

Church History

The Progressive Century *(RVS Notes)*

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The Progressive Century

A perspective on ourselves as students of history:

- “But we have this treasure in jars of clay to show that this all-surpassing power is from God and not from us.” (2 Corinthians 4:7)
- The church of Christ in every age, beset by change, but Spirit led,
Must claim and test its heritage and keep on rising from the dead.
Then let the servant church arise, a caring church that longs to be
A partner in Christ’s sacrifice and clothed with Christ’s humility. (Wareham)

A perspective on the value of historical study itself:

- “How shall we labor with any effect to build up the Church, if we have no thorough knowledge of her history ... History is, and must ever continue to be, next to God's Word [and Spirit], the richest foundation of wisdom, and the surest guide of all successful practical activity.” Philip Schaff
- History is to a society or group therein what experience and heritage is to a person. However, there is a kicker. History is never as immediate to the group as experience is to the person, thus multiplying the chances of its lessons being ignored.

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The Progressive Century

I. Introduction; Post-Enlightenment Christianity

§5-101. The Christian century ... and yet.—Historian Kenneth Scott LaTourette has called the period between 1815 and 1914 as “the greatest century which Christianity had thus far known”. In the first place, in the 19th century Christianity became more widely spread geographically than it or any other faith had ever been. Among the new converts from beyond Europe, the Christian faith had a much more extensive influence than the size of the churches which were called into being would have led one to expect. Hundreds of languages were given written form for the first time. Christian literature, including the Bible, was widely translated into new languages. Schools laid the groundwork for future educational systems in independent nations. Orphanages and hospitals were established internationally, famine relief efforts were implemented, and agricultural advancements were achieved.

This achievement of Christianity was associated with an immense burst of creative activity among Western peoples, the homeland of traditional Christendom. Christianity in this century gave rise to people of note, moral reforms almost too numerous to catalog, and made its impress upon more of humankind than at any other time. This spread nurtured fresh and novel movements for the improvement of humanity, creative thought and scholarship, and a drive for ecumenical unity that at least initially met with marked success.

§5-102. De-Christianization of Europe.—Yet in its European homeland, the Enlightenment marked the beginning of a progressive de-Christianization of Europe. While most intellectuals paid lip service (and sincerely more than lip service) to Christianity, much of the new knowledge, particularly in physical sciences, seemed to conflict with essential tenets of the faith. Isaac Newton, while himself a Christian, with a profound interest in theology, made several scientific discoveries used by some to disregard or deny Christianity.

Philosophy asserted its independence from theology. This trend began in the centuries before the one we are now studying but continued at an accelerated pace in this one. Descartes based his philosophy on a principle of doubt and the necessity of logical proof akin to mathematical demonstration which led some away from the faith. Spinoza took up Descartes’ queries and came to deny a theistic God and made Him identical with nature. Leibnitz seemed to reduce God to the “perfect, primary, and supreme monad.” That sounded more like the poo-bah of a fraternal organization than the supreme sovereign of the universe. John Locke, of Puritan rearing, Oxford training, and certainly regarding himself a Christian, maintained that nothing in the central message of Christianity was contrary to reason. He rejected miracles as completely unreasonable. He stressed the ethics of Jesus and the consistency of Christianity with reason so to bypass theological disputes and emphasize religious toleration. However, his tendency to downplay traditional Christian belief, unintentionally led others to complete skepticism. Many people in the 19th century followed in that train.

§5-103. Questioning the foundations.—During the 17th and 18th centuries, the place of the Church in society fundamentally changed. Religious conflict and the sickening consequences so

apparent in the 17th century caused many to question the effects of Christian faith mingled with politics. The scientific revolution served to buttress truth claims that seemed more trustworthy than those derived from theological extrapolation. Philosophical developments asserted the superiority of human reason over revelation in the search for truth. These forces contributed to a process of secularization and toppled the Church from its customary role in Christendom. Philosophical speculation went further. The skepticism of Hume and Kant concluded that neither science nor reason could lead to absolute truth. Their speculations opened a pathway to subjectivism (each person has his or her own standard of truth) and relativism (there are no truths that are absolute).

§5-104. Seeking a reasonable religion.—Many sought a “reasonable religion” where revelation had little or no place. Rationalists migrated to Deism which, while speaking in terms typical of orthodox Christianity, was in fact at variance with the categories of traditional Christian thought. Others rejected Christianity altogether. Within traditional Christianity, both Catholic and Protestant, there was an effort to clarify and regulate belief and practice. In addition, within both traditions, there appeared movements that decried the insufficiency of outward adherence to correct systems of belief and external compliance with traditional norms of conduct and emphasized inner devotion to Christ.

