiate their borders, but at the end of the war the empires drew up a treaty returning them to their pre-war status. The fact that the mother country was not able to reward the colonies for fighting on her behalf did little to increase their feelings of devotion.

Nevertheless, the upcoming Seven Years War was the most decisive event leading up to the revolution (1755 – 1764). As mentioned earlier, it was the final confrontation in what had now become a century long conflict between the empires of France and Britain (known in the colonies as the French and Indian War). A few notable features on the colonial end of the war include the penning of the song Yankee Doodle,[62] the early military career of George Washington, and Pontiac's Rebellion (the aftermath of which saw the first attempt to segregate natives by putting them on "reserves"). At the conclusion of the war, France lost all of her colonial holdings (Arcadia, Canada, and Louisiana). Britain gained considerable territory but also acquired a massive national debt (which she hoped to pay off by taxing the colonies). A series of new taxes were rolled out (popularly called "the intolerable acts"), immediately evoking the cry of "no taxation without representation" (i.e., questioning the right of a country to rule over a people that had been given no voice in parliament). As it was the center of colonial commerce, the focal point of opposition was in Boston, led by such men as Samuel Adams and organizations like the Sons of Liberty (responsible for the famous "tea party"). In order to enforce his new laws, the king began bringing troops over to the colonies. In turn, the colonists began to take up arms, train men, and organize militias. As both sides began preparing themselves for the possibility of war, a congress of representatives gathered to discuss strategies for negotiating with the crown (Philadelphia, 1774).[63] Finally, as royal militia advanced to seize the military stores of the colonists, a shot was fired "heard around the world", resulting in the famous ride of Paul Revere and the Battles of Lexington and Concord (1775). The Puritans were at the forefront of the revolution. The Anglicans, naturally, had the greatest struggle with over half of their ministers stepping down from their posts. The Methodists took a similar position, not yet having formally separated from their mother church. The Baptists were quite enthusiastic, but the Quakers were not.

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[62] **"Yankee"** was a derogatory term used by the British against New Englanders (though the origin of the word remains obscure). Although the song mocks the colonists as effeminate and unintelligent, it became one of their most popular lyrics.

[63] **The First Continental Congress** involved delegates from twelve of the colonies (the only one not in representation was Georgia). The number of men who attended was upward of three hundred, the most notable of which included the likes of John Adams, Patrick Henry, and Thomas Jefferson. John Adams was destined to become the leader of the assembly, and though he publicly spoke on behalf of peace, he privately favored the idea of independence. In the meantime, the congress entertained a wide range of proposals, but eventually ultimately settled on a mild document called *Declaration and Resolves*. It consisted of a colonial bill of rights, a list of grievances, and a program for the boycotting of goods imported from Britain.

Although shots had been fired, a full year would pass before the colonists made a formal declaration of war. A wide range of individuals called for such a declaration, examples of which are familiar from the speeches of Patrick Henry (a southern planter and pious Anglican), or the political tracts of Thomas Paine (an old world politician and deist, who also acquired a reputation for his hostility to Christianity). In Britain, parliamentary meetings were held to discuss the matter, and the colonies found a sympathetic advocate in the philosopher Edmund Burke but hostile opponent in the prime minister Lord North. In America, a second congress of representatives was called to reassess the relationship between the colonies and their mother country (Philadelphia, 1775).[64] The leader of the congress was John Adams (a lawyer, politician, and Puritan). It was he who pushed the most aggressively for the decision to assert colonial independence. But its primary spokesperson was Thomas Jefferson (a planter, politician, and deist). It was he who drew up the famous declaration of colonial independence, which justified the decision of the colonies by citing a list of grievances and by enumerating the natural rights to which they were entitled by their Creator (July 4th, 1776). Accordingly, it became necessary for the congress to raise an army, appoint diplomats, and draw up a provisional system of government (called the Articles of Confederation).

The American Revolution lasted for eight years (1775 – 1783). In Britain, popular support for the war was high among the Anglicans, though a more neutral stance was assumed by the Methodists (partly because they were trying to establish missions in the colonies and partly because they were busy advancing an evangelical revival on the isles [e.g., it is to this period that we owe the work of such notables as William Cowper, John Newton, and William Wilberforce]). In America, popular support for the war was also high, and within religious circles, there was the emergence of a fresh wave of millennialism (i.e., in the belief that the colonies might be ordained to serve as the seat of man's moral perfection and the second coming of Christ). As for the war itself, the British sent tens of thousands of troops into the colonies. The congress raised a continental army and placed it under the command an Anglican named George Washington (who had acquired political experience in Virginia and military experience in the French and Indian War). Although the colonists lost a great many of the battles, the cost of war was great, and it was increasingly difficult to clench victory as colonists were receiving foreign help from France, Spain, and the Netherlands. After Washington defeated Cornwallis at Yorktown in 1781, the British conceded defeat. The independence of the colonies was recognized in the Treaty of Paris of 1783.

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[64] **The Articles of Confederation** was the first constitutional government instituted among the thirteen original colonies. It remained in effect throughout the period of the war but was later replaced by the United States Constitution. The main reason for its eventual revocation was the fact that it gave not enough power to the federal legislature and too much power to the state legislatures, making it a very inefficient system of government.

After the Revolution, fear for their own interests made it difficult again for the colonies to unite. In order to revise the Articles of Confederation, fifty-five delegates met in Philadelphia in 1787. Instead of revising them, however, they rewrote the document altogether, producing the Constitution (mostly with the help of James Madison)[65]. The new government needed to be ratified by popular conventions from 9 of the 13 colonies. Although many people remained passively uninvolved, the politically involved elite divided into two groups, the Federalists (who favored it) and the Anti-federalists (who opposed it). The former only won through the promise of limiting the power of government by the addition of ten amendments, thereafter referred to as the Bill of Rights (which to this day remains the sole condition legitimizing the authority of the Constitution). These, in turn, guaranteed the freedom of religion, speech, press, petition, assembly, right to bear arms, protection against unreasonable search and seizure and arrest, trial by jury, due process of law, and protection of property rights. The Constitution achieved ratification by a minimum of nine states on June 21, 1788. The first congressional hearing of the new government followed shortly thereafter in New York, 1789. It was soon recognition among foreign statesmen that an important milestone had been reached in modern history. The Venetian ambassador to Paris said: *If only the union of the American provinces is preserved, it is reasonable to expect that, with the favorable effects of time, and of European arts and sciences, it will become the most formidable power in the world*.

[65]**The United States Constitution** is a relatively short document. It consists of a preamble, followed by seven articles, and then a list of the various amendments. The seven articles are as follows: (1) the first enumerating the powers of the legislative branch of government; (2) the second enumerating the powers of the executive branch of government; (3) the third enumerating the powers of the judicial branch of government; (4) the fourth establishes the relationship between the federal and state governments; (5) the fifth outlines the process for making amendments; (6) the sixth establishes the constitution as the supreme law of the land, of the federal over the state legislature, and further specifies that no religious test shall be administered for the holding of public office; (7) and the seventh outlines the procedure for the document's ratification by the various colonies.

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The Brave New World

By the 19th century, the modern world had grown to maturity. In Catholic nations, the political power of the pope was broken, though he still ruled over the millions of people dwelling in the papal states. In the traditional heartlands of Protestantism, the power of the monarchy was giving way before an increasingly autonomous public.

Nevertheless, while Protestant influence in these countries had been united in its opposition to papal imperialism, it had been divided over how to restructure the church and the state. The political conservatives of the day still favored the old way of monarchy (e.g., the benevolent despotism of Germany). The political liberals of the day favored the new way of representative democracy (e.g., the republics of America, Britain, and France). But here again there were differences: in America the new way of government began, as it were, with a blank slate, while in Europe the new way of government had to clear away centuries of political tradition. There had been two approaches: (1) in the peaceably established republic of Britain, a more conservative approach was adopted, so that the democratic element was merely added to already existing structures of constitution, parliament, and king (here, the primary purpose of the liberal state was seen as that of protecting the freedom of individuals [equality was seen as opportunity to exercise freedom]); (2) in the violently established republic of France, a more liberal approach was adopted so that the democratic element was made to predominate over constitution, parliament, and king (and here, the purpose of the liberal state was seen as that of establishing equality throughout the collectivity [freedom was seen as liberation from inequality]).

Broadly speaking, the political differences between these nations reflected their remote heritage within Protestantism, and especially, the different attitudes they took toward Pietism and the Enlightenment. In the conservative monarchy of Germany, the church had grown accustomed to assuming a passive role in political affairs following the pattern of Luther, and this tendency had been increased among the uneducated majority through the influence of Pietism. A contrary tendency was found among the educated minority through the influence of the Enlightenment. In America, the two movements worked together, the predominant expression of piety being its deeply experiential evangelical revivals, and the

predominant expression of enlightenment being its practical ingenuity in politics, economics, and technology. In Britain, the two movements kindly ignored one another: while the cause of piety was being advanced by the Methodism of John Wesley, the most powerful products of enlightened thinking were increasingly detached from any direct engagement with religion, as in the historical scholarship of Edward Gibbon, the free market economics of Adam Smith, the utilitarian ethics of Jeremy Bentham, and the skeptical epistemology of David Hume. In France, the religious atmosphere of the country was positively hostile, there being a sharp division between those who wanted to preserve the church and those who wanted to destroy it. Accordingly, the free thinkers of this period fell into two camps: the Traditionalists, who opposed the free exercise of reason (e.g., de Maistre, de Bonald, and Chateaubriand), and the Ideologists, who praised it as a savior that would advance mankind toward intellectual and moral perfection (e.g., Turgot, de Condorcet, and de Tracy). In the midst of all this diversity, the question naturally arose as to whether it was better to preserve the status quo or seek for the establishment of a new world order. In either case, for the first time in many centuries, the church found itself a pilgrim in a purely secular society.

The Old World Struggle for Global Power

The most important event at the beginning of this period was the sudden rise and fall of the Napoleonic Empire. It was the first attempt to transform modern civilization into a single world order, advancing the cause of freedom and equality by military force, and therefore calling forth a negative reaction from the conservative monarchies of the old world. But it was also an important event for the whole church, not only because of its apocalyptic overtones, but because it drew within its net representatives of the three main traditions of Christianity, Lutheran Prussia, Catholic Austria, and Orthodox Russia.

The Russian Empire was a new player in world affairs. For centuries, it had quietly been growing into the most formidable military power on the continent. The state religion belonged to one of the many eastern branches of the church that had become ethnically fixed during the Middle Ages. Only recently had their monarchs begun to avail themselves of modern culture, but they kept a watchful eye on anything that might encourage pious individualism, freedom of thought, or political revolution. As for Austria, she was the most powerful of the many states that came into being after the disintegration of the medieval papal empire. Although it had remained loyal to the papacy, it was just beginning to open its doors to other confessions and to the free exercise of reason. Nevertheless, it immediately began to place these influences under the control of the secret police, when it began to see large numbers of its people striving to liberate themselves

from the papacy and the monarchy. As for Prussia, we have already seen that the king's policy of benevolent despotism and his relatively passive citizenry had held off the day of revolution, in spite of the fact that it had been one of the most active centers of Pietism and the Enlightenment. Accordingly, more than any other old world monarchy, it enjoyed a steady flow of both secular and religious culture. In the secular sphere, it enjoyed a rich literature, the scientific advancements of Gauss, and the music of Bach, Haydn, and Mozart. In the religious sphere, we see two important events, the first of which was a reaction against Pietism, and the second of which was a reaction against the Enlightenment. Although Pietism began as a much-needed effort to awaken the spirituality of the state churches, it often degenerated into an attitude of hostility toward reason and an uncritical acceptance of all things subjective. An increasing number of its proponents grew ambivalent about traditional doctrine and indulged in bogus prophesies, visions, and out-of-body experiences (a more reputable defender of such extravagancies can be found in the mystic Emanuel Swedenborg).[66] The spread of such phenomena naturally eroded public confidence in the state religion, and this in turn precipitated a very thorough investigation into claims about the supernatural, particularly those of Christianity. In the field of religious studies, many theologians began to exhibit a more rationalist bent, the most notable of which was Siegmund Jakob Baumgarten. In the field of philosophy, many of the cultural elite began to turn toward naturalistic deism, and here we find such notable examples as Reimarus and Mendelssohn. In the field of scholarship, we find a large number of individuals making critical investigations into the historical narratives of the Bible, the most notable examples of which were Ernesti, Semler, and Eichhorn[67]. In just a short space of time, the religious climate of Germany had moved from Lutheranism, to Pietism, to Deism (and even more radical views were beginning to appear on the horizon in G. E. Lessing's Pantheism Controversy).[68] By far,

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[66]**Emanuel Swedenborg** (Sweden, 1688 - 1772): His father was a minister within the tradition of orthodox Lutheranism, and his upbringing was deeply influenced by both Pietism and the Enlightenment. Accordingly, he was an advocate of religious experience, but he expounded it with the kind of analytical clarity and logical rigor ordinarily reserved for science and philosophy. This fact is all the more striking when one considers the kind of experiences he claimed to have had, namely, out-of-body journeys and converse with angels. He regarded himself as an apostle, and he claimed that his teaching was the deity's final communication to humankind before the coming of the New Jerusalem. Although his teaching was rejected among the educated, it had a considerable impact among more credulous minds throughout the continent, the isles, and America—even resulting in the formation of a separate communion called "the New Church".

[67]**Eichhorn's** *Old Testament Introduction* was a seminal event in biblical scholarship (1780). It rejected all recourse to the supernatural but affirmed the historicity of the narratives found in Scripture. It also laid the foundations for subsequent investigations into questions about the authorship, date, and historical transmission of the books of the Bible.

[68]**The Pantheism Controversy**: Gotthold Ephraim Lessing was a popular philosopher, writer, and dramatist (1729 – 1781). Although the son of a pastor, he eventually rejected revealed religion on account of his inability to leap over what he called an "ugly broad ditch," that is, his inability to find in contingent historical truths (e.g., miracles) a basis for belief in necessary metaphysical truths (e.g., the existence of God). This, in turn, was taken up as perhaps the most fundamental challenge facing revealed religion, namely, the apparent discrepancy between the truths of

however, the most influential spokesperson for the new spirit of noble moralistic deism was the philosopher Immanuel Kant.[69]

About the same time, however, another movement was taking place in response to this particular expression of the Enlightenment. Although sometimes described as a counter movement, it was not really opposed to the practice of enlightened thought (i.e., to the free exercise of reason), but rather to the pretentions of enlightened thought (i.e., to the belief that the fund of common reason was sufficient to the task of explaining and directing the lives of individual human beings). Accordingly, this reaction was accompanied by a renewed appreciation for the phenomena of individual personal life, taken to include such things as the experience of feelings, free will, and purpose. It is to this movement that we owe the artistic style usually termed romantic (as opposed to classical), for example, in the paintings of Caspar David Frederick, the music of Ludwig von Beethoven, and the literature of Klinger, Goethe, Schiller, and Schlegel. In the realm of religious philosophy, it gave birth to the two most important trends in modern theology, one which sought to establish a new liberal form of Protestantism (i.e., in the thought of Friedrich Schleiermacher), and another which sought to recover the primitive basis for conservative Protestantism (i.e., in the thought of Johann Georg Hamann). Friedrich Schleiermacher is universally regarded as the father of modern liberal theology.[70] While on the one hand he rejected naturalistic deism in favor of a view which upheld the authenticity of

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history (which are particular and accessible only to a few) and the truths of religion (which are universal and therefore need to be accessible to all). Near the end of his life, he became involved in a highly public dispute over whether or not he was an atheist because of his advocacy of the philosophy of Spinoza, and this was widely viewed as a kind of showdown between Pietism and the Enlightenment.

[69] **Immanuel Kant** is generally acknowledged as being the most influential of the modern philosophers and was himself deeply influenced by Lutheranism, Pietism, and the Enlightenment. The main problem he sought to tackle was that of reconciling two basic facts, one being the physical determinism revealed by the natural sciences and the other being the metaphysical freedom of the will revealed through human experience. In attempting to solve this problem, he drew up an exhaustive account of the resources of the mind, and he arrived at three important conclusions: (1) first, theoretical reasoning is suited to address physical questions, but not metaphysical questions; (2) second, practical reason demands belief in the existence of free will, an afterlife, and an omnibenevolent deity; (3) and third, the only unitary account of what we know theoretically and what we believe practically is to be found in the aesthetic experience of the sublime we find in both nature and art.

[70] **Friedrich Schleiermacher** (1768 - 1834): Schleiermacher was without doubt the most influential theologian since the days of Luther and Calvin. It is largely due to his influence that conservative Protestantism has been compelled to recognize the existence of a thing called liberal Protestantism (whether or not in the final analysis it is to be regarded it as genuinely Christian). For theology, his most important contribution was not merely to assert, but to provide a carefully developed account of the nature and scope of religious experience (which he describes as an immediate feeling of absolute dependence on the Infinite). As part of his more liberal program, we have already mentioned that he rejected many of the traditional tenets of orthodoxy. Thus, much of his doctrine consists in affirming the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, though he also sought to retain a place for the singular importance of Jesus of Nazareth. For Schleiermacher, Jesus was not only an example to be followed, but also as an intercessor to be depended upon. Thus, while unable to affirm many of the traditional ideas about Christology, he still affirmed that there was something miraculous about the person of Jesus, namely, that in him alone was realized the true archetype of humanity and that through him alone was man able to come to a true knowledge of the nature of sin and holiness.

supernatural religious experience, on the other he rejected most of the traditional dogmas of orthodoxy (e.g., concerning miracles, the Incarnation, Resurrection, and Ascension, and the doctrine of the Trinity). As for Johann Georg Hamann, he was the first strictly modern apologist for orthodox theology. He too argued for the authenticity of religious experience, but he further argued that its development in the inner history of individual life produced a condition of receptivity to the traditional dogmas of orthodox Christianity (his oracular style of writing earned him the nickname "the Magus from the North"). For Hamann, religion was certainly not immune to the critical tests of reason, but it nevertheless extended beyond them by drawing upon the united powers of the whole person. Faith in Jesus was not an inference drawn on the basis of outward facts available to all, but a profound resolution that ripened as the fruit of the interior moral history of individual persons (in other words, its conditions were not accessible through the general application of reason). Furthermore, to demand that a whole society narrow the range of their beliefs to those which were accessible through the common fund of reason was to deprive them of their dignity as individual persons and to cut them off from the wellspring of all genuine conviction in matters of aesthetic, moral, and spiritual truth. Instead of ushering in an age of enlightened self-rule, we would instead usher in an age in which unprecedented technological power was placed in the hands of a mob devoid of personal convictions and in which the only remaining basis for public order would either be the lowest common denominator of animal interest or the authoritarian rule of a dictator. As we shall see, his predictions were not groundless.

The Age of Napoleon (1799 – 1815)

The French Revolution was a divisive event for onlooking nations. It is hardly surprising to learn that it was viewed in a negative light by the old world monarchies of Russia, Austria, and Germany. But it was also met with reservation by her sister republics in Britain and America. America's attitude is dealt with below. As for Britain's attitude, this was at least partly due to her long-standing struggle with her sister nation for political power. But she was also put off by the movement's hostility to religion and cavalier confidence in the power of reason (she too was attempting to set reason's functioning within the larger context of individual personal life, as for example in the writings of Samuel Taylor Coleridge[71] and other writers among the British Romantics).[72] And finally, she was

[71] **Samuel Taylor Coleridge** was a poet, philosopher, and theologian (1772 – 1834). He is frequently credited by later writers with breathing new life into theology, when it had grown cold under the influence of enlightened deism and hardened orthodoxy. Although he began his days as a liberal Unitarian, he ended them as a conservative Anglican, and he exercised a formative influence on the thought of John Stuart Mill, John Henry Newman, and F. D. Maurice.