§5-105. Dynamism and increasing influence of the American church.—On a scale unmatched in previous ages, Europeans thronged across the Atlantic to the Americas, especially to the United States. They augmented in ever growing diversity the tremendous dynamic of the American church. In 1831, Alexis de Tocqueville made the following telling comment: “There is no country in the world where the Christian religion retains a greater influence over the souls of [people] than in America.” So, while Christianity found itself assailed in its traditional European homeland, it also was marvelously transplanted with new and increasing vigor on the American continent. The revivals, the crusades, the incredible vitality of 19th century American Christianity is difficult to capture because of the incredible diversity and driving energy. By the end of this era, leadership in foreign missions and other practical Christian endeavors was shifting across the Atlantic to the North American shores.

§5-106. Worldwide missions.—This was the great era of Protestant missions. The 19th century marked an awakening interest in Protestantism in getting the gospel to distant people. At the beginning of the century, Protestant Christianity had a meager representation outside of Europe and North America. In the 19th century, Protestants embraced the mission to carry the gospel to all peoples. By the 1820s and 1830s, overseas missions became a general feature of British church life. The American Baptist missionary, Adoniram Judson, became something of a foreign missions rock star on the American church scene. By the time of World War I, tens of thousands of Americans were serving overseas as missionaries comprising close to half the worldwide missionary total.

§5-107. Enlightenment's impact on the West.—The Enlightenment had a profound impact on Western civilization long after the demise of its version of faith (Deism) or of its simplistic scientism. Modern culture was distanced from its Christian influences. People made the deliberate attempt to organize a religiously neutral society which tried to relegate faith out of the public sphere.

Christianity entered the 19th century riding high in total numbers and in geographical reach but with its persuasive authority in the world and the basis of its truth claims undercut by its own excesses and by new directions in science and philosophy. Those new directions expanded and intensified in the age that followed. A central theme following the Enlightenment was Christianity's struggle to maintain its place in a changing world without sacrificing truth or compromising traditions reaching back to its origins.

II. The Anatomy of an Optimistic Age

§5-111. In general; post-millennialism as symptomatic.—The development and prevalence of post-millennial eschatology during the 18th and 19th centuries was symptomatic of the optimism of the age. Postmillennialists believe that the reference to a thousand years in Revelation 20 speaks figuratively of a long interval of time that precedes the Second Coming of Christ. This perspective holds that the gospel will spread throughout the world in this present age and will usher in a golden age of peace on earth followed by Christ's return. The kingdom of God is primarily a present reality; it is the rule of Christ in the hearts of people.

In the traditional networks of Protestant faith in the 19th century, both conservatives and liberals alike embraced post-millennialism. They believed that they were witnessing a wide-ranging conversion of people from every nation on the earth. The lengthy period of earthly peace called the millennium could soon to be at hand. God's kingdom would grow gradually as the gospel was preached around the world and the millennium would result from the spread of righteousness. These millennial proclivities paralleled the general optimism of the age.

§5-112. Age of progress.—Throughout the 19th century, Western civilization considered itself amid an age of progress and destined to lead the world into an era of happiness and abundance. The century saw swift growth in exploring the physical world. The advancement of knowledge was harnessed to achieve greater control over the environment. Steam powered machinery, electricity improved communication and transportation, and germ control reduced disease and extended lifespans. Innovative methods were developed to combat pests affecting crops and livestock. Better seed selection, irrigation, and improved methods of breeding livestock augmented the food supply.

These developments occurred in a general atmosphere of optimism. Belief in progress, apparent in the 18th century, became widespread in Western Europe and beyond. Humanity was moving upward and onward toward the conquest of evil, collective and individual, which had historically beset humanity. An inconceivably happy future waited humankind, achieved solely using reason and ingenuity. The continents under colonization seemed eager to adopt Western practices and knowledge. While all seemed peachy, destructive currents existed beneath the surface leading up to World War I.

In this division, we will speak of the trends of the age. These were seen most vividly in Europe, the undisputed leader of the world of that day. We will consider the social, economic, and political milieu of the day, its general intellectual tenor, and the theological tendencies of the so-called Age of Progress. Then we will look at developments affecting the faith in particular parts of the world in subsequent divisions.

A. Social, Economic, and Political Milieu

1. Age of Political Revolution

§5-121. In general; French and American Revolutions.—Political, industrial, and scientific revolutions marked the 19th century. The political revolutions in America and France dramatically heralded the modern era. Both were influenced by the rationalism of the Enlightenment. However, the American revolution also had roots in Protestantism and had far less secular effects.

§5-122. Popular import.—The widespread belief was that the revolution augured a new age of progress. Humanity was growing better, happier, freer, more equal. The clarion call of the French Revolution was “liberty, equality, and fraternity.” It stood for individual freedom in economic and political arenas. Nineteenth century political liberalism spoke forcefully for political democracy and economic laissez-faire. They advocated for human rights regardless of family background or economic standing. The fraternity they advocated really focused on growing nationalism. People wanted to be their own masters and control their own national destinies.