[72] **British Romanticism** was not a rejection of reason but an attempt to enlarge its vision of reality by including individual experience and collective tradition. It includes the rich literary heritage we associate with names like

put off by the movement's disregard of tradition and reckless advocacy for democracy (particularly her focus on the present generation, and her disregard of past and future generations). The most able spokesperson for this view was the philosopher Edmund Burke, and it was his judgment that troubles were in store for France: the republic would fall into moral corruption and social disorder, and a popular general commanding the loyalty of the army would transform it into a military dictatorship.[73]

Enter Napoleon Bonaparte. He was born on the island of Corsica in 1769. The son of a lawyer, he was baptized a Catholic, and he then obtained the privilege of studying at a military school in France, where he also became an avid reader of the works of the French Enlightenment. He rose quickly through the ranks during the revolution, acquiring a good reputation among his soldiers, and more importantly, among the leaders of the Republic. He led a string of successful war campaigns throughout France (1795), Italy (1796 - 1798), and Egypt (1798 – 1799 [during which his men recovered the famous Rosetta Stone]). Meanwhile, he received news that his home country had suffered a series of defeats at the hands of the British, which had been courting the assistance of Prussia, Austria, and Russia. He therefore returned home, where he received a hero's welcome, and successfully conspired to overthrow the increasingly ineffectual republic. Now First Consul of the new government, he still administered it under the name of democracy, though wielding as much power as any dictator. The fact that he enjoyed the overwhelming support of the people provides a good example of how easily democracy can lead to tyranny (an observation made long ago by Plato). He is the first of the modern charismatic tyrants (others to follow bear such familiar names as Lenin, Mussolini, Hitler, and Stalin).

Napoleon was by definition a tyrant. His people did not enjoy a divine entitlement to their rights, but received them as a gift from his hand. Nevertheless, it cannot be gainsaid that he attempted to use his power to establish laws that would promote freedom, equality, and religious tolerance (his famous Napoleonic Code). Although not himself deeply religious, he established peace between France and the Roman Catholic Church: (1) it was to be recognized as the religion of majority; (2) it was not to reclaim its lost property. It seems his motive in doing this was to avail himself of the prestige of the church, for shortly after concluding

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Wordsworth, Taylor, Keats, Byron, William Blake, Percy Bysshe Shelley, Sir Walter Scott, Jane Austen, Mary Shelley (and many others).

[73] **Edmund Burke** (Ireland, 1729 - 1797): As a student of history, he drew attention to the problems of self-government that had played themselves out in the life of democratic Athens and republican Rome. His observations were in substantial agreement with those of the classical writers: by themselves, the common people were not fit to rule. At best, one might incorporate them into a republican system of government, but even that needed to be grounded in a fixed constitution. He therefore predicted disaster for the revolutionary effort in France. Its proponents were low information idealists. They spoke too much in abstractions. They lacked practical wisdom. They handled society as though it were a machine rather than a living organism. He was particularly suspicious of their disbelief in original sin and their faith in the inherent goodness of man.

the peace he arranged for his own coronation after the pattern of Charlemagne. Moreover, he freely departed from some of its most important traditions, such as, inviting the pope to come to him, putting the crown on his own head, and swearing to protect religious liberty (as opposed to the church). If Pope Pius VII was unclear about who was in charge, he would know for certain when on a later date he was taken in chains, the holy city occupied by French troops, and the papal states annexed to France. Napoleon even went so far as to establish an imperial catechism, teaching that his leadership had been established through divine providence, that it was worthy of unquestioning obedience, and that those who failed in this duty were deserving of damnation: *What are the duties of Christians to the princes who govern them, and what in particular are our duties to Napoleon I, our emperor? Christians owe to the princes who govern them, and we owe in particular to our emperor Napoleon I love, respect, obedience, fidelity, military service, the ordinary tributes for the preservation and expense of the empire and of its his throne. To honor and serve our emperor is to honor and to serve God himself*.

Napoleon was thought by many to be the antichrist (a view that found support in some of the obscure oracles of Nostradamus). There can be little doubt that he was personally obsessed with conquering the world. But he also believed that peace on the continent would never be achieved unless all of it were brought under a single head. It was his great ambition, therefore, to build a grand empire out of France, though his greatest obstacle was undoubtedly Britain (now allied with Prussia, Austria, and Russia). In spite of the odds, in a series of amazing military victories, he defeated the combined forces of the coalition, enabling him to come very near to achieving his goal (1805 – 1807). The Napoleonic Empire now consisted of an enlarged France, along with the territories of Italy, Spain, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Germany (and new allies in the recently defeated states of Prussia and Austria). The only major countries that had escaped his net were the future world powers of Russia, Britain, and America. Russia had retreated into itself. Britain managed to survive because of its superior navy. America might well have become involved, but it was her policy to remain neutral about the conflicts between France and Britain (a wise precedent set during the administration of George Washington). Nevertheless, Napoleon was beginning to run into problems. The states that had been subjected to imperial control began to show signs of resentment toward their overlord and patriotism toward their own people. Secret coalitions were formed. Domestic uprisings made it difficult to continue his project of foreign expansion. Most devastating of all, the emperor made an ill-advised decision to invade Russia in 1812 (commemorated in the famous overture by Tchaikovsky). Russia gave the empire little choice: she refused to submit, and such effrontery left unchecked could only embolden others to follow her example. When the grand army of six hundred thousand French went

on the march, their Russian enemies retreated from battle, drawing them hundreds of miles into a vast inhospitable continent, torching their own fields, villages, and cities along the way. The army was desperate by the time they reached the capital, only to find that the enemy had gone so far as to torch Moscow. Then began the long retreat home, a journey which less than ten percent of the army lived to tell about. Upon hearing news of the army's defeat, wars of liberation erupted all over Europe, and the great emperor was at last deposed and exiled to the island of Elba in 1814.

The Age of Metternich (1815 - 1854)

Napoleon's conquests precipitated a storm of revolution, destroying many of the monarchies of the old world and unleashing fresh revolutions in the new world (particularly in South America).[74] A group of international ambassadors met in order to discuss the best way to maintain peace throughout the civilized world. Known as the Congress of Vienna, it redrew the political boundaries on the map in such a way as to balance out the various military powers throughout Europe (1814 – 1815).[75] The decisions of the congress were largely made by the four great powers of Britain, Prussia, Austria, and Russia. The Austrian foreign minister, Klemens Wenzel von Metternich, was the chair of the council and the most influential statesman of the century. He believed that international peace could only be achieved by maintaining traditional monarchies and creating a balance of power among the nations. By his counsel, traditional monarchies were re-established in the territories conquered by Napoleon (most notably in France), and the political boundaries of these territories were redrawn so as to distribute power more equally among the leading nations throughout Europe (thereafter known as the Concert of Europe, and setting the pattern for the League of Nations and also for our present United Nations). This network of international power would remain the sole stabilizing force amongst the nations until the outbreak of the world wars, welcomed as an instrument of peace by conservatives, but resented as an instrument of suppression by liberals. Accordingly, the political history of this

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[74] **Revolutions in South America** followed quite naturally after the removal of rulers in their mother country (i.e., in Italy, Spain, and Portugal). Haiti became independent in 1804, Argentina in 1810, Paraguay in 1811, Chile in 1818, Columbia in 1819, Venezuela in 1821, Peru in 1821, Mexico in 1821, Brazil in 1822, Bolivia in 1825, Uruguay in 1828, Ecuador in 1830, Guatemala in 1838, Honduras in 1838, Nicaragua in 1838, Costa Rica in 1838, El Salvador in 1838, and the Dominican Republic in 1844. After the creation of these new independent nations, later attempts to reclaim them for the old world were successfully opposed by Britain and the United States (both of whom wanted to halt colonial intervention in the western hemisphere).

[75] **The Hundred Days of Napoleon** took place during this time. After nine months in exile, the dictator escaped with one thousand of his men and returned to France. Although troops were dispatched to seize him, he managed through his incredible charisma to persuade them to join him, so that he very quickly gained command of a sizeable army. He eventually arrived at the capital, where he resumed control of the nation for one hundred days, but he was soon advanced upon by the armies of the Congress of Vienna (i.e., Britain along with Prussia, Austria, and Russia). Napoleon decided to attack rather than defend, marching to the Netherlands to a region known as Waterloo (and the rest, as they say, is history).

period may be characterized as one of international peace, punctuated by unsuccessful waves of revolution in the years 1820, 1830, and 1848 (though successful revolutions did occur in the regions of Greece and Belgium). But again, the most influential cultural movements we will encounter are to be found in the three traditional heartlands of Protestantism, France, Germany, and Britain.

In France, the restoration of the monarchy provided a brief respite from war. The monarchs very wisely retained the assistance of congress and the statutes of the Napoleonic Code. For a while, the government remained in the hands of the traditional Bourbons (1814 – 1830), but attempts to strengthen royal power immediately met with backlash, and the congress appointed its own king Louis Philippe (1830 – 1848). Again, it would not be long before the malcontent of the growing middle class overthrew the king and established the Second Republic (1848 – 1852). As president of their new republic, they elected the nephew of the former tyrant, who in just four short years would transform the government into a dictatorship, Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte (1852 – 1870). All throughout this political turnover, the religion of the state remained that of Catholicism. As the papacy had no real political power, it directed its attention toward guiding the spiritual lives of its people, and by the end of the period in discussion, ninety-eight percent of the population was at least nominally Roman Catholic. Protestants were tolerated at the local level, but they were not permitted to organize themselves into synods, so only about one-and-a-half percent of the population could be found that was either Lutheran or Calvinist. Meanwhile in the universities, a steady accumulation of valuable work was being done in the arts and especially the natural sciences. When it came to the question of how scientific achievement was to be employed for the common good, the mainstream of philosophical thinking was eclectic, avoiding the extremes of the Traditionalists and the Ideologists (e.g., the writings of Paul Royer-Collard, Victor Cousin, and Theodore Simon Jouffroy). It was only to be expected, however, that there would be other thinkers who felt that the spirit of revolution had not been taken far enough, and these were the authors of two very important movements known as positivism and socialism. Auguste Comte is generally regarded as the father of classical positivism, the view that the history of intellectual progress consisted in a movement from the religious to the philosophical to the scientific outlook, and therefore, that the most urgent task of the present was to achieve a more refined form of the scientific method, and to use it as our sole guide for understanding human life (which he called the science of sociology).[76] Henri de Saint-Simon is generally regarded as the father

[76] **The Positivism of Auguste Comte** (1798 - 1857): The father of positivism was deeply influenced by Saint-Simon (see below). In Comte's *Course of Positive Philosophy*, he explains his ideas. By positive phenomena, he simply means outwardly observable facts. By philosophy he simply means the general system of human concepts. Accordingly, the task of positive philosophy is to bring all presumed knowledge within the scope accessible to the scientific method, which in its purest form consists in subsuming observed facts under general laws that are

of classical socialism. In keeping with the previous view, he believed quite accurately that we were advancing into an increasingly technological society, more questionably that it's people would be governed by economic interests alone, and most questionably of all that the advancement of these interests would best be served by a purely scientific organization of society (i.e., one based on the equal distribution of material goods according to unalterable laws supposedly revealed through the social sciences).[77]

In Germany, the triumph of conservativism is nowhere better seen than in the lengthy and prosperous rule of Frederick William III (1797 – 1840). The Kingdom of Prussia was one of the great powers of the old world, having acquired in the course of its hundred year existence significant holdings in Russia, Poland, Lithuania, Denmark, Belgium, and the Czech Republic. In an effort to quiet revolutionary fervor at home, the king had promised to set his country on a track toward establishing parliamentary elections and a written constitution. But as soon as the immediate threat of revolution began to die down, he seemed more interested in repressing than encouraging liberal programs. What is more, he began to conceive an interest in exercising control over the autonomy of the church. Whereas he had hitherto tolerated the presence of a small number of dissidents in his midst, he now wanted to create a single state church that would be comprised of both Lutherans and Calvinists (in part because he and his wife belonged to these groups and could not receive communion together). The new state church was to be known as the Prussian Union of Churches, and it was the king himself who made provision for its doctrine, ecclesiology, and liturgy (inaugurated on the 300th anniversary of the Reformation, 1817). It absorbed about

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descriptive rather than explanatory. As such, this system of knowledge makes no definite claims about reality, but only about phenomena (an important part of his project in purifying science from philosophy). He therefore proposed a system of skepticism rather than atheistic naturalism, though practically it's easy to see that the two come to the same thing. The positivist program of reducing all knowledge to science would prove extremely influential, but its advancement was hindered by a number of serious objections: in the first place, it could only be expressed in the language of ordinary human experience, the legitimacy of which its proponents denied (laying it open to the charge of theoretical contradiction); and in the second place, it tacitly depended on the idea of intellectual progress, which was obviously an evaluative rather than a descriptive concept (laying it open to the charge of practical contradiction). Nevertheless, he inaugurated what has been an ongoing conversation between scientific and non-scientific ways of knowing.

[77] **The Socialism of Henri de Saint-Simon** (1760 - 1825): The father of socialism was himself influenced by the tradition of Enlightenment drawn from D'Alembert (known for his low view of religion and his faith in the omnicompetence of science). As a young man, he fought as an ally in the Revolutionary War, and he was also deeply involved in the French Revolution. Over the course of both revolutions, he wrote a great deal about his political ideas, and he continued to do so afterward in close association with Auguste Comte. Both men believed that the human race stood on the threshold of a new age, and they were hardly sympathetic with the values of the conservative movement. As they saw it, the new age was an age of skepticism, science, and technology. They rejected the discipline of introspective individual psychology, substituting in its place a science of collective sociology, which they believed would enable them to map the phenomena of human life according to unalterable material laws. Likewise, they rejected the values of capitalism, substituting in its place the values of what has come to be known as socialism, which they regarded as an instance of applied science (i.e., a more scientifically informed way of organizing people according to the unalterable principles of material value and collective identity).

seventy percent of the population, and although the changes introduced by the monarch did little more than blur the distinctions between the two groups, it was an act of political overreach that inspired dissidents to form free churches, among them a rationalist group called the Friends of Light (led by Wegscheider), a pietist group known as the Kornthal Brethren (led by Gottlieb Wilhelm Hoffmann), and an orthodox group known as the Old Lutherans (led by Johann Gottfried Scheibel). In the universities, the mainstream of philosophical thinking was far from orthodox, and it now began transitioning from cosmopolitan deism to nationalistic pantheism. Johann Gottfried Herder is often regarded as the father of nationalism: he criticized the rationalist tendency of speaking always about humanity in general as ignoring the very obvious fact of humanity's particularity, and he argued that the highly artificial forms of government then in vogue were suitable only for an abstract humanity and not for a people with a concrete language, thought, and culture (e.g., Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Germans).[78] The pantheistic movement is associated above all with the philosophical thought of Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel: together, they proposed an evolutionary form of idealism, according to which the unfolding of the phenomenal world exhibited the self-realization of the Absolute, the historical culmination of which was to be seen in the assumption of world power by the Germanic Peoples.[79] As these ideas were far removed from the traditional theology of the state, their proponents were naturally eager to argue that they exhibited the true inner meaning of Christianity. Accordingly, this period saw the publication of hundreds of biographies of Jesus of Nazareth. Although some of them were traditional, a great many of them were revisionary, and the most influential was David Strauss' *The Life of Jesus* (according to which the gospel writers had taken the real historical person of Jesus and by using mythopoeic

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[78] **Johann Gottfried Herder** is the first real theorist of nationalism (1744 - 1803). He was educated under the enlightened thinking of Hume, Rousseau, and Kant. Nevertheless, he came to the conclusion that their view of reason was far too narrow, and in particular, that they focused so heavily on sense impressions, the scientific method, and the human race in general that they had no sense for the ordinary phenomena of experience, language, and ethnicity. The main point for him is that all human beings are situated in a particular nexus of history. To be sure, there are certain disciplines exclusively concerned with timeless truths, but only to the extent that they are removed from the specific phenomenon of man. Accordingly, the positivist belief that all knowledge should be patterned after the method of the natural sciences was quite remote from his mind. Although he did not privilege one race over another, he nevertheless spoke of each as having unique qualities not only of body but of mind (what he called *volkgeist*), and of each as being situated in a unique historical situation (what he called *zeitgeist*). It is due in no small part to his influence that we owe the work of the Brothers Grimm, Hans Christian Andersen, Richard Wagner, etc.

[79] **Absolute Idealism** arose in part out of inadequacies in the philosophy of Kant but also out of the renewed appreciation for history we see in Herder, and finally out of a widespread belief in the cultural superiority of the people of Germany. In Schelling, emphasis is placed on the Absolute's self-unfolding in the natural order. In Fichte, emphasis is placed on the Absolute's creation of nature as a field of activity for moral action. And in Hegel, emphasis is placed on the Absolute's self-unfolding in the process of nation building, while the history of civilization is viewed as an evolutionary process in which each new era of civilization brings its people into higher states of self-awareness through the cultivation of art, religion, science, and philosophy (culminating in his own system and the cultural achievements of the German Peoples).

language transformed him into a highly symbolic Messiah). A scholarly attempt to reconstruct the stages of this process was proposed by Ferdinand Christian Baur (who gave a 2nd century date for the writing of the gospels). By all accounts, these attempts to retrace the composition of the New Testament and reconstruct the life of Jesus were the first steps in what has since become known as "the Quest for the Historical Jesus".

The United Kingdom came into being at the beginning of the 19th century, now uniting the regions of Britain, Scotland and Ireland under a single set of laws.[80] It enjoyed the advantage of having the only stable parliamentary constitutional monarchy in the old world. In spite of the loss of her colonies in the western hemisphere, she still boasted the largest empire on the globe, and arrogated to herself the role of international policeman. She was also fast becoming the wealthiest country in the world, due in no small part to the fact that she was the leader in applied sciences and the mother of the industrial revolution.[81] Politically, she was dominated by conservativism, the parliamentary representatives of which were known as Tories (emphasizing the official church, the power of the king, and the aristocracy). A minority opinion inclined toward liberalism, and these were known as Whigs (emphasizing religious tolerance, the power of parliament, and the rising industrial middle class). In a couple decades this political party would gain the ascendancy, and a much greater share of governing power would come

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[80] **The United Kingdom** was formed in 1801. For a while now, the isles had been united under the rule of a single monarch, but he still recognized that the regions under his control had their own boundaries, laws, and interests. An initial attempt to regard them as a single country with the same laws began with the absorption of Protestant Scotland in 1707, and now a second attempt began with Catholic Ireland in 1800. The immediate cause of this change was the spread of revolutionary ideas to Ireland, an event in which the Irish engaged the assistance of the French and together inaugurated a war for independence in the Irish Rebellion of 1798 (in part, based on their mutual advocacy for Catholicism). The very violent rebellion failed, and the absorption of the island into the legal control of its overlord set the stage for a future of blessings and curses: on the positive side, the union meant increasing tolerance for Catholicism; on the negative side, it meant political tumult (a minority of those favoring union were Protestants and settled in the more industrial northern part of Ireland, while the majority of those opposing union were Catholics and settled in the rural southern part of Ireland).

[81] **The First Industrial Revolution** began in Britain in the late 18th century. It is generally traced to three causes: (1) the ease of making economic transactions, facilitated by the use of paper bank notes (initially introduced in order to raise funds for the war against France); (2) a ready supply of people, food, and raw materials (facilitated by its imperial networks of trade); (3) and advancements in scientific knowledge which enabled greater efficiency in manipulating mechanical power (particularly through water, steam, and coal). As a result, the basis of the economy began to shift from the labor used in manufacturing to the capital needed for industry (i.e., the possession of machines and factories). This, in turn, resulted in a series of related changes, the need for massive amounts of raw material (i.e., via industrialized lumbering, agriculture, and mining) and the need of more efficient means of transporting them (e.g., pavement, canals, and railways). The ability of independent proprietors to rapidly generate wealth precipitated the rise of an industrial middle class, which in turn was divided between an upper middle class trained to manage capital (the bourgeoisie) and a lower middle class of untrained laborers (the proletariat). This, in turn, resulted in such phenomena as mass production, mass consumption, and mass movements of people from rural to urban environments. An unfortunate accompaniment to these changes was a shift of attention away from human relationships to material goods, the most prized of which at this time were textiles, glass, paper, and gas lighting. The earliest industrialized cities were London, Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, and Glasgow. The first industrial world's fair was held in the Crystal Palace of London in 1851, by which time industrialization had spread to the states of Belgium, France, and Germany (and was shortly to spread to America).

into the hands of the increasingly influential middle class, extending suffrage to a broader citizenry and seeking to increase its wealth by advancing the values of industrialism and capitalism (a process that proved devastating to the poor).[82]. Philosophically, the intellectual mainstream at the universities was found in the common sense realism of Thomas Reid, (a strong proponent of theism). Outside the universities, the tradition of classical empiricism deriving from the skeptical epistemology of Hume and the utilitarian ethics of Bentham was carried on in the writings of John Stuart Mill (who cautiously ascribed a degree of probability and practical utility to the idea of God). Religiously, the makeup of the country was extremely diverse, but it was less in danger of hostilities than in France, and less in danger of being absorbed by the state than in Germany. The three established religions now fully recognized by the state were Catholicism in Ireland, Presbyterianism in Scotland, and Anglicanism in Britain. For Catholics, the state's tolerance of their faith was naturally quite welcome, but it did not stop zealots from making efforts to achieve representation in parliament or to dissolve their union with Great Britain (both movements led by Daniel O'Connell). Among the Presbyterians, a liberal wing of the church began to emerge espousing Unitarianism and Arianism, while in the conservative wing of the church we see attempts to form churches free from the over-reach of the state (e.g., the evangelical Free Church of Scotland led by Thomas Chalmers) and also to soften its commitment to Calvinism (e.g., in the theology of Thomas Erskine and John McLeod Campbell). In Britain, the rapid increase in religious tolerance led to a renewed emphasis on the apostolic claims of the high church, and indeed, reached such a pitch that it gave birth to an ultra-conservative movement known as Anglo-Catholicism.[83] Along with the rapid increase in splinter groups, this period also

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[82] **The Poor Laws** of the early 19th century were based on the theory that giving aid to the poor only increased their propensity to laziness, while making their condition worse encouraged them to work. As a result, individuals who could not support themselves often found themselves in state owned workhouses in which the living conditions were made deliberately miserable. The struggle of the poor was a dominant theme throughout the writings of the socially critical Charles Dickens (*A Christmas Carol*, *Oliver Twist*, and *Great Expectations*).

[83] **The Oxford Movement**, also referred to as Tractarianism, was an ultra-conservative movement within the high church that began with a renewed emphasis on the older traditions of the church and ended with some of its adherents converting to Roman Catholicism (most came from the University of Oxford and they published their ideas in a series of articles entitled *Tracts for the Times*). It arose at a time when there was a new spirit of tolerance toward Catholicism, but also at a time when there was an increasing number of attempts by parliament to intrude into the affairs of Anglicanism. It began with a sermon by John Keble entitled *National Apostasy* in which he argued that the spirit of religious tolerance was decaying into a spirit of religious indifference and that the people on the isles were on track to becoming an apostate nation. He therefore urged a number of conservative measures to counteract the public drift from primitive Christianity, and the two most prominent spokespersons for these measures were John Henry Newman and Edward Bouverie Pusey. The movement's most characteristics doctrine was called the Branch Theory, according to which the true apostolic church had been handed down by episcopal succession in three main branches, the Orthodox, the Catholic, and the Anglican. The advocates of this view inspired a renewed interest in the liturgy, rituals, and symbols of the church. They also succeeded in forming the first monastic orders within Protestantism, called the Anglican Orders (each of which followed the traditional rules laid down by the Augustinians, Benedictines, Carmelites, etc.).

saw a rapid increase in the number of ecumenical societies and mission organizations. Among ecumenical societies we may note the Catholic Apostolic Church, the Plymouth Brethren (an intra-church movement characterized by a high view of scripture, disregard for denominational labels, and emphasis on the gospel, but unique in its rejection of ordained clergy), the Broad Church movement (which freely intermixed elements taken from the low church, the high church, Pietism, and the Enlightenment), and interdenominational organizations such as the Evangelical Alliance and the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). Among mission organizations we note the Church Mission Society (Anglican), the London Missionary Society (interdenominational), and the Baptist Missionary Society.

The New World Struggle for Unity

In the American Revolution, the thirteen colonies along the eastern seaboard[84] were united into a single nation.[85] Pietism had provided a broad basis for individual religiosity at a time when the colonists showed themselves increasingly unable to build a consensus around the doctrine of the Puritans or the ecclesiology of the Anglicans (though they found an excellent example of religious tolerance in the conduct of the Quakers). The Enlightenment provided their leaders with the inspiration and the wisdom to organize themselves into a democratic republican constitutional government. In achieving their independence, the colonies had not only acquired a national identity for themselves based on pious enlightened freedom, but had also liberated themselves from the wearisome battle for imperial power between Britain and France.

The United States of America began with a population of nearly four million (about that of present day Los Angeles).[86] Although twelve of its cities could boast populations of over five thousand, the vast majority of the country was still agricultural. After a brief period of indecision, a permanent seat of government

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[84] **Vermont** might well have qualified as a fourteenth colony. It became open to settlers from New Englanders after the French and Indian War (i.e., after the withdrawal of the French). The diversity of these settlements resulted in rival claimants to the region by the states of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and New York. After the outbreak of the revolution, the settlers decided to declare themselves an independent state in 1777, but this claim remained contested until 1791.

[85] **The Northwest Territory** was acquired by the nation immediately after the revolution. It is that part of the country we refer to today as the mid-west and comprised the future states of Ohio (1803), Indiana (1816), Illinois (1818), Michigan (1837), Wisconsin (1848), and Minnesota (1858).

[86] **The 1790 Census** provides the earliest information about the demographics of the early United State. The total population was enumerated at around 3.9 million. The white population was almost entirely British and made up about 80%. The black population was, of course, from Africa and made up the other 20%. Native Americans were not included in the census, but modern estimates place them only at about 100,000. As far as immigration goes, the numbers were only at a couple thousand by 1810, grew to 8,000 by 1820, tripled to 24,000 by 1830, grew to 600,000 by 1840, and finally grew to 1,700,000 by 1850 (mostly British, Irish, and German).

was established for the new country in Washington D. C.[87] The capital was named after its first executive head, George Washington, commander in chief of the revolutionary army and a pious Anglican from the state of Virginia (all the earliest presidents were either from Virginia or Massachusetts). His cabinet included Vice President John Adams, and political rivals Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton. In keeping with their rivalry, the country immediately began to divide into political factions: the Federalists located in the commercial north favored a strong federal government (led by Hamilton), and the Democratic-Republicans located in the agricultural south favored states' rights (led by Jefferson). The president sought to place the dignity of his office above such factions, and he set a noble course for the future of the country by peaceably silencing the first attempt at domestic rebellion and by establishing a precedent for international neutrality during the atrocities of the French Revolution. It was shortly after these events that the political theorist Alexis de Tocqueville visited the new world and wrote his famous *Democracy in America*, a work in which he argued that the new world had found the perfect middle ground between the conservativism of Britain and the radicalism of France. He foresaw that the battle for world power would soon lay in the hands of Russia and America: but whereas the former openly practiced despotism, he warned that the materialism of the latter made it vulnerable to a more subtle form of despotism, one in which the state might assume the role of an overly protective parent, keeping its citizens in a state of perpetual childhood and encouraging them to exchange their freedom for the security to chase petty pleasures.

In President George Washington's farewell address, he reminded the nation of the dangers of avarice and the importance of religiosity: *Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience, both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle*. Although the war had diverted the attention of many away from more heavenly to more earthbound concerns, the nation had nevertheless remained broadly religious, even if it had lost interest in the establishment of any particular confession. Accordingly, the government was not averse to employing chaplains in its assemblies, providing services to the army, and appointing days for national prayer, supplication, or thanksgiving. The point, therefore, was not to banish religion from the public sphere, but to keep religious confessions from becoming a condition for holding public office and to keep religious institutions from becoming the beneficiaries of public funds. As for the states, they were free to retain established religions if they chose, but most did not

[87] **The U.S. Capital** has had three locations, a provisional capital in New York (1789), then an interim one in Philadelphia (1790 – 1800), and finally a permanent one in the city of Washington in the District of Columbia (i.e., in a city and region not belonging to any state, in honor of the country's discoverer and first president [from 1800 to the present]).

have them, and those that did followed suit within a few decades (e.g., the old congregational churches). As for the various traditions of Christianity, less than five percent of the population was Catholic, and all the rest were at least nominally Protestant (though spread across a tremendously wide range of denominations). Moreover, the revolution had seen changes in the religious makeup of the country. For one thing, it had seen the appearance of the first religious communes in the new world,[88] the earliest of which were known as the Shakers.[89] The radical groups which advocated pacifism dwindled in membership and afterward suffered the stigma of non-patriotism, for example the Moravians, the Mennonites, and the Quakers. Among more mainstream groups, the Lutherans were relatively unaffected. The Calvinists, however, severed ties with their old world presbyters, thereby giving birth to the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America (PCUSA). Likewise, the Anglicans severed ties with their old world king, thereby giving birth to the Episcopal Church of the United States of America (ECUSA). The Puritan Congregationalists had been at the very center of the movement toward enlightened thinking, and their fellowship split into three groups: a conservative group which continued to maintain hardline Calvinism (in the service of which it established Andover Theological Seminary), a moderate group which argued for a softened form of Calvinism (advocated at Yale under Samuel Hopkins), and a liberal group which argued for Unitarianism (advocated at Harvard under William Ellery Channing). The Baptists had been the greatest beneficiaries of the previous century of revival, absorbing most of the new lights and growing from about forty churches to nearly a thousand. They now accounted for the nation's religious majority, eclipsing the former dominance of the Puritans in Massachusetts and the Anglicans in Virginia. The Methodists, however, were shortly to overtake them. During the revolution, their attempt at missions suffered from the simple fact that they formally belonged to the established church of Britain. But after these ties were severed, their advocacy of open air evangelical revivals and the fluidity of their ecclesiastical organization uniquely suited them to for the mental and physical geography of frontier America (particularly in the

[88] **Religious communes** were small communities of people who espoused radical views of marriage, family, or society. The earliest of these were the Shakers (see below). Others included the Harmony Society (1804), Zoar Village (1817), the Owenites (1824), Brook Farm (1841), the Amana Colony (1842), the Bishop Hill Colony (1846), and the Oneida Community (1848). The great majority of these movements collapsed, but they are indicative of a minority trend toward utopian socialism against which we should also understand the more successful religion of Mormonism (see below).

[89] **The Shakers** were a radical sect that moved from the isles to the new world during the American Revolution. They got their name from their ecstatic behavior during their worship services. But their beliefs were stranger still, in reference to which they called themselves the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing. It was their belief that the second coming had already occurred and that Jesus Christ was present among them in the form of a woman named "Mother" Anne Lee (1736 – 1784). As Jesus had found the first Christian Church, so now Mother Anne had founded the second Christian Church. She taught that in order for believers to enter into the Millennial Kingdom, they needed to adopt a life of celibacy, egalitarianism, and communism.

region of the Wilderness Road).[90] Before long, their itinerant preachers, informal societies, and far flung synods penetrated not only into the rural southern frontier but also into every other civilized corner of America. In just a few decades, they would even pass up the Baptists, making up as much as a third of new world Protestantism.

The Pre-Civil War Period (1801 – 1861)

At the beginning of the 19th century, the United States came under the leadership of the remarkable polymath Thomas Jefferson (regarded by his opponents as a godless democrat and sympathizer with the French Revolution). The judgment was not really fair: he was far from being atheist, and he deplored the violence of the old revolution. His religious sympathies lay rather with deism, though the country over which he presided was thoroughly Christian. This achieved expression, above all, in the virtual explosion of foreign missions[91] and in a series of evangelical revivals far greater and broader and protracted than those of the previous generation. Known as the Second Great Awakening, these revivals consisted not in the revitalization of the churched people of the colonies but in the conversion of the unchurched people on the frontier. As in the previous awakening, the movement drew much of its strength from the fiery orations of itinerant preachers, though now even greater attention was given to the venue of the outdoor tent revivals, while their theology was no longer the Calvinism of the Puritans but the Arminianism of the Methodists. The phenomena at these revivals were characterized by extremes of emotion, wailing, and especially, falling over (while in the peaceful aftermath, people were often inducted into a godly temper and habit of life). The movement lasted well over half a century, spreading quickly from Kentucky, to Tennessee, to Virginia, then south to the Carolinas and Georgia, and then north into New England and New York (in the western half of the latter, there were eventually so many revivals that it became known as the "burned over district"). In sum, while the nation never had anything like a state church, it can be

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[90] **The Wilderness Road** was the main path used by early colonists who wanted to penetrate beyond the Appalachians. In order to use this path, most of the pioneers settled in the foothills of the western half of Virginia from which they could make seasonal journeys on foot into what would later become Tennessee (granted statehood in 1792) and Kentucky (granted statehood in 1796). At the outbreak of the revolution, a much more serviceable trail was blazed by Daniel Boone through a pass in the mountains known as the Cumberland Gap (1775). This became the main highway through which large scale settlements first began to appear west of the range, carrying with them the spirit of evangelical patriotism we still associate with that southern part of the country known today as the Bible Belt.

[91] **American Missionary Activity** began during the colonial period with attempts to convert the native population. During the revolution, the first attempts at foreign missions began among former slaves who carried the gospel to their people living in the West Indies and Africa. A more concerted effort began with the formation of mission organizations such as the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society (1803), the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (1810), and the American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society (1814). In just a few years, missions were established in every part of the world from the Middle East to Africa, Asia, India, China, and the islands of the Pacific.

said that the vast majority of the country was very quickly converted to one or another form of evangelical Arminian Protestantism.

During the Napoleonic Wars, the nation renewed its policy of neutrality toward the wars of Britain and France (1803 – 1815). Nevertheless, the wars were not without event: the nation nearly doubled its land mass through the purchase of French Louisiana[92], and it maintained its right to conduct overseas trade during the War of 1812.[93] For the most part, however, its attention was directed toward expanding its borders throughout the continent, the most zealous proponents of which saw themselves as fulfilling a quasi-divine mandate to civilize the west, or as they called it, a "Manifest Destiny." This push west was accompanied by a continual spread of the spirit of revivalism, and therefore, of the influence of the Methodists. As the influence of these revivals began to be felt in the north, a very natural desire to participate in the evangelization of the frontier began to be felt by Presbyterians and Congregationalists. Accordingly, a plan of union was drawn up between the two denominations which enabled them to cooperate, not only in evangelism, but also to use it as a tool for the moral reformation of the state (particularly the practices of smoking, drinking, gambling, prostitution, and dueling). In general, these efforts at evangelization and moral reform tended to cut across denominational boundaries, and this gave birth to an effort to unite all believers everywhere after the pattern of the biblical church, subsequently called the Restoration Movement. In pursuit of this goal, the adherents of this movement regarded only scriptural requirements as essential, and they regarded all extra-scriptural requirements as non-essential (e.g., all traditions of liturgy, ecclesiology, and creed). The movement was perhaps a bit naïve, inasmuch as it could not avoid generating traditions of its own, but it was nevertheless an important indication of the growing dissatisfaction with religious sectarianism and also a desire for moral and religious unity. It failed to achieve the desired unity and simply resulted in the formation of yet another denomination, or rather a family of denominations variously called "the Christians", "the Disciples", "the Disciples of Christ", "the Christian Church" and "the Church of Christ."

After the Napoleonic Wars, the nation enjoyed a period of patriotism and economic prosperity sometimes referred to as the Era of Good Feelings (1815 –

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[92] **The Louisiana Purchase** was a deal conducted between Thomas Jefferson and Napoleon Bonaparte. French Louisiana spanned the whole continental interior between the Appalachians and Rockies. The region was famously explored by Lewis and Clark, who began their excursion into the west from St. Louis Missouri.

[93] **The War of 1812** was really an extension of the larger Napoleonic Wars (it lasted from 1812 - 1815). America still depended heavily on overseas trade with both France and Britain. Although the rival nations were at war, her neutral status enabled her to do business with both of them, and when attempts were made to impede that business she declared war. At a deeper level, many people viewed the war as an opportunity for the country to secure the legitimacy of her previous war of independence. Among the more memorable events of the war were the naval exploits of the U.S.S. Constitution, the burning of the Presidential Palace (thereafter known as the White House), and penning of the Star Spangled Banner (i.e., famously written during the bombardment of Fort McHenry by the British).

1829). The postwar boom saw a sharp increase in wealth, purchases of land, and also the building of a massive canal linking the east coast to the mid-west which managed to transform the city of New York into the financial capital of the world (particularly a little corner where speculators gathered to trade their stocks, known as Wall Street). The nation expanded its borders yet again with the acquisition of the region known as Spanish Florida (at this time it began the practice of adding stars to its flag).[94] When revolutions began to erupt all throughout the western hemisphere, she sent a clear message to the nations overseas that any attempt to reclaim those territories for colonization would be viewed as an act of aggression (the Monroe Doctrine). In the meantime, the religious energy of the country seemed to know no bounds: at least a hundred revivals were occurring annually, and the increase in conversions was outpacing that of the population (though this period also marked the first major schism within Quakerism).[95] To assist in these revivals, a number of new societies were founded: the American Tract Society, the American Bible Society, and the American Sunday School Union.

Interestingly, even though the birth of the revival began with the southern Methodists, it found its greatest champion in a northern Presbyterian, Charles Grandison Finney. Although formally Presbyterian, he was clearly more influenced by the moderate theology of the Congregationalists and is perhaps best described as a closet Arminian. The fact that he was able to operate from within the tradition he did is due in large part to its union with the Congregationalists and to the fervor for evangelism and social reform it picked up from the Methodists. Never formally trained as a theologian, he had a gift for preaching, which was calculated to excite the greatest possible anguish over sin and to inspire the greatest possible efforts at moral reformation. His methods were highly successful but also highly controversial: he treated revival as a purely human endeavor, and therefore not as one that depended upon the intervention of divine grace. For this reason, he has often been accused of Pelagianism, and one of the effects of his preaching was to inspire a resurgence of interest in the treasures of Calvinism. Be that as it may, there is no doubt that the revivals of the nineteenth century reached the peak of their influence during the early years of his career (New York, 1825 – 1835). In his later career, he sought to use revivalism as a tool for societal reform in the areas of temperance, education, the treatment of criminals, the abolition of slavery and the securing of women's rights (Ohio 1835 – 1866). At this point, he was serving not only as a pastor but also as the president of the new Oberlin College, the first

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[94] **Spanish Florida** was secured by the Adams-Onis Treaty of 1819, and it acquired for the nation the lower halves of what would become the states of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and of course, Florida.