The French Revolution made the concepts of liberty, fraternity, and equality the lingua franca of the age, causing and impacting uniform laws, civil rights, careers open to talent, a more centralized state, capitalism, and popular sovereignty in a decidedly nationalistic vein. The Napoleonic wars spread the ideals of the French Revolution. Most French revolutionaries opposed Christianity. They devised a “Cult of Reason,” replaced Christian holy days with civic holidays, seized church lands, closed monasteries, and executed thousands of clerics during the “terror” of 1792-1794. Napoleon followed this chaotic time and spread Enlightenment ideas across Europe—striking out against feudalism and the rights of the old aristocracy, centralizing power, improving government efficiency, and attempting to promote the general welfare by education and the codification of laws. Napoleon’s true historical significance did not lie in his military genius or his rapid ascent to and descent from power, but in his preservation and extension of the major results of the French Revolution.

§5-123. Militant patriotism and nationalism.—“Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity” evolved from a slogan of cosmopolitan pacifism in the Enlightenment ideal to one of militant patriotism which led to exalted ideas of national superiority. Napoleon, in his wars of conquest, fostered an outburst of nationalism throughout Europe and modeled a system of compulsory military service and total national mobilization that would be seen in its advanced state in August, 1914.

2. Industrial Revolution

§5-131. In general.—While France led the way with a political revolution and Germany with an intellectual revolution, it was England that led the way with the Industrial Revolution. The Industrial revolution swept through Europe, bringing with it extensive economic, sociological, and political changes. James Watt (1736-1819) invented the steam engine and soon these machines were employed in manufacturing textiles and in driving locomotives and ships. With a source of power independent of location and weather, factories sprang up in central locations. This led to urban growth, changing the rural life focused on agriculture and paced by the natural flow of the day and the seasons of the year.

Early factories had horrible working conditions—poor sanitation and host of safety concerns. Urban workers labored in pitiful conditions, over long hours, for low pay while living in run-down urban tenements. Industrialization promised improvements but created instability and massive inequality. The exploitation of the working class produced a volatile society with increasing resort to violence.

§5-132. First phase.—This first phase of the Industrial Revolution concentrated on textiles and other consumer goods. Britain led the way and by 1850, was the workshop of the world, with greater productivity than the rest of Europe combined. The first phase was one of laissez-faire, with little government involvement. This industrial development brought enormous social disruption, with great wealth for those who lead the way and the converse for those who fell behind.

§5-133. Second phase.—The Second Industrial Revolution changed the European environment. It was an era of steam and steel, telegraphs and telephones, electricity, and finally, oil. Science and industry merged, and modern technology emerged from the merger. The era saw rapid urbanization, the growth of industrial cartels, large unions, and large political parties. It also encouraged the spread of education and literacy as the need for a more educated workforce became apparent. Exploitation by industrial capitalism and mass society led to forms of socialism and more violent protest movements, such as anarchism and syndicalism.

The Second Industrial Revolution is typically dated from 1860 to the beginning of World War I. It led to previously undreamed levels of productivity, trade, and investment as well a serious disruption to social realities and to traditional patterns of thought. Industrial workers became the largest class, surpassing peasants. Society underwent greater economic and social change in this era than ever before. The Second Industrial Revolution transformed cultures from local to national or even global and from staid and static to ever-changing and dynamic.

§5-134. Imperialism sourced in industrialism.—The 19th century was marked by a geographical expansion of Europe through colonialism and economic imperialism. One of the main reasons for this expansion was the Industrial revolution with its dual demands for new markets and new sources of raw materials.

3. Scientific and Technological Revolution

§5-141. In general.—The scientific revolution had begun with observation and experimentation as the primary means of gaining knowledge. Knowledge was used to control and change the world. The first major application dealt with the energy needed for the Industrial Revolution to grind on. The piston steam engine was developed, and subsequently, the internal combustion engine emerged. New sources of energy led to the rapid development of transportation – railroads, shipping, automobiles, and aircraft.

§5-142. Technological attitudes.—The pace of technological change accelerated. Scientific advances fueled the confidence, even arrogance, of the era. Scientific, technical, and materialistic explanations captured the European imagination and, later in this era, realism replaced romanticism as the cultural driver. The era saw remarkable scientific, economic, and urban development, the increase of nationalistic and class-based antagonism, and of social

Darwinism and “modern” racist thought.

4. Nationalism

§5-146. In general.—Nationalism expanded in this era, especially later in the century. It spread across society and less developed areas of Europe, fueling various pan movements (pan-Germanism, pan-Slavism etc.). It fed a competitive state system and a burst of European imperialism, especially in the period of 1880-1905. Germany sought its “place in the sun.” The British boasted that the sun never set on the British Empire. Nationalism energized prideful cultural excesses and economic and military competition.