[95] **The Quaker Schism** came at a bad time inasmuch as the movement was already struggling as a consequence of the revolution. The Quaker named Elias Hicks was the cause of the division, urging that the movement's doctrine of the subjective inner light obviated the need for any objective light of revelation (i.e., the Bible, Israel, Jesus Christ). The Hicksite Quakers split from the Orthodox Quakers in the year 1827.

institution of higher education to admit both blacks and women, and a major station along the Underground Railroad.

Andrew Jackson was the most influential figure in the nation's history in the years before the Civil War (his administration ran from 1829 – 1837). Like so many influential leaders, he was a war hero who promised deliverance in a period of crisis. For all the benefits of patriotism, the new confidence in the federal government opened the door to economic irresponsibility. People's desire for property outran their buying power, the number of banks nearly tripled to satisfy the demand, and before long there was more paper money in circulation than real wealth to back it up. An alarmed national bank called for their loans, and the state banks in turn demanded from the people, but no one could pay. The nation was now in its first depression, and public opinion turned against big government, banks, and businessmen. The election of the seventh president saw a new appreciation for small government, hard currency, and the honest labor of the common man. Accordingly, Jackson also did everything he could to encourage expansion into the frontier. The era he initiated saw the creation of the first transcontinental wagon route along the Oregon Trail (1836), the annexation of Texas (1845), the Mexican-American War (1846 - 1847), and the settlement of California (following the gold rush of 1849). At the same time, however, the champion of the common man also introduced the spoils system into politics, which mean that the mob of men making up his support base were promptly given government positions (at his inauguration party they nearly destroyed the White House). It also marked a new reluctance on the part of government to curtail the *de facto* rights of its citizens in the cities, the plantation, and the frontier, and this spelled bad news for immigrants, slaves, and natives (particularly harsh was the Indian Removal Act).[96] In regards to Christianity, therefore, our attention is first drawn to the large number of immigrants fleeing the Great Potato Famine in Europe, which resulted in a massive increase in the number of Irish Catholics and a smaller increase in the number of German Lutherans. The Irish Catholics came pouring into the port cities and soon accounted for a quarter of the population of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. Their religious influence was not welcomed by Protestants, who in turn began forming the first organizations espousing nativism and opposing immigration (in some cities, the tension between

[96] **The Indian Removal Act** was the most aggressive policy the nation had yet enacted against the natives, the most numerous of which were known as the Five Civilized Tribes: the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Seminoles. After the War of 1812, all foreign protection of the native population was withdrawn, placing them entirely in the hands of the United States. For a while, the older policy remained, which was that the natives be granted the right to remain on their ancestral lands, the understanding being that they would eventually acculturate (i.e., submit to western laws, learn English, convert to Christianity, etc.). But while a large number of them did, in fact, acculturate, there were also large numbers of them who did not. This new policy provided for the forcible removal of these enclaves, some of whom made their appeal to law, and others of whom declared war. Resistance, however, was futile, and over ten thousand natives would eventually be forced to make the journey west along the Trail of Tears to the region later named Oklahoma.

the two groups rose to the point of rioting). As for the German Lutherans, about half settled in the aforementioned port cities while the other half moved farther inland to the cities and farms of Michigan, Indiana, Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Missouri. As religious hostility was not an issue, their transition into the new world was made much easier, and it greatly assisted with the spread of their peculiar brand of faith (in just a short time, the scattered communities throughout the mid-west were able to organize themselves into an organization known as the Missouri Synod[97]). Nevertheless, the Second Great Awakening remained the major religious power on the continent, and in addition to winning new converts it was now beginning to place even greater emphasis on their subsequent sanctification (a late development within the revivals referred to as the Holiness Movement[98]). In the meantime, these evangelical revivals had begun to exercise a permanent influence on several mainline denominations. As we have seen, the Methodist Church was at the center of the movement, and it's free-wheeling methods and expansion over a broad area occasioned a split between the increasingly remote hierarchy (which continued to maintain an episcopal form of government) and its increasingly influential local pastors (who began to adopt a congregational form of government [most of these independent churches became known as Wesleyan and adopted the teachings of the Holiness Movement]). The Baptists were the second largest group, but as moderate Calvinists they regarded it as an encroachment upon divine sovereignty to engage in the creation of special schools, missions' organizations, and Bible Societies (this, in fact, occasioned a split between the Missionary Baptists and the Anti-Missionary Baptists). The Presbyterians were the

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[97] **The Missouri Synod** came to comprise the largest body of Lutherans in America (Chicago, 1847). After much discussion, it was decided that the synod should not be bound to the ecclesiastical hierarchy in the old world but should form an independent body in the new world. Nevertheless, it rejected the increasingly ecumenical trends of the times and remained faithful to its confessional roots in the Formula of Concord. It would also remain ethnically German up until the time of World War I.

[98] **The Holiness Movement** began in the years before the war, and it became very widespread after the war. It grew out of Methodism, and more specifically, out of one of the more marginal teachings of John Wesley, the doctrine of entire sanctification. According to this doctrine, the sanctification of the believer could be perfected to the point where an individual could in some sense learn to live a life wholly free from intentional sin (though there was a good deal of disagreement about whether this lay in the sphere of thoughts, deeds, or affections). Renewed attention to this idea followed in the wake of the revivals, since it was natural that those converted should subsequently be encouraged to focus on their sanctification, and this in turn was closely associated with their efforts at social reform in the areas of race, women's rights, temperance, prostitution, gambling, etc. The earliest glimmerings of the movement can be traced to the isolated testimonies of individuals who believed that they had reached a condition of entire sanctification. It gained official force as the theology taught at Oberlin College under Charles Grandison Finney (beginning in 1835). Nevertheless, its spread at the lay level is largely attributable to the efforts of an acquaintance of his named Phoebe Palmer (who claimed to have reached entire sanctification in 1837). Shortly after, an associate of hers named Timothy Merritt began a periodical entitled *The Guide to Christian Perfection* (later renamed *The Guide to Holiness*, 1839). James Caughey brought holiness teaching to U.K. (1841 – 1847). Phoebe and her husband published and circulated a little book entitled *The Way of Holiness* (New York 1843). In order to spread their ideas across a wide range of denominations, they travelled throughout the U.S. (1850), Canada (1857), and the U.K (1859 - 1863). Presbyterian W. E. Boardman published *The Higher Christian Life* (1858). The Free Methodist Church became the first denomination explicitly devoted to the teaching of entire sanctification (New York 1860).

third largest group, and although they were not opposed to missionary effort, they did become divided over the methods of the new revivalists (one group upheld the strict Calvinism of traditional Presbyterianism, and another group upheld the modified Calvinism that had grown up among the Congregationalists). Again, the Puritan Congregationalists were divided into three groups: the conservative group continued to diminish; the moderate group was seeking to steer a middle ground between all extremes of revivalism, Calvinism, and Unitarianism (led by Horace Bushnell); and the liberal group had by now completed the journey from theism to deism to pantheism (led by Ralph Waldo Emerson). As for smaller religious groups: the Quakers split into factions which either supported or rejected the evangelical revivals (the Gurneyite-Wilberite schism of 1842); the Episcopalians, likewise, split into a Low Church party (which was friendly toward the revivals) and a High Church party (which was not). As if all this were not enough, a number of unorthodox religious movements also made their appearance during this period: the most notable being Spiritism,[99] Adventism,[100] and Mormonism.[101] By the mid-19th century, there had appeared a bewildering variety of religious groups

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[99] **Spiritism** is the belief in man's ability to communicate with the dead. Although as old as humankind, it enjoyed a resurgence in the new world, beginning with a young girl's claims of having made supernatural contact with spirits in the religiously burned over district of New York in the year 1848. It very quickly developed into a full-fledged religion in its own right, its practices implying the existence of souls, an afterlife, and an intelligent Deity (in fact, the majority of its earliest adherents were Hicksite Quakers). Although the movement was dogged by numerous instances of chicanery, it would continue to arouse interest for many years thereafter from a wide range of persons (from Mary Todd Lincoln to William James [the great debunker of such claims was Harry Houdini]).

[100] **Adventism** began under William Miller (Massachusetts, 1782 - 1849). Although raised a Baptist, as a young man he converted to Deism but then began gradually working his way back to Christianity. His re-entrance into faith emerged as he attempted to resolve the various intellectual challenges raised by the Bible, and so resulted in him arriving at a number of conclusions not shared by most mainline denominations. Most notably, he argued that mankind was near to the second coming of Christ (based on his very literal handling of the numeric figures in the books of Daniel and Revelation). His interpretations and predictions began to appear in a periodical entitled *Signs of the Times* (1840). He eventually set the date at October 22, 1844 (the failure of which became known among his followers as the Great Disappointment). Although most people simply left the church after that, a number of them were still interested in maintaining a broad belief in the imminence of the second coming, and so became the bedrock of Adventist Protestantism (the largest branch of which became known for their observance of Sabbath on Saturday as the Seventh Day Adventists).

[101] **Mormonism** was officially established in the burned over district of New York in 1830. Joseph Smith, bewildered by the competing claims of the various denominations, claimed to have received a number of divine visitations beginning around the 1820s. As the contents of these revelations were put into writing, a more radical version of restoration theology began to emerge, according to which the teaching of the church had become hopelessly corrupt and needed to be replaced by that of the true church, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (the new teaching was to be found in the book of Mormon, published in 1830). From there, the movement began to grow in strength, and its leader and his people moved through Ohio, Illinois, and into Missouri. His teaching began to encourage polygamy, the idea that the eschaton was at hand, and finally, that the new community of the redeemed were destined to inherit the land of Jackson County Missouri (1850s). As his people began to settle there, tensions arose between non-Mormons and Mormons, and a series of escalating crises resulted in the death of their prophet and the migration of their people to Utah. Brigham Young became the new leader of the movement, and he laid the foundations for a new city and university around the great Salt Lake. Although polygamy was practiced there as a matter of states' rights, it would later come under federal censure following the Morrill Anti-Bigamy Act of 1862 (signed into law by Abraham Lincoln). This precipitated a split in the church, the larger liberal group jettisoning the practice, and the smaller fundamentalist group retaining it.

within Protestantism, and they were about to be multiplied yet again by the great moral questions arising out of the Civil War.

The Civil War Period (1861 – 1865)

All through the history of civilization, the institution of slavery has existed in the form of either temporary servitude or lifelong bondage. In the modern world, the widespread practice of the latter began with the naval explorations of Renaissance Europe, an occasion upon which adventurers sought to turn their expenses into profits by plundering foreign goods and persons. Accordingly, the Portuguese were the initiators of what ultimately came to be known as the transatlantic slave trade (the earliest examples of which are dated to the 1430s). Trading posts were established along the western coasts of Africa, where slaves were supplied by local tribal kings, and then employed as either domestic labor or as workers in mines, plantations, mills, etc. (1446 - 1498). In the early colonies of South America, the need for slave labor was particularly high, and so the enslavement of the native population was very soon supplemented by the use of imported slaves from Africa (the earliest black slaves were brought to Hispaniola in 1502).

Thus, the practice of slavery already had a long history before the colonists arrived in what would later become the United States. Unlike their predecessors, they did not immediately set about subjecting the native population to slavery, but black indentured servants did arrive at Jamestown in 1619 (there is also evidence of their presence in Massachusetts by the year 1624). Surprisingly, these men were released upon completing their term of their service, so it is evident that the custom of regarding them as slaves for life based on the color of their skin came at a later time. The Pequot War between the colonists and natives appears to mark the point where this change began to take place, after which native prisoners taken in war were given in exchange for black slaves (Massachusetts, 1634 – 1638). In the years immediately following, we have a number of legal rulings which exhibit preferred treatment of whites over blacks, provision for lifelong indentures, and provision for the retention of children born into indenture (cf. records in Virginia and Massachusetts throughout the 1640s). It was also shortly after this period that the first efforts to abolish the newly developed institution of slavery were made by Roger Williams (Rhode Island, 1652). Unfortunately, the practical need of slaves outstripped these early pangs of conscience, and it wasn't long before thousands of life-long indentures were being used for domestic labor in the north and agricultural labor in the south. The Quakers were the next and most persistent voice for the abolition of slavery throughout the colonies (beginning in Germantown, Pennsylvania, 1688). By the time of the American Revolution, there was not only an increasing antipathy toward slavery, but also the freedom to abolish it now that the colonies were no longer under royal authority. Britain had

become the largest slave trader in the world, but the northern rebels began manumitting slaves who fought in the war, and their colonies began passing the first laws abolishing the practice (e.g., in Vermont, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania). As for the Constitution: (1) federal law did not ban slavery, but left it up to the individual states; (2) nevertheless, the national census was still to recognize slaves as accounting for three-fifths of the overall population (a provision which increased the political power of slave-holdings states); (3) a twenty-year grace period was given to the practice of importing slaves from abroad (during that time, the southern states imported tens of thousands of slaves). In the early years of the republic, slavery rapidly progressed throughout the south, but it was largely abolished throughout the north (in ten years, 75% of blacks in the north were free). As new territories were admitted into the nation, the federal government was placed in the difficult position of having to determine whether these would be admitted as slave states or free states (a decision that would upset the balance of political power, and therefore move the country toward the retention or the abolition of slavery). Eventually it was decided to simply carve the nation up into a free north and slave-holding south in the Missouri Compromise (1820). Although this worked for a while, it began to erode during the era of Jacksonian Democracy: (1) the success of the cotton gin created a booming slave economy in the south; (2) the expansion of the southern frontier increased the political power of slave states over free states; (3) and the division between the two was blatantly undermined when at a later date a democratically run congress allowed frontier settlers to declare themselves a slave state above the Missouri Compromise Line (the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854). This, combined with the Supreme Court's pro-slavery decision in Dred Scott v. Sanford in 1857, advanced the country toward Civil War.

The Christian Church played a singularly important role throughout this whole process. As we have seen, the earliest trafficking in slaves was done by people who at least nominally belonged either to Roman Catholicism or to one of the various sects of Protestantism. In Roman Catholicism, Pope Eugene IV roundly condemned the practice of enslaving native peoples as early as the practice came to light (i.e., in the Canary Islands in 1435). In Catholic South America, the struggle over slavery was largely played out by the Jesuits (who opposed the practice out of obedience to the papacy) and colonial laypersons (who exploited the practice for their own personal gain). As we have seen, the first lay voice in favor of abolition was that of Friar Bartolome de Las Casas (*The Tears of the Indians*, 1542). In Protestant North America, no single authoritative head could speak for the whole church, so its position varied among denominations. The Anglicans were the most favorable toward the institution, in part because they depended upon it for economic success in their southern plantations and in part because their loyalty to the king compelled them. The Puritans also supported the

slave trade, but they didn't really have an urgent a need of it, and their attitude toward it appears to have been a cultural hangover from Britain. It was rather among separatist groups that we find the earliest voice for abolition in the colonies: the Baptists were the first (see Roger Williams' Abolition Law [Rhode Island, 1652]), but the Quakers get the credit for being the most consistent in their efforts (e.g., they not only spoke on behalf of the rights of the native population in 1681, but also took a collective stand against the practice of using imported slaves in 1688). The First Great Awakening marked the next important event in the abolition of slavery (1694 – 1740). As a general rule, no formal challenge was issued against slavery (slaves, for example, were owned by Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield). Nevertheless, the movement produced a large number of black converts who were subsequently viewed as the spiritual equals of their overlords, and this naturally paved the way for the spirit of abolitionism to take root among the next generation of Puritans and Baptists. By the American Revolution, the institution of slavery was strongly opposed in the north and strongly supported in the south (1775 – 1783). As northern states began abolishing the practice, it very quickly disappeared from among the Puritans (even as it remained entrenched among Episcopalians). A much more difficult situation arose for those churches that straddled both the north and the south. The Methodist movement was spreading like wildfire, but while it strongly opposed slavery, its attempt to expel members who engaged in it proved unenforceable (1787). The Baptists made a similar abortive attempt (1789). The Presbyterians did also (1792). Numerous expedients were seized upon: one was a widespread effort to send blacks back to their homeland (via the American Colonization Society of 1817); another was the publication of abolitionist literature (which began in earnest after William Lloyd Garrison formed the Anti-Slavery Society in 1833); another was to simply smuggle slaves from the south into the north (the stations for doing so became known as the Underground Railroad, started by Harriet Tubman in 1850); still another was found in literary efforts to dramatize the plight of the enslaved person (e.g., Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, published 1852); and still another was found in attempts to incite revolt among the slaves (e.g., John Brown's revolt at Harper's Ferry in 1859). Unfortunately, none of these things were ultimately able to save the nation from war or the church from schism (every major denomination was split into northern and southern halves [excepting the Catholics]).

The American Civil War was extraordinarily bloody (1861 – 1865). Although the primary cause of the war was the spread of slavery, its stated aim was to preserve the Union against the Confederates (eventually growing to eleven states). The secession of the southern states began with the accession of the

abolitionist Republican Party under Abraham Lincoln,[102] and the war began with the South's famous attack on Fort Sumter (in South Carolina, the spring of 1861). President Jefferson Davis ordered that the fort be surrendered, and when it refused, he ordered that it be attacked. The fort was eventually taken, and the north now had all it needed for a declaration of war. At first, northerners were of a mind that it would be easy to win the war, but that attitude was swiftly checked after they were roundly defeated at the First Battle of Bull Run. Over the next four years, the number of battles would rise to over 235, with the number of casualties rising to over 750,000. At sea, the north enjoyed a superior navy, using ironclad warships and successfully imposing a trade blockade on the south. On land, the south enjoyed the implicit advantage of fighting a defensive war, while also having at their disposal the finest military mind of the day, General Robert E. Lee (though the north eventually found a formidable rival for him in General Ulysses S. Grant). By far, the most terrible battle was that fought at Antietam (a single day in which the country suffered over twenty-two thousand casualties, September 17, 1862). It was in the wake of that event that Lincoln boldly issued his Emancipation Proclamation, an exercise of his wartime powers as chief executive, in which over three million slaves were declared free under the federal government (he thereby not only took the issue out of the hands of the state legislatures but also out of the hands of congress). In so doing, he made it clear that the war was about the issue of human enslavement, thereby placing a negative cast on the south and forever cancelling any chance for international support to come to the aid of the Confederacy. The significance of this issue for the whole country was later given immortal expression in the president's short *Gettysburg Address* (1863).[103] He

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[102] **Abraham Lincoln** was born to parents who lived in a log cabin on the western frontier of Kentucky (1809). Although raised as a Particular Baptist, he became skeptical about many of the tenets within that tradition (he was particularly unimpressed with the emotionalism and sectarian strife that came out of the yearly camp meetings). Nevertheless, he continued to believe in an all wise, good, and powerful God (and there is ample evidence that his religious beliefs continued to develop over the whole course of his adult life). As a young man, he was disaffected with the labors of frontier life, spending most of his time at study. After marrying a woman from a wealthy slave-owning family, he began a family, served in the military, went into business, and then into law and politics. He did well as a lawyer, and also served in the Illinois House of Representatives (where he acquired a reputation for opposing both slavery and abolitionism [it was his desire to oppose the *extension* of slavery]). Although he did not favor a program of social equality between whites and blacks, he did believe that there ought to be an equal share of freedom and justice in virtue of their common humanity.

[103] **The Gettysburg Address**: *Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here*

drew more explicit attention to the religious significance of the issue in his *Second Inaugural Address* (1865): *Both sides read the same Bible and pray to the same God, and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces, but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered. That of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has His own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offenses; for it must needs be that offenses come, but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh." If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said "the judgements of the Lord are true and righteous altogether." With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.* One month later, the war came to an end at Appomattox on April 9th, and Lincoln was assassinated just five days later on April 14th.

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highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

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The Road to World War I

In the previous chapter, the most important events in the old world were the attempt to create a new liberal empire by Napoleon Bonaparte and the counter-attempt to create a conservative balance of powers between the nations by Klemens von Metternich. Meanwhile, the newly formed United States of America was not yet interested in international politics, but sought rather to advance her economic prosperity by conducting trade overseas and by expanding her frontier at home (besides which she had ample socio-economic problems of her own which were later to erupt in the Civil War).

In the present chapter, we are concerned with a period in which a very complicated network of events began building toward that global event known as the World War I. In the Old World, this involved the breakdown of the aforementioned balance of powers and the re-emergence of imperial competition between the great nations of Europe. In the new world, these events coincided with the period of reconstruction following the Civil War as well as a period of rapid economic growth appropriately dubbed the Gilded Age. In the early stages of the war, America held to its traditional policy of non-involvement. But when the scourge of war began to spill over into the western hemisphere, popular opinion increasingly inclined to the view that it was time to "make the world safe for democracy".

In this brave new world of purely secular politics, the three main traditions of the church reacted in very different ways. The Orthodox churches were the least changed: its people were submissive to authority, the church was governed by a virtually hereditary cast of priests, and everyone entertained an almost religious reverence for their secular overlords. The Catholic church put all of its energy into the ultra-conservative movement, opposing industrialization, supporting monarchies, and promoting the moral and spiritual authority of the papacy. The Protestant churches remained very much in favor of liberal democracy, but they began to oppose those expressions of it which were either hostile to religion or sought to replace it with one or another form of secular utopia (e.g., French socialism and/or German nationalism).

The Unsettling of Europe

The Age of Metternich had been one of political conservativism. The vast majority of states continued to be ruled by monarchs who used their power to repress liberalism, largely by controlling the press and restricting access to public affairs. While this undoubtedly contributed to the maintenance of foreign peace, it did so at the cost of domestic freedom, and the malcontent brewing just beneath the surface announced itself periodically in waves of unsuccessful revolutions.

The first crack in the apparently impregnable wall of conservativism began in what was called the Year of the Revolution. It saw as many as fifty revolutions in a single year, all sparked by France in 1848. In each case, the newly established liberal democracies fell into disunity and were replaced once more by conservative monarchies. Nevertheless, these upheavals were not a total failure, for the restoration of the old regimes was only made possible by granting certain concessions to the people (such as a free press, parliaments, constitutions, etc.). Moreover, this year not only saw a great many states gradually inching their way toward classical liberalism but also the first organized efforts at radical liberalism. Ever since the vision of a socialist utopia was first put forth in France, more practically minded advocates began organizing themselves into political groups, each with a different spin on how best to re-negotiate the boundaries between private and public property (sometimes religious, sometimes not religious). As everyone knows, however, the future of the movement lay in the hands of the philosopher Karl Marx, who that same year published his *Communist Manifesto*. This work proposed a violent attack on religion as well as a more radical version of socialism in which the unfolding of human history was set on an inexorable track toward the creation of a classless society where there would be no private property, money, or state.[104] Subsequently known as communism, it would eventually grow to become the major opponent of republican democracy in the modern world.

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[104] **Karl Marx** was born in Germany in 1818. Although his family was Jewish, it nominally converted to Protestantism, and in his university days he came under the influence of the radical liberal thinkers of France and Germany, the scientism of Comte, the socialism of Saint-Simon, the religious critique of Feuerbach, and the idealism of Hegel. Like all great thinkers, he sought to take the ideas of his predecessors and weave them into a grand synthesis, the theoretical expression of which became known as dialectical materialism, but the practical expression of which became known as the Communist Party. This view purports to be purely scientific, materialistic, and socialistic, but it also takes up certain ideas found in Hegel, namely, that the history of man unfolds in accordance with an inner law according to which the mutual conditioning of opposed forces gives birth to increasingly complex forms of society (the opposed forces being the oppressors and the oppressed). On this view, the whole of human history can be viewed as a necessary development from primitive communism to a utopian classless society in which there is no private property, money, or state. In turn, religion is viewed as a radically evil lie used to cloak the materialistic intentions of the oppressors and to salve the materialistic longings of the oppressed (e.g., medieval feudalism is what lay behind Catholicism, modern capitalism is what lay behind Lutheranism, the inability of merit to secure financial success is what lay behind Calvinism, etc.). Although the purportedly scientific basis of this view was open to serious objection, it had many of the same features that give strength to popular religion, and it would grow to become the dominant philosophy in the eastern hemisphere of the world.

The Crimean War marked the beginning of the end for the balance of power in the old world (1853 – 1856). Broadly speaking, the incentive for war grew up around the question of what to do with the sick man of Europe, meaning "Who was going to benefit by picking up the pieces of the crumbling Ottoman Empire?" In the Middle Ages, it had been one of the most formidable powers in Europe, but hard times had fallen upon the Muslim Turks, and there was a growing fear that its regions were shortly to be added to the already massive empire of Orthodox Russia. Thus, it quickly became a matter of international interest when religious disputes between Muslims and Orthodox living in the Holy Land furnished a pretext for Russia to invade Turkey. Shortly thereafter, war was declared on Russia by Great Britain and France (and both sides were offended by what they perceived as the spineless neutrality of Austria). The forty years of peace between the great powers had ended, and so began the breaking down of the Concert of Europe. The primary theatre of war was the little peninsula of Crimea, which extended beyond the northern coast of the Black Sea. It was one of the first industrial wars, making use of military advancements like explosive shells, as well as medical advancements like anesthesia (it also saw the first deployment of female nurses on the field, the most famous of which was Florence Nightingale). It was the first war to receive mass publicity (made possible through the use of photography and telegraph). As such, it received heavy criticism for its numerous instances of mismanagement, the most famous of which was a miscommunication that resulted in British cavalry waging a full frontal assault on Russian artillery, memorialized only six weeks later in Tennyson's famous *The Charge of the Light Brigade*. In the end, the war came to a costly stalemate, and the nations involved were more than eager to get out of it.

The Breakdown of the Concert of Europe (1854 - 1871)

The country that suffered most from the war was Austria (by remaining neutral, she emerged with no allies). The next country to suffer losses was Russia (now no longer regarded as invincible). France, seeing that her old rival was no longer in a position to check her imperial ambitions, immediately sought to reclaim her title as the most powerful nation on the continent. Britain was not averse as long as she continued to rule the high seas and remain the most powerful nation on the planet. Meanwhile, nations previously held in check saw their opportunity to expand, Sardinia uniting the regions around it into the state of Italy, and Prussia uniting the regions around it into the state of Germany (both completed by 1871).

In France, the breakdown of the old order naturally raised concerns over whether she had any desire to resume the Napoleonic Wars. After all, the country had just recently changed from a republic to an empire, and that under the rule of the famous dictator's nephew Napoleon III (1852 - 1870). Nevertheless, while the new dictator was interested in strengthening the power of his country, he also made

it very clear that new wars of aggression would not come from France. At most she would assist nations who were fighting for their independence (which she did successfully on behalf of Italy in 1859) and oppose nations which sought aggressive expansion (which she did unsuccessfully in opposition to Prussia in 1870). All throughout this period, she served as the sole provider of political protection to the church in Rome, who returned the favor by sanctioning the legitimacy of the monarchy, an arrangement which continued to polarize the ultra-traditionalists and the ultra-liberals. Academic life at the university was also divided between two camps, those who took up the view that all real knowledge came from the scientific method, and those who continued to argue that a broader range of knowledge was available through the traditional avenues of scholarship, philosophy, and spirituality. Among the former, we find a concerted effort to scientize whole fields of research, whether in the areas of religion (Ernest Renan), philosophy (Emile Littre), the humanities (Hippolyte Taine), or biology (Claude Bernard). There was also a growing interest in racial anthropology, the most notorious exponent of which was Arthur de Gobineau.[105] Those who resisted this tendency devoted themselves to the philosophy of science (e.g., Cournot), others to the philosophy of mind (e.g., Renouvier), and still others to metaphysical questions (e.g., the spiritualism of Ravaisson, Lachelier, and Fouillee).[106] On the whole, the picture is that of a rich but deeply divided culture, an excellent embodiment of which can be found in the life and writings of Victor Hugo. His father was a republican and a freethinker, and his mother was a royalist and a Catholic. Although loyal to the views of his mother while young, he gravitated toward the views of his father with age, and in the final analysis he settled on a worldview that can only be described as a peculiar blend of religious faith mixed with skepticism.

In Prussia, the breakdown of the old order provided the first real opportunity for it to gather the regions around it into a single nation. Its rulers were well aware that this move would only strengthen the power of the people, but they were also

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[105] **Arthur de Gobineau** is largely known for his work *An Essay on the Inequality of the Races.* It had been known for some time that the various peoples of western civilization belonged to a larger linguistic family known as Indo-European, and also that the most ancient self-designation of this people group was preserved in the Sanskrit word "Aryan" (noble). As positivism was committed to the view that cultural characteristics were reducible to traits measured by the physical sciences, the tendency was to blur the distinction between language and race. As a next step, this work argued for the existence of a racial hierarchy and sought to assign a pre-eminent position to the aforementioned *Aryans*.

[106] **Spiritualism** here has nothing to do with necromancy, but is rather a tradition of metaphysics built upon the assertion that man's consciousness of his free will actions reveals an element whose nature lies beyond the competence of the physical sciences to explain (assuming, of course, that one does not simply distort its nature in order to give it a physical explanation). For this school of thought, the free operation of the will is the irreducible ground of every scientific investigation, and to that extent is implicitly asserted in every explicit attempt to deny it (just as Descartes could not doubt his existence without implicitly asserting it). Thus, whereas the positivists knew only the difference between simple and complex, the spiritualists maintained the traditional categorical divisions between inanimate and animate nature, between individual and social psychology, and between mechanics and teleology.

aware that it was the only way to free their state from what was widely perceived as a condition of arrested development. Although carried out under the supervision of King Wilhelm I, it was really the brainchild of his energetic assistant Otto von Bismarck. And thus, the Reich was re-constituted in three brief wars, one against Denmark (1864), another against Austria (1866), and still another against France (1870). It came to incorporate twenty-six states, occupying the whole of north central Europe, the region we know today as Germany. Now all of these newly acquired territories brought with them a tremendous amount of cultural diversity, and as this was regarded as a major obstacle to nationalism, great efforts were made to solidify the empire through a process of "Germanization". Among other things, this involved teaching people the official language, creating a system of compulsory education, and finding a way to deal with the religious differences of separatist Protestants, along with Catholics, and, of course, Jews. In regards to Protestantism, the official religion of the state remained that of the Prussian Union of Churches, but the newly acquired territories were granted the liberty to retain or form free churches of their own (most of which were liberal, pietistic, or Old Lutheran). In regards to Catholicism, a sustained effort was made to limit their influence on public affairs, particularly in the areas of education, marriage, and government (referred to as the *Kulturkampf*). In regards to the Jews, the official policy was in favor of integration, though a number of popular organizations began to lobby for more radical measures like segregation, de-jewification, or expulsion (all responses to "the Jewish Question").

As for Britain, she continued to enjoy unmitigated prosperity under the reign of Queen Victoria. Now, however, the religious piety which had flourished so well on the isles was suddenly assailed with doubts. The first blow was homegrown on the soil of Britain. It came in the form of a scientific challenge to the traditional cosmology, prompted by the publication of Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection* (1859).[107] The idea of evolution was subsequently taken up and incorporated into a full-fledged philosophical system by Herbert Spencer (across the channel, a very different evolutionary philosophy would later

[107] ***The Origin of Species***: Although not a polemical work, the book amassed a huge amount of evidence to argue that the earth was very ancient, that the origin of species could be adequately explained via the processes of adaptation and natural selection, and that the human race was a product of chance that differed from the animal races only in degree of biological complexity. Accordingly, Darwin's understanding of nature was not that of a static mechanical order, but that of a blind and violent struggle for survival, "red in tooth and claw." Although he was urgent to escape the charge of atheism, he nevertheless made it clear that there were no grounds for believing in a supernatural hand of providence guiding the natural order. In spite of all his notoriety, he was not the first to propound this view, but merely the most scientifically informed spokesperson for a view that had been developing for some time (earlier approximations to the evolutionary model can be found in the work of Jean-Baptiste Lamarck, Erasmus Darwin, and Comte de Buffon). Within a generation, the theory had been accepted by most scientists, the empirical evidence affording decisive proof at the micro-level, and a compelling speculative vision at the macro-level (nevertheless, its greatest challenge remained that of providing a satisfactory account of the major transitions from inorganic chemistry to organic life to sentient life to rational consciousness).

be produced by Henri Bergson). The second blow was a foreign import from Germany. It came in the form of a scholarly challenge to traditional assumptions about Scripture prompted by the publication of the widely read *Essays and Reviews* (1860).[108] In general, the challenges that generated the most heat were those directed at the literal reading of the creation account, the authorship of the five books of Moses, and the late dating of the prophetic material in the book of Daniel. As if these things were not enough, the absolute idealism of Hegel was taken up in various forms by philosophers like T. H. Green, F. H. Bradley, and Bernard Bosanquet. Although Victorian conservativism still managed to prevail among a large section of the population, an increasing number of people began to secretly embrace agnosticism or to maintain more liberal ideas in their theology, either in regards to the inspiration of Scripture (which they regarded as unscholarly), or to traditional cosmology (which they regarded as unscientific), or to the necessity of the Atonement (which they increasingly regarded with moral repugnance). This resulted in a number of very public disputes in which religion was pitted against science, as for example the Oxford Evolution Debate (involving the famous biologist T. H. Huxley, 1860), or in the Downgrade Controversy (involving the famous preacher Charles Haddon Spurgeon, 1887). The religious questions of the day found their way into the literature of a particularly rich pool of intelligentsia, some of whom were orthodox believers (e.g., James Clerk Maxwell, David Livingston, Lewis Carroll, Michael Faraday, Gerard Manley Hopkins, Sir George Stokes), others of whom were theists (Charles Dickens), others of whom were deists (Thomas Carlyle), and still others who were seekers, agnostics, and atheists (e.g., Robert Browning, Matthew Arnold, John Ruskin, Robert Louis Stevenson, Oscar Wilde, Alfred Lord Tennyson). Protestant theologians adapted very quickly to the new atmosphere, arguing that religious faith was in no way incompatible with the genuine results of free inquiry (Frederick Temple): many leading theologians began to embrace a modified form of evolutionary biology (Aubrey Moore), and others took up the challenge of biblical criticism (J. B. Lightfoot). Neither did such heady intellectual issues hinder the laity from advancing the cause of practical piety: a new outreach to the poor began with the founding of the Salvation Army (London 1865), and the zeal for post-conversion holiness that was springing up amidst the revivals in the new world began to appear in the isles under the name of the Higher Life Movement (Keswick, 1875 [a movement which exercised an important influence on the popular devotional writer Andrew Murray]).

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[108] ***Essays and Reviews*** was a collection of seven essays intended to inform a lay readership about the present state of scholarly research into the Bible. In the process, it called into question the literal interpretation of the creation account, affirmed the natural human limitations of its authors, and challenged the traditional view that the first five books were authored by Moses

The New Age of Imperialism (1871 – 1914)

The brevity of this period belies its importance for the whole of western civilization. It is marked by so many significant changes that it is currently designated by an unhelpful plethora of names. The political name for this period is useful for linking it to the war, but it should not be taken as a sufficient indication of all the developments encompassed by it. After the breakup of the Concert of Europe, followed by the rise of a united Germany, there was no longer anything that might be called a balance of power. Instead, nations began to compete for political supremacy, hoping thereby to defend their economic interests at home and spread their military influence abroad. Abroad, the battle for supremacy was waged via the expansion of each nation's colonial empire, an event known as the New Imperialism (in which they largely assumed control over the Middle East, Southeast Asia, and especially Africa).[109] At home, the battle for supremacy was waged first through aggressive advancements in the pure sciences (i.e., the expansion of man's knowledge of the physical world beyond that of Classical Physics),[110] and second through aggressive advancements in the applied sciences (i.e., the invention of new technologies made possible by the Second Industrial Revolution).[111] As a result, this period saw a sudden increase in mass leisure, standard of living, and innovative popular consumer culture. Known as "the Beautiful Age" (or satirized as "the Gilded Age"), it saw a growing interest in the therapeutic application of psychology, a tremendous increase in public health via the advent of the germ theory of disease, and a rapid succession of technological inventions such as electric lighting, the telephone, the radio, the phonograph, the motion picture,[112] the automobile, the airplane, etc. All of this created a cultural

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[109] **The New Imperialism**: In this period, the race for colonial power was largely focused on Africa, India, China, and central, southeast, and southwest Asia. The "Scramble for Africa" was particularly aggressive, the percentage of land under colonial control leaping from 10% to 90% (the only places left unoccupied were Ethiopia, Liberia, and the Dervish State).

[110] **Modern Physics**: By now, the predictive power of classical mechanics had persuaded a great many people that the most important facts about physics had already been discovered (most of them by Isaac Newton). Nevertheless, a rapid series of discoveries began to reveal a very counter-intuitive world of phenomena hidden within the nucleus of the atom. In just the space of a few years, we witness the discovery of radioactivity, the packaging of its energy in discrete amounts called quanta, the relativity of our measurements of space and time, and the inter-convertibility of matter and energy ($E = mc^2$ would eventually be settled upon as the formula for converting mass into energy). At this early date, applications for this new knowledge had not yet been devised, but they would begin to come to light in the years leading up to the Second World War.

[111] **The Second Industrial Revolution**: At a generic level, industrialization had seen rapid progress in the speed of its production, the breadth of its distribution, and the affordability of its products (which in turn opened the door to mass marketing and mass consumption). Now, however, advancements in chemical knowledge enabled the production of such useful materials as steel, gasoline, rubber, etc. Advancements in electrical knowledge enabled the invention of such things as the light bulb, telephone, motion picture, etc. As we shall see, the number of useful applications to which this new knowledge could be put inaugurated what is arguably the most productive era of creative invention in the history of mankind.

[112] **The Birth of Cinema**: The birth of cinema, which is to say the use of projected film for entertainment, is usually dated to the year 1895, when public screenings of projected films were performed by Max Skladanowsky in Germany and the Lumieres Brothers in France. Before the outbreak of the war, the film industry was largely

atmosphere in which most people came to believe that mankind was making huge amounts of progress through the applied sciences, and this, in turn, cast a negative reflection on all that was not science (e.g., the humanities, philosophy, and theology). As we shall see, this had a profound impact on the development of Orthodoxy, Catholicism, and Protestantism.