§5-147. Racist implications.—At the beginning of the century, conservatism had used nationalism and military success as weapons against liberalism and democracy, co-opting the middle class and masses. Nationalism hardened with the advance of the century, adopting concepts like the “struggle for survival” and “survival of the fittest,” which sometimes caused nationalism and racism to fuse and be directed at internal and external enemies. This era was a seedbed for the worst aspects of the 20th century.

5. Imperialism and Colonialism

§5-151. In general; national and cultural pride drove the boat.—Nowhere was the impact of Darwinian nationalism and industrial-capitalism more evident than in the burst of new European imperialism. The race for empire was driven by European technological advancements, assertive nationalism, racial ideologies, and competition for advantageous markets and access to raw materials. Imperialism played a significant role in the development of pre-World War I competitive alliance systems and in exacerbating the arms race.

Profits and pride drove this endeavor. The West saw itself as a superior civilization and composed of a superior race. Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936) gave this spirit its classic expression when he spoke of the “white man’s burden” to govern and civilize the world’s “lesser breeds”. This imperialism went together with industrialization for colonies and spheres of influence fed industry’s need for cheap raw materials and provided markets for its finished products.

§5-152. Race for empire.—Between 1880 and 1905, the great European powers claimed nearly every chunk of unclaimed or conquerable territory in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific islands. European colonialism was not new. What was new in this expansion was its pace and the vastness of the territories acquired. In addition, the European public was fully on board with this imperialism. Every European power (except Austria-Hungary) was engaged in it. The race greatly impacted European and world diplomacy, and also dramatically impacted the colonized areas.

6. Social Movements

§5-161. Political liberalism.—After the Napoleonic wars, the European rulers tried desperately to turn back the clock. The reaction during the Metternich era (named for a famous Austrian

statesman) persisted from 1815 to 1848. Political liberalism arose to oppose this reaction. Political liberals were genuinely optimistic about human nature. They thought people could create a perfect society if left to think and act freely. They called for limits on the power of both state and church. Their belief in the essential goodness of people and the essential value of self-expression ran counter to Christian beliefs in the sinfulness of humanity and in the priority of revelation in informing us about ourselves, our own self-deceit, and our vulnerability to being deceived.

§5-162. Social and urban tensions.—Industrial and urban development led to rapid population growth. Europe's social structure became much more varied and urban oriented. While living and working conditions did gradually improve between 1870 and 1914, economic recessions and technological unemployment made life insecure. Unions and various forms of social insurance were only beginning to appear. The aristocracy dominated society and government and remained enormously wealthy while sizeable segments of the populace lived in poverty. These were fertile conditions for the rapid expansion of organized political and economic movements that attempted to either ameliorate or exploit the situation.

§5-163. Socialist and unionist movements.—In this era there was the expansion of unionism and socialist visions for society. The modern urban proletariat was a reality and, as Pope Leo XIII recognized, “the plight of the worker is the question of the hour.” Socialists made gains in the legislatures of the more industrialized nations, but improvement in living and working conditions took much of revolutionary bite out of extreme socialist rhetoric. However, where political and economic gains were not evident, as in Russia, Spain, and Italy, revolutionary forms of socialism and unionism gained ground.

§5-164. Co-opting the agenda.—These socialist and unionist movements failed to capture power but did accelerate the protracted process of improving the lot of the working classes. They brought worker concerns to the forefront of the agendas of political and religious elites. Conservative leaders promoted progressive agendas attempting to co-opt the socialist movement. Ironically, it was conservative iron chancellor of Germany, Otto von Bismarck, who pioneered progressive social legislation in the 1880s, a sickness, accident, and old-age insurance system akin to our Social Security system today. He argued that the State needed to be partly socialist, or the socialists would take over the state. Another highly conservative voice, Pope Leo XIII, encouraged the formation of Christian unions, enlightened policies by capitalists, as well as the acceptance of hierarchy and certain inequality by workers.

§5-165. Revolutionary socialism; Marx and Engels.—The most widespread, well-organized, and ideologically developed of the socialist movements was that inspired by Marx and Engels. Marx and Engels argued that history and the development of human society were determined by economic forces, especially by who controlled the means of production in any given era, and the derivative social relationships and realities. We will provide a summary of their thought later (§5-185), but, in essence, they brought Hegel's dialectical idealism down to earth, proclaiming a view of history which unfolded by a means of dialectical materialism. In each phase of history, the dominant economic system and elite generated their opposite, who eventually wrestled power away from it. Capitalism was doomed because capitalists would exploit the working classes until the proletariat, who have “nothing to lose but their chains,” revolted and took over. Capitalism might collapse either due to revolution or a war caused by capitalism itself.

§5-166. Marxist-Leninist revisionism.—Separating from other Russian Marxists in 1903, they called themselves Bolsheviks (majority socialists) as against the Mensheviks (minority socialists). They re-interpreted Marxism, arguing for a tightly organized elite (rather than a mass-based party) which would telescope the revolution, jumping over the long phase of bourgeoisie capitalist dominance. Given Russia's late entrance to the second phase of industrialization, this “telescoping” process would accelerate the possibility of revolution in that state.

There were also other Marxist revisionists. They viewed the Marxist historical economic dogma (the rich get richer, the poor poorer, and the middle-class withers away) as increasingly untenable. Edward Bernstein was the foremost proponent of this revisionism in Germany. These people pragmatically worked with other elements of the political spectrum to improve the condition of the working class. In Britain, the Fabians and other non-Marxist Socialist revisionists, became the democratic and reformist core of the new Labour Party.

§5-167. Anarchism.—Parallel to Marxism were varieties of anarchism, led by such people as Pierre Proudhon, Alexander Kropotkin, and Mikhail Bakunin. They believed in the destruction of capitalism and the transformation of society by violence or by moral persuasion and volunteerism. These people believed in the essential goodness of people, corrupted by property rights and societal institutions. They adamantly disagreed with Marxist ideas of a “brief” dictatorship of the proletariat. They recognized its potential for abuse. The majority advocated for structuring society in small units or cooperatives, founded on principles of voluntary participation.

Barbara Tuchman's assessment seems apropos: “these radical individualists constituted a daydream of romantics who half hated society and half loved humankind.” Their propaganda and brutal deeds (they assassinated six heads of States) gained attention, raised workers' consciousness, contributed to collective action, and garnered severe State repression.

§5-168. Syndicalism.—A revolutionary doctrine of syndicalism was an important movement in France and Spain. George Sorel provided that movement's clearest statement in 1908 with the publication of *Reflections on Violence*. The movement called for the destruction of national states by general strikes which would bring societies to a standstill and cause a political revolution. Syndicalists called for mass unions with a great deal of labor solidarity to impose their collective will on society.

B. Intellectual Milieu

1. Natural Sciences

§5-171. In general; Darwinism.—The 19th century was a time of momentous change in the natural sciences. Science was viewed as essential for enhancing human happiness and security. The century witnessed the dawn of startling theories and discoveries in geology and biology.

The notion that the earth and its inhabitants have remained unchanged since their origin was questioned. In the 1830s, Charles Lyell showed how fossils demonstrate the continuing development of both the earth and its life forms. Charles Darwin (1809-1882) published *On the Origins of Species* (1859) and *The Descent of Man* (1871) arguing that plants and animals,

including humans, have evolved from simpler to more complex forms through a process of natural selection that allows the survival of only those species that are most successful in adapting to their environments. In each generation of a plant or animal species, chance variants make one offspring slightly different from another. If a variant promotes the survival of an individual then it is more likely to be passed on through reproduction. Over time, favorable variation will be increasingly common, until eventually it will mark a brand new species.

§5-172. Theory's impact.—Darwin's innovation was twofold: (1) he offered a theory of the mechanism by which this competition and species variation happens; and (2) he theorized that this process could occur by chance, no designer required. These innovations affected the faith in the 19th century. It undermined the Genesis story of God's special creation. It invited the application of evolutionary theory to the Bible's formation and to the development of the Christian faith and of religion in general. It suggested that either sin was not a grave issue or that it was merely a remnant of the animal instinct in humans from which they were evolving.

§5-173. Aggressive proponents.—By and large, Darwin shied away from stating explicitly what his theory might mean for Christian belief. His private writings alternated between mentioning a divine creator and appearing agnostic. However, Darwin's followers aggressively pushed the theory of natural selection with a full-frontal assault on organized religion. One such follower described his religious opponents as “extinguished theologians lying about the cradle of every science as strangled snakes beside Hercules.”

Thomas Huxley (1825-1895) called himself “Darwin's bulldog”, praising him for explaining origins that could be verified by the observation of nature without recourse to an unseen and unproven God. He argued that Christianity should be abandoned because of uncertainty concerning the existence of God and the teachings of Jesus. Ernest Haeckel (1834-1919) believed that science would soon solve all of nature's mysteries and even learn how to create life itself. Religion had no real value since its basic premises, such as the existence of God and the immortality of the soul, could not be scientifically proven.

§5-174. Christian reaction; on the defensive.—Many Christians went on the defensive. If people were not created by God and “fallen” from his favor, where then is the need for Christ's salvation? Christians of a liberal persuasion came to see evolution as supplementing rather than contradicting Christian basics. Evolution was applied to both the spiritual and physical realms. They spoke of the evolution of the Bible, of the church, and even of the soul. They argued that Darwin had done the church a favor by helping answer how a benevolent God could have created such a savage world of merciless competition.

However, others increasingly linked evolutionary theory with what they saw as the blasphemous writings of biblical critics. Both undermined the traditional interpretation of Scripture. Furthermore, it made the problem of evil even more insoluble. If sin cannot be attributed to Adam and Eve, one must consider the implications of placing responsibility elsewhere, potentially on God himself.