Russia been universally recognized as a world power since the defeat of Napoleon in 1812. Accordingly, it felt little pressure to take up the cause of liberal democracy that was spreading like wildfire over the whole continent, but especially in the year 1848. Nevertheless, the myth of its invincibility had recently been shaken in the Crimean War of 1856. There was a widespread realization that the country had been falling behind its western neighbors: the rural majority were serfs who were uneducated and earned their living by farming; the urban minority were beset with poor infrastructure, backward technologies, and outdated weapons. A series of belated reforms were initiated in the hopes of infusing the nation with those capitalist principles so favorable to industrialization and militarization. These included a program for public education, more freedom of the press, more autonomy in the local government, broader access to the judicial system, and most importantly the liberation of a whopping twenty-three million serfs (1861). Unfortunately, this violent attempt at modernization served only to weaken the power of the monarchy and worsen the fortunes of the already downtrodden peasantry: families fell apart, individuals fell into debt, and both fell prey to exploitation by the wealthier classes. In turn, the peasantry became split into two groups, an older generation who remained faithful to traditional values and a younger generation who had become disillusioned with all forms of authority, whether those of family, king, or church. For some, the problem of human suffering became an occasion for inner searching and the rediscovery of spiritual truths, and this achieved classical expression in the writings of Turgenev, Dostoyevsky, and Tolstoy. For others, it became an occasion for outward activism, the earliest expressions of which were inspired by socialism, but were more radical in that they used terrorism as their means and pursued anarchism as their goal (early advocates of this became known as Nihilists, and they organized themselves into a political party known as the Narodniks). Although a small group, they were sufficiently effective to bring about the assassination of Czar Alexander II in 1881. A brief victory for the revolutionaries, it succeeded only in stirring up a conservative backlash from the monarchy. The overtures to more liberal government were aggressively suppressed throughout the reign of Czar Alexander

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dominated by Europe, and major film studios could be found in Italy, France, Britain, Germany, Russia, even Australia. Many of the earliest films were shorts, running no longer than a couple of minutes, the most famous example probably being *A Trip to the Moon* (1902). Some of the earliest feature length films include *The Life and Passion of the Christ* (1903), *The Story of the Kelley Gang* (1906), *The Prodigal Son* (1907), *Les Miserables* (1909), *The Inferno* (1911), and *Oliver Twist* (1912).

III, who championed of the old values of Orthodoxy, Autocracy, and Nationality (1881 – 1894).[113] The first generation of anarchist revolutionaries were relentlessly stamped out, but they were soon replaced by a more thoughtful group of revolutionaries influenced by socialism, and therefore, in communication with Emile Durkheim in France and Karl Marx in Germany. These forces came out in full swing when the nation resumed its conservative posture under Czar Nicholas II (1894 – 1917). Although the country was not devoid of conservative political parties, the majority were liberal socialists, acquiring the name Bolsheviks, and making huge strides under the leadership of Vladimir Lenin. Meanwhile, the trend toward atheistic materialism found a vigorous counterpoise in efforts to revitalize the Russian Orthodox Church, spearheaded by such writers as Aleksey Khomyakov, Vladamir Solovyov, Nikolai Berdyaev, Nikolay Lossky, Sergei Bulgakov, and Levo Shestov. In many cases, these men had formerly belonged to the party of revolutionaries and were largely responsible for the re-awakening of philosophical theology within Eastern Orthodoxy.

In Roman Catholicism, the papacy was about to reach the zenith of its influence in the church, and the nadir of its influence outside it. The papacy had already rejected all forms of modernism in a document entitled the *Syllabus of Errors* (1864). To this it added the sweeping affirmation of papal infallibility in the notorious *Vatican I* (1868 – 1870).[114] It is a great irony that only weeks after this historic decision was made, armies marched into the papal states and seized the city of Rome. The Kingdom of Italy predictably set itself to the task of imperial expansion, while the papacy was stripped of its lands and confined within the walls of the Vatican (even now, however, while divested of temporal power, it continued to exert a spiritual influence over its flock, following up the reactionary policies of Vatican I with the publication of an important encyclical on faith and reason entitled *Aeterni Patris*).[115] In spite of these setbacks at home, the church

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[113] **Alexander III's Anti-Jewish Policies** had far reaching significance inasmuch as he held within his domain the majority of their population worldwide. It was widely believed that the greatest threat to the regime came from the importation of foreign peoples, politics, and religion. The government's policies were so harsh that over next couple decades a total of over two million refugees were forced to relocate, mostly to other parts of Europe and especially the United States. This resulted in modern popular anti-Semitism. After numerous restrictions, pogroms, and exiles, the Jews were largely reduced to living in ghettos. The poor were despised, the middle class distrusted, and the upper classes the source of numerous conspiracy theories (especially the Rothschilds, an international banking family with branches in Britain, France, Germany, Austria, and Italy, and possessing the largest private fortune in the world). All of this resulted in modern Zionism (usually dated to the publication of Theodor Herzl's *The Jewish State* in 1896). In contrast to older attempts to return home piecemeal, he began making an appeal for the formation of a legally recognized state of Israel, making his appeal to the Ottoman Empire.

[114] **Vatican I** was the first council in three hundred years (i.e., since the council of Trent). Although called to deal with the problems of liberalism, rationalism, and materialism, it quickly became fixed upon the issue of ratifying the doctrine of papal infallibility. The doctrine affirmed the infallibility of the pope when speaking *ex cathedra* (i.e., when exercising the office of pastor of all Christians, he defines a doctrine of faith or morals to be held by the Universal Church). In turn, the first doctrine to be promulgated *ex cathedra* was that of Mary's Immaculate Conception (the doctrine that she was born without sin).

[115] ***Aeterni Patris*** was a very influential encyclical designed to reinvigorate scholasticism and provide a

still enjoyed official status as the religion of the state in Spain and Portugal and also the devotion of the majority of the population in Austria-Hungary and France. In Austria-Hungary, the monarchy gave its support to the church, though it is important to understand that a tremendous amount of political and intellectual diversity was housed within the borders of its vast empire. In spite of its conservative political posture, the country was brimming with nationalist organizations, and its universities were filled with free-thinking individuals, as, for example, can be seen in the phenomenology of Franz Brentano, the neo-positivism of Ernst Mach, and the psychoanalysis of Sigmund Freud (a contemporary of the equally important Carl Jung). In France, however, the church met with a series of setbacks after the removal of Napoleon III and the founding of the Third Republic. The new government countered the church's authoritarian claims with a program of secularization in which its religious influence was systematically removed from the public sphere, particularly in the areas of school, marriage, and government (here again, the church was required to hand over all of its property to the state). To signify its return to the original spirit of the revolution, the country celebrated its fourth world's fair, famously known as the Exposition Universelle of 1889 (on the 100-year anniversary of the revolution).[116] Accordingly, this period saw a tremendous flourishing of secular culture, as for example in the art of the impressionists and post-impressionists (Monet, Renoir, Sisley, Bazille, Cezanne, Gauguin, and Seurat), the literature of the realists and naturalists (Baudelaire, Balzac, Dumas, Flaubert, Rimbaud, Courbet, and Zola), and the music of the neo-classicists (Bizet, Massenet, Ravel, Debussy). The great intellectuals of the period include such notables as Henri Poincare, Ferdinand de Saussure, Emile Durkheim, and most popularly, Henri Bergson. As for the church, it found itself pestered by a small but influential band of modernizing thinkers, some of whom challenged traditional theology (Alfred Loisy), others who fought for a more liberal theology (George Tyrrell), and still others who within the fold of orthodoxy nevertheless wanted to embrace the tools of biblical criticism (Louis Duchesne) or the insights of modern philosophy (Leon Olle Laprune, Maurice Blondel, and Laberthonniere).

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counterthrust to the philosophical tradition begun by Descartes (Italy, 1879). It challenged the modern trend of thought which drove a wedge between faith and reason, and it argued that recent thinkers had not made good their claim that the natural sciences were putting the kibosh on natural theology. The invention of scientific trinkets might distract from but could never answer the fundamental questions about man's origin and end, and it called upon churchmen to recover the lost treasures of scholasticism (especially as expressed in the thought of Thomas Aquinas). In the years to come, the medieval scholastic tradition would prove itself remarkably resilient, leading to a resurgence of Neo-Scholasticism in general and Thomism in particular.

[116] **The Exposition Universelle:** The main symbol of the fair was a massive arch built to mark the entryway (constructed by Gustave Eiffel, who only three years earlier had produced a statue of the Roman goddess of Liberty as a gift to America). To provide an exhaustive list of its attractions would not be feasible, but broadly speaking it was designed to celebrate the country's history (as featured in its reconstruction of the Bastille), it's industrialization (as featured in its Gallery of Machines), and it's colonial empire (featured in a kind of human zoo called "the Negro Village").

Pope Pius X made quick work of the modernists, placing their books on the index, issuing a catalog of errors, producing an encyclical regarding the church's position on modernism, and imposing an anti-modernist oath on the priesthood. The modernist movement in the church was dead, but it would reappear half a century later in Vatican II.

In Protestant countries, the rise of modern technological civilization had advanced further than anywhere else, and here our attention is directed to Britain and Germany. In Britain, the march of imperialism had transformed it into the largest empire in history, controlling almost a quarter of the total land mass of the planet. It was still the leading industrial power in the world, but it was beginning to be outpaced other nations, particularly Germany and the United States. Nevertheless, there remained a very widespread belief that the isles had been handed the torch of human progress, and that this was largely due to the acquisition of better scientific knowledge and its employment in practical technologies. In the humanities, the influence of this view can be seen in the poems of Rudyard Kipling, the plays of George Bernard Shaw, and the novels of H. G. Wells. In philosophy, we have only to think of the work of G. E. Moore, Bertrand Russell, and Alfred North Whitehead.[117] The church, for its part, had already made its peace with the natural sciences, and so this period was characterized by the efforts of lay intellectuals to challenge the narrative that modern scientific progress was making religion obsolete, most notably in the work of Hillaire Belloc and especially G. K. Chesterton. Meanwhile, behind the intellectual battle lines, ordinary believers continued to devote themselves to task of planting churches and building missions within the traditions of Methodism, Anglicanism, Presbyterianism, and Catholicism. In Germany, the unification of the nation had upset the balance of power throughout Europe, but the country was still determined to maintain peace under the leadership of its chancellor Otto von Bismarck. Most of his attention was directed toward industrialization, and only reluctantly did he participate in the race for imperial expansion (one region in the Pacific and four in

[117] **Analytic Philosophy** was born out of a reaction against rationalist idealism and a return to empirical skepticism. G. E. Moore sought to recover a common sense view of reality, and he also sought to expound this view in a language that was simple, clear, and careful. Although Bertrand Russell was deeply sympathetic with this change in direction, he rejected the appeal to common sense as flatly contradicted by the picture of the world given to us in the natural sciences. Furthermore, he was less impressed by the gains of philosophy than those of science, and he saw the former as little more than the handmaid of the latter, a tool for analyzing the findings of science into simpler terms and recasting them in the language of modern logic. An example of this approach can be seen in his attempt at the highly theoretical project of showing that mathematics was a complete axiomatic system by reducing it to the principles of logic (also thereby bringing it to the highest possible level of certainty). This was but one of the twenty-three projects proposed by David Hilbert in 1900, and it drew upon the invention of modern symbolic logic by Gottlob Frege, the invention of modern set theory by Georg Cantor, and the arithmetical axioms of Guiseppe Peano. It achieved final form in the monumental *Principia Mathematica* (1910), but would eventually be refuted after the discovery of Godel's theorems (1931). Bertrand Russell's analytical approach to doing philosophy, along with his narrow emphasis on logic, mathematics, and science, quickly established itself as the most influential tradition in Britain and America.

Africa). To hold back the tide of revolution, he passed a set of laws designed to outlaw radicalism, and another set of laws designed to better ensure the economic welfare of his citizens. In short, he was successful in making sure the country remained conservative, which is to say resistant to the tides of nationalism and socialism.

At the universities, the cry was "Back to Kant": over the past several decades, intellectuals had seen a swift succession of philosophical systems from the nationalist idealism of Hegel to the socialist materialism of Marx. But when the initial wave of enthusiasm had passed away, neither one seemed capable of providing anything that could be called knowledge, thereby vindicating the view that the human mind was not in a position to either affirm or deny the existence of the metaphysical world. What was needed was theoretical restraint, practical moral values, and a broad belief in divine providence, and this school of thought became known as Neo-Kantianism.[118] In turn, it came to exercise a powerful influence on theology, the mainstream of which still belonged to the school of liberal Protestantism and the most important exponent of which was Albrecht Ritschl. Ritschl took up the idea that the mind is incapable of arriving at any theoretical knowledge about God, but then he argued that we acquire a kind of second order knowledge about him through the practical values revealed in life of Jesus and the early Church.[119] Accordingly, the theological tradition he inaugurated took the emphasis off of abstract philosophy and placed it on concrete history, the idea being to move "from the Christ of dogma to the Jesus of history". This project was carried out with great effect by a disciple of his named Adolf von Harnack, a man who achieved new heights in historical research and who argued on the basis of that research for the liberal view of the gospel: the fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, and the promise of the coming Kingdom. Religious conservatives were naturally displeased with the official backing of liberal theology, but this was a small matter in comparison with the kind of radicalism that

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[118] **The Neo-Kantian Movement** was less a matter of returning to the letter of Kant and more a matter of returning to the spirit of Kant. It therefore issued forth in fresh attempts to delineate the explanatory limits of both science and philosophy and to interpret human life within the context of a noble moral deism. As before, it became the accepted philosophy of the schools, and by the turn of the century most university chairs were occupied by representatives of the movement (e.g., Otto Liebmann, Hermann Cohen, Paul Natorp, Wilhelm Windelband, Heinrich Rickert, Friedrich Albert Lange and Hans Vaihinger).

[119] **Albrecht Ritschl** was the most influential theologian in the years immediately preceding the war. As mentioned, his theology was influenced by Neo-Kantianism, which meant that it rejected all attempts to gain knowledge of the divine through theoretical reason and instead placed all of its emphasis on the exercise of practical morality (it also took a very dim view of mystical experience and pietism). Although he placed great emphasis on the authority of the biblical text, he did so as part of a larger attempt to re-evaluate the traditional dogmas of orthodox Protestantism, and thus to provide a historical argument for the tenets of liberal Protestantism. The most important of these tenets concerned the person and the work of Jesus Christ. To speak of his person as divine was to assert his moral lordship over the practical conduct of the race, but it did not involve making any theoretical claims about his pre-existence. Accordingly, his death on the cross was not to be interpreted as a sacrifice for sin but as an exhibition of his personal worth and as an example for mankind to follow in obedience unto death.

was about to appear. The mild religiosity of liberalism provoked a direct assault upon Christianity in the writings of Friedrich Nietzsche,[120] while the politics of peace came to an abrupt end with the accession of Kaiser Wilhelm II (1888 – 1918). What the famous atheist might have thought about his new ruler is difficult to assess as he was then on the threshold of madness, but it was clear that there were going to be changes when he deposed the cautious Otto von Bismarck and began building a military rivalling that of the British Royal Navy. Although the emperor himself was of a conservative religious disposition (his grandmother was Queen Victoria), the theological trend during his administration continued to slide from liberal Christianity to non-Christianity (as for example in the scholarly work of Johannes Weiss, Albert Schweitzer, Hermann Gunkel, Wilhelm Bousset, and Erst Troeltsch). As we shall see, the increasingly vapid religious atmosphere offered few incentives to resist the propaganda of war, and this fact exercised a profound influence on the future founder of Neo-Orthodoxy, Karl Barth: *In August of 1914, ninety-three German intellectuals came out with a manifesto supporting the war policy of Kaiser Wilhelm II and his counsellors, and among them I found to my horror the names of nearly all of my theological teachers whom up to then I had religiously honored. Disillusioned by their conduct, I perceived that I should no longer be able to accept their ethics and dogmatics, their biblical exegesis, their interpretations of history, that at least for me the theology of the nineteenth century had no future*.

[120] **Friedrich Nietzsche** was the son of a pastor within the tradition of Lutheranism, born in Germany in 1844. In his youth, he studied art, music, literature, and philosophy, and he became a good scholar of Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and French. While preparing for a career as a minister, he rejected his faith and began devoting his energies toward the development of an alternative worldview. His most powerful influences were the pagan classics, the philosophy of Schopenhauer, and the music of Richard Wagner. In his early work, he wrote about a massive cultural crisis in western civilization, which in his characteristically poetic way he described as the advent of nihilism and the death of God. In light of this fact, a good deal of his subsequent writing was devoted to the criticism of what he regarded as undesirable forms of culture, and to the promotion of what he regarded as desirable forms of culture, particularly in the areas of art, morality, and philosophy. The brilliance of his writings won him a great deal of fame, though they ultimately failed to materialize into anything that might be called a coherent worldview (in large part due to his rejection of any objective standard of truth, goodness, or beauty). In his later work, he carried out a sustained attack on Christianity, the tone of which became increasingly shrill with each new publication and which he carried beyond all bounds of taste, goodwill, or even rationality. His last works show signs of psychological instability, and within months of their production, he suffered a complete mental breakdown from which he never recovered (see for example *The Twilight of the Idols, The Antichrist,* and *Ecce Homo*).

7

The United States Becomes a World Power

In the previous chapter, we looked at the 70-year period following the birth of the pious, enlightened, and revolutionary United States of America. At its inception, the nation was 80% British and 95% Protestant. Politically, it was largely divided between northern federalists and southern democratic republicans. In foreign affairs, it remained neutral about the problems in Europe, but showed that it was willing to fight for its own economic interests in the War of 1812. In domestic affairs, the urban parts of the country were engaged in big business, while the rural parts of the country were engaged in expanding the frontier. The cities remained the stronghold of stable religious expressions such as Congregationalism, Presbyterianism, and Anglicanism. The country, however, was set ablaze with the fire of religious revivalism, particularly among the Baptists and Methodists, and it also spawned more radical religious expressions like the Restoration Movement, the Holiness Movement, Adventism, Mormonism, and Spiritism.

The Civil War marked the beginning of the nation's rise to world power (as well as the independence of Canada).[121] The period immediately following is usually called the Reconstruction Era, and it found itself faced with the task of binding the nation's wounds and securing the welfare of four million former slaves (1865 – 1877). The recent assassination of the president caused the burden of this responsibility to fall on his democratic assistant, Andrew Johnson (1865 – 1869). In foreign affairs, his presidency was uneventful, excepting the purchase of the immense territory of Alaska from the Russians. In domestic affairs, he sought to deal gently with the secessionist states, but he offered no protection to the newly liberated slaves. He not only allowed the southern states to reinstate their old leaders, but further, he allowed them to restrict the civil rights of former slaves via the Black Codes, and he personally opposed the passage of the 14th Amendment[122]

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[121]**Canada**, originally a colonial possession of the French (1605), then a colonial possession of the British (1763), now became an independent nation with its own constitutional republic (1867). For all of its early history, the region was ninety-nine percent Roman Catholic. After being handed over to the isles, the balance began to tip in favor of Protestantism, the earliest groups being Anglican, Presbyterian, and Methodist (later groups being Lutheran, Congregational, and Baptist).

[122]**The 13th and 14th and 15th Amendments** were the first amendments to be adopted in over sixty years. The thirteenth amendment outlawed slavery and was adopted during the administration of Lincoln (1865). The fourteenth amendment grants equal protection of civil rights for all citizens and was adopted during the administration of Johnson (1868). The fifteenth amendment forbids any restriction of the right to vote based on

and the efforts of the Freedmen's Bureau[123] (his administration also witnessed the birth of the Ku Klux Klan).[124] As a result of these policies, he drew heavy opposition from the republican led congress, and subsequently, he acquired the distinction of being the first president to suffer impeachment (the second was Bill Clinton). Although eventually acquitted, the power of his administration was largely broken and the task of reconstruction was taken over by Congress.