These critics also went after the so-called scientific inquiry methods employed in the theory. Until the 19th century, scholars thought of science in terms of collecting and sorting data from creation, formulating a hypothesis based on the observations from that data, and designing an experiment to test their hypothesis. While Darwin had collected data, he could not test the theory

of natural selection in a lab. He relied on various methods of estimating probability and accepted big gaps in proof that later scientists attempted to fill in. To traditional Christian thinkers, this was just bad science.

2. Social Sciences

§5-176. In general.—Advances in the natural sciences led to the application of scientific principles in attempts to understand human beings and society itself. The century saw the emergence of such social sciences as sociology, anthropology, and psychology.

§5-177. Sociology.—Sociology began with August Comte (1798-1857) who suggested that human society is part of nature and thus subject to natural laws. He theorized a threefold staging of human development. In the first stage, humans used the supernatural realm to explain natural phenomena. In the second stage, they pointed to abstract metaphysical principles operating behind natural events. In the highest stage, scientific analysis will exclusively explain society and nature. He advocated positivism, the theory that all genuine knowledge comes from science.

Herbert Spenser (1820-1903) devised the theory of *social Darwinism*. Expanding on Comte's concept that human society progresses through evolutionary stages, he proposed that the less capable members of society were removed, while those more adaptable to change contributed to the continual advancement of humanity. He had little regard for religion and for Christianity in particular. Christian ideals of loving your neighbor and the essential equality of humans were inimical to the necessary conflict that promotes the advancement of human society. Others were less dismissive of the faith but saw religion as having a supporting function in society rather than as a higher, revealed truth. Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) saw religion as the primary means by which society suppresses individual egotism to promote social order and harmony.

§5-178. Anthropology.—Anthropology arose and in the study of ancient cultures found that religion always played a significant role in society. However, most anthropologists approached modern religion as something based in primitive superstition. For example, Sir James Frazer thought that human beings have passed through stages of evolution that have led them from magical and religious thought to a more advanced and scientific understanding of themselves and the universe.

§5-179. Psychology.—Modern psychology began in the later part of the 19th century with the work of Wilhelm Wundt (1832-1920) and Ivan Pavlov (1849-1936). They experimented on animals and assumed the results would hold true for humans. Before Darwin, this would not have made sense to people conducting research. Their findings were that much of human behavior consists of unconscious responses to our environments.

This idea that much of human behavior consists of unconscious responses to our environments was also advanced and developed by Sigmund Freud (1856-1939). Freud believed that instincts, suppressed memories, desires, and biological drives like sex condition humans more than reason and knowledge. Human behavior is irrational and mysterious. This conclusion startled a world accustomed to seeing humanity through the Enlightenment prism of rationality.

Freud's assessment of religion was equally startling. Religion is the universal neurosis grounded

in the human tendency to “externalize” feelings about one’s father to a magnified father image in God. Freud was on the bow wave of a pattern of explaining religion primarily in terms of human psychological needs and processes.

3. Economic Theories

§5-181. Adam Smith and the birth of economics.—Adam Smith, in *Wealth of Nations*, argued that society benefited most from competition. He believed people should freely pursue their own economic interests for overall prosperity. The State should intervene to prevent injustice, promote education and public health, and manage essential enterprises not supported by private capital. Governments were responsible for the protection of life and property but should stay out of business and its dealings. The free operation of the laws of supply and demand served the best interests of society.

§5-182. Elements of laissez-faire economics.—Smith’s name is often associated with laissez-faire economics. Chief elements of laissez faire economic theory were:

- Economic individualism—This means people can use their property for personal benefit, as long as they respect others' equal rights to do the same.
- The State's economic responsibilities should be limited, ensuring public safety. In economic affairs, government should be a modest police officer.
- Obedience to natural law—There are immutable economic laws, such as supply and demand and economic self-interest, which must be respected. The failure to do so leads to economic disaster.
- Freedom of contract—People should be free to negotiate the best contract they can from others. The law must not hamper the liberty of employers and workers to bargain.
- Free trade and competition—Competition serves to keep prices down, eliminate inefficiency, and insures maximum production to meet public demand. Monopoly price fixing and protective tariffs must not be allowed.

§5-183. Early socialism.—The urban working class had no access to the benefits of competition that laissez faire touted so highly. In most democracies of the time, one needed to own property to vote. Very few in the working classes owned property, and therefore they were without the right to vote to change conditions. Attacks on the theory of laissez faire came from a new idea called socialism. Initially, this was not a militant workers movement. It condemned the concentration of wealth and called for patterns of ownership of the means of production that would spread the benefits of industrialization more evenly. Harmony and cooperation, rather than ruthless competition, should control economic affairs.

§5-184. Revolutionary socialism.—The economic thought of Karl Marx drove a revolutionary brand of socialism. The fundamentals of Marx’s economic theory are as follows:

- The economic interpretation of history. All great political, social, and intellectual movements have been determined by the economic environment from which they arose. Every fundamental historical development has been the result of alterations in methods of producing and exchanging goods.
- Dialectical materialism. Every economic system grows to a point of maximum efficiency and then develops contradictions and weaknesses, which produces rapid decay. At the same time, the groundwork for a new system is being established, which will eventually

replace the old system. The ongoing process of historical evolution involves the continual replacement of existing systems with new ones, progressing towards the ultimate objective of achieving communism.

- Class struggle. Throughout history, societies have been shaped by conflicts between different social classes, such as masters and slaves, patricians and plebeians, lords and serfs, and guild masters and journeymen. By the 19th century, it had narrowed to a struggle between capitalists and laborers.
- Surplus value. The workers create all wealth. Capital creates nothing (indeed, it is itself created by labor). The value of commodities is determined by the amount of labor needed to produce them. However, the worker does not receive the full value which his labor produces.
- Since capital creates nothing, the capitalist is a robber who appropriates the fruits of the worker's toil.
- Socialist evolution. After capitalism ends, socialism will follow as the next stage. This stage will have three characteristics:
 - Dictatorship of the proletariat.
 - Payment in accordance with the work performed.
 - Ownership and operation by the State of the means of production.
- This socialism is merely a transition to communism, the perfect goal of historical evolution. Communism will mean a classless society where no one will live by owning things, but by working productively. The State will be replaced by voluntary associations to manage the means of production and meet social needs. The essence of this vision is that production and payment will be in accordance with ability and need. From everyone according to their ability; to everyone according to their need.

C. Theological and Philosophical Milieu

1. Philosophical Backdrop

§5-191. Impact of Kant.—Immanuel Kant in the *Critique of Pure Reason* argued that reason can only comprehend things within the phenomenal realm, in the realm of space and time, and then only in a mediated way (through the categories of the mind). Beyond space and time—in the noumenal realm—reason does not function. Since God surpasses space and time, Kant's analysis detaches faith from reason. For Kant, Christian faith was not about metaphysics derived from revelation from the Scripture. It was about practical reason or ethical decisions that guide one's life.

A significant portion of 19th-century theology involved Protestantism's engagement with the Enlightenment. This period focused on understanding the new intellectual landscape that emerged after Kant's philosophy. In 1810, Frederick Wilhelm III of Prussia founded a new university at Berlin committed to how Christianity could make the methods of the Enlightenment its own. Following extensive discussion, theology was permitted as a field of academic study. Its emphasis shifted towards pastoral care and theological research, incorporating principles of the Enlightenment and attempting to align with Kant's ideas for the revitalization of Protestantism. Schleiermacher led the way by refocusing theology away from biblical exegesis to a subjective idea of God consciousness. Christianity's uniqueness in this project was the person of Jesus, who revealed his own divinity by representing the most perfect God consciousness there could be.

Nineteenth century liberal theologians agreed that the faith was not about dogma, actual historical events, or rational formations and belief structures based on ancient documents. Influenced by the Romantic movement, they based faith on the experience: the feeling of one's absolute dependence on a reality beyond oneself or the formulation of one's sense of moral value. The two most influential spokesmen for "Christian experience" were Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834) and Albrecht Ritschl (1822-1889).

§5-192. Impact of Hegel.—Georg Wilhelm Hegel (1770-1831) came on the heels of Immanuel Kant. Kant had argued that reason can never tell us about God or the reality behind ordinary experience. The way we know can never grasp the thing-in-itself.

Hegel followed a quite different path from Kant. He sought to build a magnificent system of eschatology to go beyond the skepticism of Kant. He denied that anything was beyond the mind's ability to know and emphasized human history as the stage for the drama of human reflection. Hegel claimed that there is a great deal we can know about both God and natural reality, which he believed was rational and spiritual. God, or as Hegel described him Spirit, Reason, or Absolute Mind, is not other than the world, as Christianity had always held. It is the fundamental reality of which all things are manifestations. All activity is the activity of Spirit and rational thought is the Spirit seeking to understand itself.

The Spirit moves toward self-realization in a process of triadic development he called the "dialectic." Indeed, all things were in a stage of progress achieved by a dialectic process. A thesis is opposed by an antithesis, and both are integrated into a synthesis that combines their best aspects. Hegel found evidence of the dialectic operating everywhere—in history, religion, and human development in all its facets.

Within this framework of a philosophy of history, Hegel reinterpreted Christianity. He understood it as the culmination of the unfolding of the Spirit. He rejected the rationalists' idea of a universal natural religion. All religions do reveal the ultimate nature of reality in the unfolding of the Spirit. However, this process culminates in the Christian religion.