As for the church, membership remained overwhelmingly Protestant, though immigration was bringing in an increasing number of Catholics and the nation had just recently acquired its earliest representatives of Russian Orthodoxy (i.e., through the aforementioned purchase of Alaska). By denomination, the largest groups still were Methodist and Baptist, the second largest Presbyterian and Lutheran, third largest Episcopalian, Congregationalist, and Disciples of Christ, (by now, the more marginal groups were to be found among the Quakers, Adventists, Unitarians, Mennonites, Jews, and Mormons). As we have seen, all the mainline denominations had been split into northern and southern halves during the Civil War (the only exceptions being the northern Congregationalists and the southern Episcopalians). All efforts at reunification were abortive: the north viewed itself as having a mission to reform the morals of their southern brethren, but the south proved more difficult to persuade than they supposed. Nevertheless, this did not prevent them from assisting blacks through religious organizations like the American Missionary Society (which was Congregational) and the Freedmen's Aid Society (which was Methodist). Here, too, however, while such efforts began with great optimism, it wasn't long before the realization set in that it was going to take more than a few years to undo centuries of prejudice, ignorance, and poverty. True, blacks had begun to vote, become members of congress, and establish their

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color, race, or previous servitude and was adopted during the administration of Ulysses S. Grant (1870). The passage of these amendments was regarded as a necessary measure against the attitude of the south toward former slaves, which was to accept them as citizens, but to obstruct their rights as citizens. Together, they effectively abolished all laws openly designed to restrict the civil rights of blacks (the aforementioned Black Codes). Unfortunately, they had little power to abolish laws that covertly restricted the civil rights of blacks (the various laws enforcing racial segregation, known as Jim Crow Laws). The latter would remain in place for a hundred years and would not be regarded as unconstitutional until the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 60s.

[123] **The Freedmen's Bureau** was a government organization designed to assist blacks in making the transition from slavery to freedom (it operated from 1865 – 1872). It was instituted by Lincoln but given to the charge of a deeply pious general named Oliver O. Howard. Its activities consisted of such things as reconnecting blacks with the members of their family and assisting them in getting an education, employment, and legal representation in the courts (one of its most enduring legacies was the creation of Howard University in Washington D. C.).

[124] **The Ku Klux Klan** began as a small fraternity of confederate men in Tennessee in 1865. It was essentially a secret vigilante organization, the purpose of which was to promote white supremacy and inhibit black equality. Depending on one's perspective, their efforts were viewed as acts heroism or terrorism (the latter view is presented in the controversial film *The Birth of a Nation*). Although most of their activity was directed against blacks, it was equally directed against southern whites who defended the rights of former slaves (called scalawags) or northern whites who came down on a mission to fix the south (called carpetbaggers). In addition to the KKK, other white supremacy groups that arose during this period were the Pale Faces, the Knights of the White Camelia, the White Brotherhood, Society of the White Rose, the Knights of the Rising Sun, the Red Shirts, the Knights of the White Cross, the White League, etc.

own towns, businesses, schools, and churches. Unfortunately, the vast majority never achieved equality in the north, and the practice of segregation effectively disenfranchised them throughout the whole south. In spite of these challenges, they would grow to become a major cultural force throughout the nation, especially in the cultivation of music,[125] the advancement of the Republican Party and the growth of the Baptist Church.

America's Continental Expansion (1870…)

In the previous section, we set our attention on the racial, political, and religious repercussions of the Civil War begun under the presidency of Andrew Johnson (1865 – 1869) and completed under that of Ulysses Grant (1869 – 1877). In the present section, we turn our attention to the story of how the country developed into a world power in the years leading up to the Spanish-American War (i.e., the presidencies of Hayes, Garfield, Arthur, Cleveland, Harrison, and McKinley). This period was characterized by three major developments: (1) the arrival of new immigrants; (2) in rural areas, the conquest of the western frontier; (3) and in urban areas, the advance of modern industrial technological wealth. Unfortunately, alongside all of these otherwise wonderful developments, we also see the emergence of lawlessness, poor farms, crowded cities, greedy businesses, corrupt politicians, and the rise of cultural tension in an increasingly diverse population. It was for these reasons that the period in question was satirized by its most famous writer, Mark Twain, as "the Gilded Age."

After the war, there was tremendous increase in the religious and ethnic diversity of the United States. This came not only from the liberation of over four million former slaves, but from the immigration of over ten million foreigners. Although some of these were continuations of the old wave of immigration from Western Europe (Britain, Ireland, and Germany), most of them were a new wave of immigration from Eastern Europe (Italy, Poland, Austria, Hungary, Greece, and Russia). All of this aroused opposition: the oldcomers had largely been Protestants, but the newcomers were almost entirely Catholics. Furthermore, the rise of antisemitism in Europe had encouraged the immigration of a large number of Jews, and the need for labor on the western frontier had begun drawing in a large number of Chinese. The Chinese were the first to suffer restricted access to immigration, in large part because they were believed to be without religion, and rumors quickly spread that their towns were filled with gambling, opiates, and

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[125] **The Fisk Jubilee Singers** are credited with being the first popularizers of black music (first organized in 1871). A great many people had never heard authentic black music, though they had seen imitations of it by white performers wearing blackface. In order to raise money for their new school, this group of singers began a concert tour along the stops of the old Underground Railroad, singing the popular folk tunes of Stephen Foster (e.g., *Oh Susanna, Camptown Races,* and *I Dream of Jeanie*) and never before heard Negro Spirituals (e.g., *Steal Away to Jesus, Go Down Moses, Swing Low Sweet Chariot*).

prostitution.[126] The Jews suffered no such restrictions, but they were often excluded from opportunities for employment, education, and advancement (as a result, they acquired a reputation for upward mobility, often securing powerful positions for themselves in business, banking, law, and politics).[127] The Catholics were neither restricted from immigration nor apt to suffer individual discrimination, but there nevertheless remained a suspicion that their devotion to the Papacy was ultimately incompatible with the values of America (a perception that was reinforced by their penchant for private schooling and the pope's sweeping condemnation of the separation of church and state in America). Undoubtedly, however, the most unwelcome import from abroad was the tradition of organized crime that became known as the Mafia (a group that had its origins in Italy, specifically the island of Sicily).[128] The nation's open door policy to immigration produced so much traffic on the east coast that the federal government was compelled to create a reception center for migrants near the Statue of Liberty (Ellis Island, 1892). The rapid increase in diversity raised urgent questions about the nation's identity, the standard answers to which were either socialism or nationalism (which either took the form of nativism or Americanization). Although a number of socialist organizations were beginning to emerge, they were widely rejected as being un-American. Far more influential were the nativists,

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[126] **Chinese Immigration** began with just a few hundred on the west coast in 1820. It rose to the tens of thousands during the gold rush of California in 1849. In the present period, it would rise to over a hundred thousand with the building of railroads in California in the 1880s. A fierce opposition to their influence arose, and this period witnessed the first laws significantly restricting immigration, the so-called Chinese Exclusion Acts, which remained in force from 1882 to 1943. In effect, these acts arrested the growth of the oriental population, the number of which would never again rise to over 100,000 until after World War II.

[127] **Jewish Immigration** came in three waves. The first wave began back in the colonial period and numbered only a couple thousand Spanish Jews (called Sephardic Jews, mid-17th century - 1820). The second wave began in the national period and numbered upward of twenty thousand German Jews (called Ashkenazi Jews, 1820 – 1880). The third wave began after the war and came to number upward of two million Russian Jews (1880 – 1924). This third wave came after the outbreak of antisemitism in the Russian Empire, and specifically among the rural peasantry of Poland, Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine, and Moldova. For those suffering persecution, the choice was between the more distant dream of Zionism and the more tangible promise of America. Most chose the latter. Although the initial wave was religiously orthodox, in just a generation the vast majority became thoroughly secularized, having little interest in rabbis, Talmud, or Torah. Most lived on the east coast and were among the earliest advocates for civil rights and liberal socialism. Among this group was the poet Emma Lazarus, the words of whom would later be inscribed on the base of the Statue of Liberty.

[128] **The American Mafia:** Although others called them the *Mafia* meaning "the Swaggerers," they called themselves the *Cosa Nostra* meaning "Our Thing." The presence of this group in the new world was first publically attested in New Orleans in 1869 (the newspaper reports that a certain district of the city had been overrun by "well known counterfeiters, burglars, and murderers from Sicily"). This points to the fact that the earliest wave of immigrants from southern Italy came to South America and then made their way north through port cities like New Orleans (the later wave of immigrants from southern Italy came directly to North America and settled in port cities like New York). In either case, the origin of this secret illegal society can be traced to the breakdown of medieval feudalism in Italy (beginning in 1812) and to the emergence of a unified state of Italy (beginning in 1861). In making this abrupt transition, the responsibilities ordinarily reserved for the government fell upon private landlords, and large numbers of people began turning to them for arbitration and protection. In turn, such landlords became a system of government in their own right, and they often competed with one another for control over the local businesses, police force, and politicians.

achieving legal form in organizations like the Immigration Restriction League (founded in 1894) and illegal organizations like the KKK (which broadened its hostility beyond blacks to include Papists, Jews, and "Mongols"). The most influential approach, however, was that of Americanization: *We must Americanize in every way, in speech, in political ideas and principles, and in their way of looking at relations between church and state. We welcome the German and the Irishman who becomes an American. We have no use for the German or Irishman who remains such. He must revere only our flag; not only must it come first, but no other flag should even come second* (Theodore Roosevelt, 1894).

As we have seen, all of the foregoing largely took place within urban environments along the eastern seaboard, often called the nation's "melting pots". At this point, the most populous cities in the country lay along the all water route running from coastal cities (like Boston and Philadelphia) to inland cities along the Great Lakes (like Cincinnati, Detroit and Buffalo) to the cities that bisected the continent along the Mississippi River (like St. Louis and New Orleans). By far the greatest metropolis was the coastal city of New York, but following close behind was the inland city of Chicago, a relatively new settlement that was destined to connect the east coast waterways to the first transcontinental railroad.[129] In the building of this railroad, the nation made its final push into what was widely recognized as the last remnant of the western frontier, a vast region that drew the interest of buffalo hunters, miners, cattlemen, farmers, and city-builders. The government advertised, gave away land, and granted huge subsidies for railway building (next to agriculture, it became the nation's largest form of employment, inspiring the lyrics to *I've Been Working on the Railroad*). In many ways, this was simply an extension of the much larger project of industrialization going on in the urban east, but it played a huge role in opening up the rural west (or, as popularly romanticized, "the Wild West"). In pioneering days, the western frontier was the sole province of men like Daniel Boone and Davy Crockett. Now, however, an increasing number of people saw it as a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity for adventure, riches, and land. The most transient of these were the miners, a group that came in sporadic waves following rumors of gold and who left in their wake a tradition of popular folklore and a trail of boom towns and ghost towns with colorful names like Tombstone, Deadwood, and Last Chance Gulch.[130] More

[129] **The First Transcontinental Railroad** was built by the government funded Union Pacific Railroad Company in the years 1863 - 1869. As a result, the time required to cross the whole continent dropped from six months to a week. It was the largest industrial project to exhibit the nation's creative passion for maximizing outputs and minimizing inputs. One of the most important of these was the development of a standard unit for the distance between the rails, allowing for easy connectivity between railways. Also, when travelling across such a wide range, solar phenomena no longer proved a helpful way of determining what time it was, so the land was divided into discrete zones and each assigned a standard time.

[130] **The Miners**, following the so-called "mountain men" (explorers), were often the first arrivals on the western frontier. Although there had already been a couple of gold rushes in the east, the phenomenon was largely associated with the west after the precious metal was found at Sutter's Mill in the Sierra Nevada Mountains, the

stable were the cattlemen, a group who sought to meet the rising demand for beef in newly sprung up settlements by driving herds from their ranches in Texas to the railheads in Kansas, leaving in their path still another tradition of popular folklore and more stable but equally rambunctious cow-towns like Abilene, Witchita, and Dodge City.[131] The most stable of all, however, were the farmers, those who stayed behind after the gold ran out, whose presence increasingly hedged in the free-wheeling lifestyle of the cowboys, and whose sedentary lifestyle often precipitated the building of cities.[132]

In the meantime, however, the west remained quite wild: newly sprung up towns were inwardly beset with lawlessness and outwardly beset by the threat of Indians. The often violent struggle for order inaugurated a brief age of heroic gunslingers with famous outlaws like Billy the Kid, Jesse James, and Butch Cassidy, and equally famous lawmen like Wild Bill Hickok, Wyatt Earp, and Pat Garret. But of more far-reaching significance, the push into the great plains marked the final phase of the Indian Wars.[133] Although popular portrayals of the

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California gold rush of 1848 - 1855 (this event alone brought three hundred thousand migrants to the area, usually referred to as "the forty-niners" a la 1849). After that, the get rich quick approach to new world living became known as "the California Dream", and similar gold rushes quickly created population booms in new territories, such as Colorado (1861), Nevada (1861), Arizona (1863), Idaho (1863), Montana (1864), Wyoming (1868), and Dakota (1874). The last of the great gold rushes was in the Klondike, Alaskas immortalized in writing by Jack London and in film by Charlie Chaplin (Alaska, 1896 – 1899).

[131] **The Cowboys**, as they were often called, quickly became a symbol of rugged individualism and bravery. The thousands of longhorn cattle roaming freely throughout southern Texas were descended from animals originally brought over by the Spanish. Accordingly, the first cattle raisers in the region were Mexicans, and the cattle raising culture they began there would later be taken over by Americans (hence the spurs, big hats, and lassos). The task of driving thousands of cattle north meant passing the Red River boundary between Texas and Oklahoma (i.e., going into territory reserved for the Indians).

[132] **The Farmers** were really only able to enjoy success in the great plains of the west after the building of the railroads. There was almost no shelter, the environment was not conducive to agriculture, and they were frequently troubled by free roaming cattle. Accordingly, they often resorted to building sod houses (that is, until wood could be imported by rail). They also learned how to do dry farming (much of which depended on the use of industrial technologies like drills, windmills, and tractors). And they also learned how to fence off cattle (a major breakthrough was the invention of barbed wire).

[133] **The Indian Wars**: Indian wars are as old as the first permanent settlements (e.g., Jamestown, 1610). From that point forward, the treatment of the natives varied from settlement to settlement, but it entered a new phase with the establishing of the United States (1789). Under the administration of Washington, a bill was passed called the Indian Intercourse Act, the provisions of which made it illegal to buy or sell land from the natives without the approval of the federal government. Although this act was intended to make the government the protector of the natives' lands, it equally made the government sovereign over the natives' lands. After an initial period of unsuccessful acculturation, the natives were forcibly removed from the eastern half of the country and sent along the Trail of Tears to Oklahoma in 1830. In turn, this state of affairs was disrupted following the push west after the Civil War. Attempts were made to secure better treatment of the natives by replacing government officials with missionaries, who alone seemed to exhibit a real interest in their welfare and were able to secure their trust. Nevertheless, the slow work of establishing relationships with the natives did little to offset the rapid depletion of their buffalo and the confiscation of their lands, plus the missionaries often practiced a sort of cultural imperialism by forcing natives to accept white culture. The most famous wars were the Great Sioux War (1876) and the Nez Perce War (1877), and the most famous battles were at places like the Little Big Horn (the famous last stand of General George Armstrong Custer) and Wounded Knee. In the end, the government's attempt to reserve lands for the natives was rescinded in the Indian Appropriations Act, leading to the Oklahoma Land Rush of 1889 (the population of Guthrie alone went from zero to ten thousand in half a day). So ended the government's promise that

old west do not give much space to religion, the clergy were among the first to take the newly built railroad into the west, and they were actually quite successful in spreading faith among both natives and colonists. They are to be credited with founding the Old West's first public institutions, which included not only churches, but also schools, orphanages, and hospitals. The most famous among them include Catholics like Pierre Jean de Smet, Episcopalians like Daniel Tuttle, Presbyterians like Sheldon Jackson and Methodists like William Wesley Van Orsdel.

Although the building of the transcontinental railroad naturally draws our attention to the opening up of the West, it was really part of a larger movement toward industrialization that was going on in the more urban parts of the eastern United States. The most common expression of this movement was to be seen in the proliferation of factories, but its most impressive monuments were to be found in the building of roads, bridges, and skyscrapers. This in turn created extreme wealth among a small upper class who enjoyed control over the resources needed for mass production (e.g., John D. Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie, and J. P. Morgan). It also created extreme poverty among the much larger lower classes by reducing the value of the traditional farmer and exploiting the industrial laborer (accordingly, this period saw a sharp increase in the number of labor organizations and the first attempt to organize them on a national level, the earliest example being the National Labor Union of 1866, but the most powerful being the American Federation of Labor of 1886 under the leadership of Samuel Gompers). In the long run, however, it would also open the door for the emergence of a prosperous middle class through the creation of white collar jobs and goods that were abundant, cheap, and accessible (already, smaller businessmen were beginning to market goods in increasingly elaborate department stores, but also moving them from cities to the countryside through the vehicle of mail order catalogues like those of Charles Lewis Tiffany, Aaron Montgomery Ward, and Richard Warren Sears). The ability to mass produce through industry also proved a golden opportunity for those with the gift of invention to create, patent, and sell new technologies (displayed at the Centennial Exposition, the first World's Fair held in the United States).[134] In the years to come, the art of invention was increasingly associated with the name Thomas Edison, a self-made man who established a kind of factory for creating and patenting inventions at Menlo Park

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the natives should possess their land "as long as the grass grows and the rivers run".

[134]**The Centennial Exposition** was held in Philadelphia in 1876 (the nation's 100-year anniversary). With the help of the recently established Smithsonian Institute, it housed an impressive array of the nation's minerals, plants, wildlife, and even native culture (over 300 natives from over 50 tribes were camped out on the expo's grounds). Among the most interesting exhibits were the nation's industrial products, including the world's largest steam engine, along with mass produced machine tools like guns, clocks, stoves, sewing machines, typewriters, etc. But most impressive of all were its technological inventions, which included the world's first monorail system, the telephone of Alexander Graham Bell, and the electric telegraph pen of Thomas Edison (the first of what would be many inventions).

(New Jersey, 1876). The most celebrated among these were the phonograph (1877), a more efficient light bulb (1879), and motion pictures (1891). These inventions laid the foundation for the widespread use of electronic media, which would eventually enable the mass production of popular entertainment, at this point consisting largely of sports,[135] vaudeville,[136] and the travelling circus.[137] Although higher culture was less influential in America than in Europe, it did exist throughout the cities of the east coast, and this period saw the production of important works in art (e.g., James Whistler, John Singer Sargent, Thomas Eakins, Charles Russel, and Frederic Remington), music (the ragtime of Scott Joplin, the marches of John Philip Sousa, and the classical pieces of Louis Moreau Gottschalk), literature (Lew Wallace's *Ben Hur*, Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, Stephen Crane' *The Red Badge of Courage*), and even philosophy (e.g., the works of Josiah Royce, Charles Sanders Pierce, and William James).

As for religion, we have already seen that the cities were rapidly becoming a mixture of Judaism, Catholicism, and Protestantism (the largest groups of which were Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, Lutheran, Episcopalian, Disciples of Christ, and Congregational). The revivals of the previous century had not only served to advance old-line Methodism but had also seen the appearance of a large number of independent churches calling themselves Wesleyan. In turn, the holiness movement which had sprung up within these groups now entered the season of its greatest influence: individual churches, associations of churches, and whole denominations began to participate in national camp meetings, even international meetings that spanned both America and the United Kingdom (beginning in 1867). As this movement was riding the wave of the pre-war revivals, a new form of

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[135] **Sports** during the early colonial period consisted of the reputable (e.g., hunting) and the disreputable (e.g., fighting). In the years before the American Revolution, horse racing began to grow in popularity among the land owning gentry of the south. In the years before the Civil War, the game of baseball was invented by Abner Doubleday, and it quickly achieved recognition as the national pastime (New York in 1839). It was only after the Civil War, however, that the phenomenon of modern organized sports began to take shape, beginning with the establishing of rules for boxing (1866), a National Association of Baseball Players (1871), and the Kentucky Derby (1875).

[136] **Vaudeville** originated from a male oriented form of entertainment known as burlesque, which was basically a variety show consisting of bawdy jokes, blackface minstrelsy, and girl dancers. The first attempt to use the variety show approach for the entertainment of men, women, and children is usually credited to showman Tony Pastor (Broadway New York, 1881). Shortly thereafter, a travelling vaudeville show featuring many of the legendary figures of the Old West was Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show (which lasted from 1883 to 1913).

[137] **The Travelling Circus** was an important form of entertainment for those living in rural areas. The European circus can be traced to Philip Astley, who built a public amphitheater for shows involving horse riding, clowns, musicians, jugglers, acrobats, tightrope walkers, etc. (Britain, 1768). The first American circus was established shortly thereafter by John Ricketts, who built a similar structure and held similar shows (Philadelphia, 1793). Nevertheless, the golden age of the circus began with the use of the newly built transcontinental railroad to bring the circus to the rural west. The idea of using mass promotion, a tent that could house three rings, and carrying all of these implements west on a circus train brought international fame to P. T. Barnum's "Museum, Menagerie, and Circus" (est. 1868). It would eventually be called "the Greatest Show on Earth".

religious revivalism began to appear that did not grow out of the soil of any known denomination, but owed its existence solely to the leadership of an evangelistically minded individual named Dwight L. Moody.[138] Equally enterprising but less orthodox religious leaders who also appeared around this time were Mary Baker Eddy (the founder of Christian Science, 1875)[139] and Charles Taze Russell (the founder of Jehovah's Witness, 1879).[140]

America's Extra-Continental Expansion (…1914)

In the previous section, the United States created a tremendous amount of wealth through the expansion of its frontiers and cities. In the meantime, however, its influence had also been expanding into foreign countries, either for the spiritual purpose of establishing missions (during this period, leadership in world missions would pass from Britain to America) or for the material purpose of doing business (e.g., whaling, coal mining, and trade were all being conducted in places like India, Indonesia, China, Japan, the Philippines, Samoa, and Hawaii). Hitherto, the establishing of such international contacts had occurred independently of one another. Now, however, an increasing number of individuals were suggesting that in order for the nation to buy and sell on all continents, it would need to be more proactive about building its navy, securing outposts, and establishing offshore colonies (see, for example, Alfred Thayer Mahan's *The Influence of Sea Power*

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[138] **D. L. Moody** was the greatest evangelist of this period. He was neither educated nor ordained, but rather worked as a successful salesman and recruiter. After his conversion, he began using these gifts in parachurch organizations like religious schools, the chaplaincy of the army, and the YMCA (in his early career, he was successful enough to draw the attention of President Lincoln). He acquired national renown with the founding of a free, independent, non-denominational congregation in Chicago (1864) and international renown after leading evangelistic revivals in Europe (1872 – 1875). Although not a polished speaker, his messages were very practical and his delivery was very heartfelt. He also had the assistance of hymn writer Philip Bliss and performer Ira Sankey, and together they produced a popular hymnbook called *Sacred Songs and Solos*. They also pioneered the tradition of ending each public discourse with an altar call and a song (employed later with great effect in the Billy Graham Crusades). In many ways, his ministry marks the beginning of popular non-denominational evangelical Protestantism: he taught the gospel without rejecting the creeds (contra the Restoration Movement), holiness without pushing total sanctification (contra the Holiness Movement), eternal security without asserting predestination (contra Calvinism), and the importance of decision without endorsing synergism (contra Arminianism).

[139] **The Church of Christ (Scientist)** was founded by Mary Baker Eddy. Although raised within the tradition of Calvinism, she became increasingly persuaded that divine healing was the central message of Christianity. Eventually, she became attracted to the ideas of Phineas P. Quimby, a man claiming to have effected remarkable cures without the aid of modern medicine, but by having rediscovered the secret healing methods of Jesus. Under the influence of his ideas, she published *Science and Health According to the Scriptures* (1875). The Christian Science Church which she subsequently founded drew upon 19-century interest in mesmerism and spiritism, as well as New England Transcendentalism (akin to that of Ralph Waldo Emerson).

[140] **The Jehovah's Witnesses** were founded by Charles Taze Russell, whose teachings were influenced by his own independent study of the Bible and Adventism (i.e., belief in the imminent premillennial advent of Jesus Christ). These teachings were circulated in a periodical entitled *The Watchtower* (1879), and a six volume Bible study entitled *The Millennial Dawn* (1886). In the course of time, he began to offer his own teachings as a necessary corrective for the doctrines of the historical church. Like the Shakers, he argued that the advent had already come (albeit invisibly), and that one needed to join his group to be part of the millennial kingdom (thereby bearing witness to the true faith until the end of the world). Near the end of his life, he brought his teachings to a climactic conclusion by identifying the outbreak of WWI with Armageddon.

upon History, 1890). In other words, the competition for imperial power, which had already begun to engage the former members of the Concert of Europe, was about to take hold in America. This, in turn, would be rendered all the more efficient by the nation's most recent advances in the area of transportation, which saw the creation of the first practical submarines (mass produced by 1900), the first affordable automobiles (mass produced by 1908), and the first navigable airplanes (mass produced by 1910). It was fitting that this new season of international competition should be preceded by such tokens of nationalism as the penning of the Pledge of Allegiance[141] and inauguration of the modern Olympic Games (Athens, 1896).[142]

The United States' extra-continental expansion began with the Spanish-American War (1898). For some time now, a battle for independence had been going on sporadically between the colony of Cuba and its mother country Spain. Up to now, there had been no intervention in the war, even though the rebels had been soliciting help for many years, and popular support to provide it had been furnished at home by the sensationalized reporting of yellow journalists.[143] A fresh impetus was provided, however, after the mysterious sinking of the U.S.S. Maine in Havana harbor in 1898. Although this event alone did not cause the war, it did cause the nation to re-evaluate its policy, and the fallout was that an ultimatum was issued by the U.S. to Spain for her to liberate the island of Cuba. When the ultimatum was ignored, the war commenced, and battles were waged on two colonial fronts: the Pacific theatre (which included the Philippine Islands and Guam) and the Caribbean theatre (which included Cuba and Puerto Rico). A resounding victory was achieved in just ten weeks, bringing fame to the Rough Riders[144] and to future president Theodore Roosevelt. Although the stated purpose

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[141] **The American Pledge of Allegiance** was written by Francis Bellamy in Massachusetts in 1892 (i.e., on the 400 year anniversary of Columbus). Bellamy was himself a Baptist minister and a Christian socialist. He believed that the public schools should teach patriotism, and he was part of the movement to put a flag in every school and teach a pledge to every student. The recitation of the pledge originally involved a salute (retracted after WWII to dissociate it from that of the Nazis). It originally read: *I pledge allegiance to my Flag and the Republic for which it stands, one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all* (the words "under God" also were added after WWII to dissociate it from atheistic communism).

[142] **The First Olympiad** included athletes from fourteen different nations, the most notable of which were America, Britain, France, Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Greece.

[143] **Yellow Journalism** simply means using sensationalism to sell newspapers. It acquired notoriety in New York in the 1890s. It was spearheaded in Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World*, but it was used to its greatest effect in William Randolph Hearst's *Examiner* and then his *New York Journal*. Both newspapers enjoyed unprecedented success following their coverage of the Cuban War of Independence (1895). Although no hard information was forthcoming about the sinking of the U.S.S. Maine, the newspapers were successful in fanning the flame of suspicion against Spain, coining the jingle, "Remember the Maine, to Hell with Spain." Front page stories extolled the virtues of the Cubans, condemned the atrocities of the Spanish, and called upon the intervention of the U.S. Although Hearst was eager to take credit for starting the war, New York alone was influenced by his paper, and President McKinley never read it.

[144] **The Rough Riders** took their name from Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show. In the spirit of the Old West, it was the nation's first volunteer cavalry unit, consisting of miners, ranchers, and cowboys. They achieved their greatest victory at the most decisive battle of the war, the Battle of San Juan Hill (numerous depictions of which are found in

of the war was to liberate Cuba, the island very quickly became politically unstable and was kept under strict supervision via a permanent naval base at Guantanamo Bay. The United States had officially entered the arena of the world empires, aspiring to be a defender of liberty and a benevolent ruler (its first offshore colonies were Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Philippine Islands [followed that same year by Hawaii]). One of its first projects in this endeavor was to create a more serviceable passage from the Caribbean to the Pacific (the Panama Canal). Unfortunately, however, American imperialism often resulted in the mistreatment of veterans, who were increasingly called upon to fight in wars remote from the experience of ordinary citizens (thus inspiring the creation of the first veteran organizations, eventually named the VFW), and it also resulted in the mistreatment of foreigners (the earliest example of which was the Philippine-American War of 1899 – 1902). As a result, political factions quickly developed both for and against the advancement of American Imperialism.

Meanwhile, America's initial attempt at foreign expansion was accompanied by a nationwide effort to improve conditions at home (a movement called the Progressive Era). Although history books often limit their discussion of this period to the political programs undertaken by the state, it is evident that the earliest efforts in this direction came from grass roots organizations that sprang up from within Protestantism (most of which had early beginnings but achieved their greatest influence in the decades before World War I). Among conservatives, such efforts took the form of individual initiative, whether in the sending out of urban missionaries (e.g., D. L. Moody), or in the expansion of parachurch organizations (e.g., YMCA, the Salvation Army, or the Christian and Missionary Alliance). Among liberals, such efforts took the form of what later became known as the social gospel movement, an attempt to extend the principles of church life into all of society, and therefore amounting to a religiously based form of socialism (the first call for such a program came from a Congregational pastor named Washington Gladden who wrote a book entitled *The Christian Way*, but the chief architect of the movement was the Baptist theologian Walter Rauschenbusch, who founded an organization devoted to advancing social gospel ideas called "the Brotherhood of the Kingdom" in 1892). At the popular level, the spirit of the movement was most ably captured in the question, "What Would Jesus Do?" popularized by Charles Sheldon in the book *In His Steps* (Kansas, 1896). Among those agitating for the creation of a religious utopia, there were also calls for the government to become involved in the regulation of alcohol,[145] and in the securing of equal rights for

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the art of Frederic Remington).

[145] **The Temperance Movement** began with the founding of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (Ohio, 1874). Its first president was a Methodist woman named Annie Whittenmyer, who founded the organization for the advancement of abstinence, purity, and evangelical Christianity. Its second president was another Methodist woman named Frances Willard, who broadened the organization's charter so as to include women's suffrage and who

women[146] (both of which ultimately succeeded in producing Constitutional amendments, the former in 1919 and the latter in 1920). A middle road between the extremes of conservative capitalism and liberal socialism was found in the writings of Henry George, who published an influential book entitled *Progress and Poverty* in 1879. According to George, the maintenance of free and competitive enterprise could be threatened by either too much government or too little government, and he proposed a system which combined public ownership of land (to prevent the monopolization of resources) with private ownership of all the wealth created from the land (to encourage free enterprise and competition). This middle road approach would prove very influential amongst progressive mayors, state legislatures, and even the federal government after the assassination of President McKinley, the immediate successor of whom was the moderating Theodore Roosevelt (later challenged by the more liberal William Jennings Bryan). The administration of Teddy Roosevelt lasted from 1901 – 1909. He was an individual possessed of broad interests, tremendous energy, and inexhaustible enthusiasm, descended from a wealthy family in New York, but also a practicing member of the Dutch Presbyterian Church. He was a strong proponent of nationalistic Americanism, a celebrated veteran of the Spanish-American War, a publisher of works on history, politics, and sports, but also a writer for religious periodicals, a generous contributor to missions, and a teacher of Sunday School. A moderate capitalist, he sought to use the government as a tool for checking the abuses of the wealthy and for securing the working man a "square deal." Although we shall not here attempt to catalogue all the achievements of his administration, they included such thing as the creation of natural wildlife preserves, the regulation of big businesses, and the broadening of voter privileges.

As for American religion, the landscape was becoming more diverse than ever. Still riding the wave of the previous century's religious revivals, the holiness movement began to encounter opposition from older denominations, resulting in the formation of a bewildering variety of new denominations. While all of these new groups may be gathered under the umbrella of the holiness movement, they are very difficult to organize, since they began by separating off as individual congregations and only later aggregated into larger denominations. As a general

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argued that the granting of political influence to women would enable them not only to protect their homes, but also, through their innate moral superiority, to effect the reformation of the race (i.e., through the eradication of drinking, gambling, prostitution, homelessness, etc.).

[146] **The Feminist Movement** rose to its greatest influence with the surge of volunteerism among middle class women during the Progressive Era. Nevertheless, the movement began as far back as the abolition movement and achieved its first organized form at the Seneca Falls Convention (New York, 1848). As the idea of establishing egalitarianism between men and women was not supported by most traditional denominations, the movement's first members were religious skeptics (e.g., Elizabeth Cady Stanton), liberal Quakers (e.g., Susan B. Anthony) or Unitarian Congregationalists (e.g., Lucy stone). Together, they besought the government to enforce equal treatment of men and women at the state and federal level, establishing the National American Woman Suffrage Association in 1890.

rule, these holiness groups were divided into two broad classes, one more conservative and the other more radical: the distinctiveness of conservative holiness churches consisted largely in their espousal of one or another form of perfectionism; the distinctiveness of radical holiness churches, however, was further accentuated by their emphasis on rigorous moral codes, the supernatural gifts of the Spirit, and the pre-millennial return of Christ. Holiness churches included names like the Church of God, the Christian and Missionary Alliance, the Free Will Baptists, the Pilgrim Holiness Church, the Church of God in Christ, the Assemblies of God, etc. As we have already seen, the earliest members of this group were the Wesleyans, the most direct descendants of the Methodists. The most influential were the Nazarenes, who to this day constitute the largest association of holiness congregations in the world.[147] The most radical, however, were the Pentecostals, who came to associate the outward sign of speaking in tongues with the inner gift of the Spirit (thereby excluding the vast majority of professing believers from the ranks of genuine Christianity).[148] Beyond the proliferation of denominational organizations, the torch of non-denominational evangelicalism was taken up by a mass evangelist named Billy Sunday. A major league baseball player, heavy drinker, and popular celebrity, he got married shortly after his conversion (1886) and began doing ministerial work at the YMCA (1888), preaching alongside as an associate of the aging D. L. Moody (1893), and finally decided to strike out on his own (1895). His sensationalistic preaching made him a household name among midwestern towns in the early 1900s, followed by most major cities throughout the nation after 1910. At his crusades, thousands professed to have "gotten right with God", though critics doubted whether they could have a lasting impact (and indeed, his influence rapidly diminished during WWI and into the 1920s). Protestantism was now at the height of its influence, but it would soon

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[147] **The Nazarene Church** began when attempts to suppress the culture of the holiness movement resulted in numerous congregations breaking away from the episcopal oversight of traditional Methodism (beginning in 1895). In turn, these congregations began to aggregate into larger associations, until a more general merger brought them together again under the name "Church of the Nazarene" (1907). The name "Nazarene" was chosen because it reflected the fact of Jesus' lowly origins, and this in turn reflected the fact that most of the holiness congregations came from the lower stratum of society. Today, it stands as the largest and most well-organized expression of the holiness movement.

[148] **Pentecostalism** had its origins in the spiritual journey of Charles Parham. Although beginning his ministry as a Methodist, he had little sympathy with the customary requirements of education, ordination, and submission to hierarchical authority. He, therefore, set out to do evangelism on his own, preaching the doctrines of the holiness movement, faith healing, and the premillennial return of Christ (eventually, he would add to these the signature doctrine that the gift of speaking in tongues was the sign of one possessing the Holy Spirit in 1901). Although frequently ridiculed, he persisted in his efforts, began winning converts, and established churches in Kansas, Texas, and Oklahoma (1903). The movement began in earnest, however, when a black preacher named William Seymour brought the new teaching to Los Angeles, where he sparked a series of revivals characterized by dramatic worship services, ecstatic speaking in tongues, and integration of white and black believers (the Azusa Street Revival, 1906 - 1915). Mass publicity for these revivals was provided by local media and the movement's first periodical, *Apostolic Faith* (1906). From there, Pentecostalism would grow to become one of the most influential religious movements in 20th century America.

find itself swamped with a host of fresh challenges in the momentous 20th century. These would not be easily overcome by the avenues of theological tradition, backwoods revivals, and charismatic preachers. While all of these things remained, their influence was blunted by such factors as the spread of wealth, the ease of travel, the diversions of film, a greater focus on the natural sciences, a more critical attitude toward history and a social environment that was increasingly plural in its ethnicity, culture, and religion. Under the influence of these factors, the culture began moving from a religious default to a secular default, and as such was increasingly emboldened to challenge the religious establishment of Protestantism. Accordingly, religious conservatives felt mounting pressure to re-open the question of what was essential and what was subject to change within their current understanding of Christianity. The pressure was predictably unwelcome, and in its initial stages frequently resulted in either a wholesale capitulation to liberalism, or an alarmist retreat into reactionary conservativism (giving birth to what has since become known as the fundamentalist movement).[149] In the midst of the nascent liberal-fundamentalist debate, an increasing number of churches sought to firm up the religious front by making efforts toward uniting their various denominations (sometimes called the ecumenical movement),[150] and even entering into dialogue with other faiths (sometimes called the interfaith movement).[151] Together, all these factors have contributed to the making of the evangelical mindset of conservative Protestantism in 20th century America.

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[149] **The Fundamentalist Movement** gets its name from the fact that its adherents were committed to "the five fundamentals": (1) the inerrancy of Scripture; (2) belief in miracles; (3) the virgin birth of Christ; (4) the substitutionary theory of Atonement; (5) and the bodily resurrection of Christ (all contained in a series of publications entitled *The Fundamentals*, 1910 – 1915). The name, however, began to acquire other connotations from the movement's methods (which were mostly authoritarian and did not attempt to engage in an unbiased way with science, scholarship, or philosophy) and its preferred interpretation of Scripture (which followed a model called dispensationalism, originating among the Plymouth Brethren in Ireland in the 19th century). The most distinguished advocates for dispensationalism were John Nelson Darby in Europe and C. I. Scofield in America (who published the influential *Scofield Reference Bible* in 1909). It is known for the hyper-literalism of its interpretive approach, its tendency to divide biblical history up into periods governed by different sets of divine rules, and its very tight eschatology (involving the rapture of the church before the tribulation and a premillennial return of Christ). It was tremendously influential, however, often being presented as the only viable interpretation of scripture at lay schools, and it was the preferred curriculum at places like Moody Bible Institute, Bob Jones University, and Dallas Theological Seminary (it is most popularly known today from the novel series *Left Behind*).

[150] **The Ecumenical Movement** began when thirty denominations joined together to "bring the Christian bodies of America into united service for Christ and the world" (this body became known as the Federal Council of Churches and was established in Philadelphia in 1908). Another step in this direction was taken when representatives from most major denominations on either side of the ocean met in order to create a joint effort toward missions (known as the World Missionary Conference, held in Edinburgh in 1910).

[151] **The Interfaith Movement** is an attempt to create a global dialogue between different religious groups for the advancement of understanding and tolerance. It began with a meeting known as the first World Parliament of Religions (Chicago, 1893). Although initiated by a Swedenborgian layman named Charles Bonney, it was chaired by a Presbyterian minister named John Barrows. In representation were Protestantism, Catholicism, Orthodoxy, Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, Jainism (along with some new additions like the Baha'i Faith, Spiritualism, and Christian Science). The very occurrence of such a meeting generated both strong support as well as strong opposition.