§5-193. Later philosophical critics of Christianity.—Hegel equated the Spirit with the God of the Reformers, but many of his followers did not link this Spirit to any deity. These "young Hegelians" were far less sympathetic to Christianity. Ludwig Feuerbach (1804-1872) was one who concluded that Christianity must be superseded because it represented a form of false consciousness. He argued that God is an invention of humanity. "Man's God is nothing other than the deified essence of man." So-called divine revelation only revealed humanity to itself. He thought we should stop the God talk and realize that we are speaking of our own ideals.

Arthur Schopenhauer (1788-1860) argued that religion allows people to create pretty pictures of an orderly world guided by a rational God that disguises the horrible truth of ultimate reality. Ultimate reality is not God but a great, all-consuming, purposeless, and irrational will. Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900) went on to claim that the highest ideal is the will to power. He ridiculed Christianity as a moral system for the weak and degenerate. He thought war and courage had accomplished more remarkable things than love of neighbor. His "might makes right" intellectual framework contributed significantly to Nazi ideology in the next century.

These thinkers illustrate that values and direction that became standard fare in 19th century

western philosophy. Philosophy was not only independent of theology now, but increasingly unwilling to assume that faith and religious belief had any real value in the quest for truth.

§5-194. Marx's materialism.—The thinker influenced by Hegel that had the greatest influence was Karl Marx (1818-1883). Marx was a materialist and believed that matter was the ultimate reality. He applied Hegel's dialectical on a material level. He thought that the progress of human society towards the goal of a classless, communist society was driven by social and economic forces completely grounded in material reality. The institution of private property alienates people from each other by encouraging them to work for themselves rather than for the common good. Religion, according to Marx, was the “opiate of the people” helping them to deal with the dehumanizing aspects of this alienating material reality. It worsens the human condition by encouraging belief in an imaginary God that undermines the drive to address the problem. God is nothing other than the projection of human ideals and people should place their faith and resources in their own ability to improve their circumstances and not waste their time, treasure, and talent on a transcendent phantom.

§5-195. Romanticism.—Romanticism was an important philosophical trend in this era. The Napoleonic wars made many Europeans disillusioned with the Enlightenment's strict rationalism. This garnered a reaction against the idea that unaided reason could guide human affairs. The movement that came to be known as Romanticism was the result, a movement which placed a greater value on feeling and intuition. It also reacted against the industrialization and urbanization of European society.

The romantics, from the philosopher Rousseau to the poets Byron, Shelley, and Keats, found truth, beauty, and emotional wholeness in nature. Americans like Longfellow and Thoreau joined this chorus. Romanticism had a profound effect on 19th century Protestant theology which took great interest in sensing God's presence and not just (or even) believing a set of dogmas.

A later version of Romanticism was something of a counter-theme to the growing scientific, rationalist, and materialistic European culture. This neo-Romantic reaction, which became known as Modernism, stressed the centrality of emotion, intuition, psychic energy, and the power of subconscious, irrational forces. Nietzsche, Freud, Bergson, and others populated this movement.

2. Protestant Liberal Theology Introduction

§5-201. In general.—Many 19th century religious leaders were raised in pious Protestant homes but educated in universities strongly influenced by attitudes critical of traditional Biblical studies and very receptive to the secular bent of modern science and philosophy. These leaders felt scarred by their well-intentioned, but austere Puritanical upbringing. They desired a faith that was more relevant, intelligent, and authentically livable.

The popular 20th century American preacher, Harry Emerson Fosdick, stated that the central aim of liberal theology was to make it possible for a person to be both an intelligent modern and a serious Christian. These efforts tended to rest its case on the twin towers of Christian experience and trends in modern thought.

§5-202. Coming to terms with modern science.—Liberals believed that Christian theology must come to terms with modern science if it ever hoped to hold the allegiance of intelligent people. Faith had to pass the test of reason and experience. They accepted the modern attitude that the world was a grand and harmonious machine or organism. The point was unity, harmony, and coherence. Biblical creation pressed the point of “orders” in the universe that characterized earlier beliefs—inanimate matter, plants, animals, people, God. Liberals pressed for continuity and coherence—between revelation and natural religion, between Christianity and other world religions, between the saved and lost, between Christ and other men, between God and people.

§5-203. Immanence over the transcendence of God.—Liberals de-emphasized the transcendence of God, the reality of God apart from the world. They believed that concept was unacceptable to moderns. They tended to identify the supernatural with the interior spirituality of people and then to link the spiritual with human consciousness, the intellectual and emotive side of people. The life coursing through the world (they were extremely comfortable with traditional ideas of God’s immanence in the created realm) and in human consciousness was “God”. Their view of God’s immanence seemed to fit well with scientific studies. God worked entirely through natural laws. They agreed with the popular characterization: “Some call it evolution, and others call it God.”

3. Schleiermacher

§5-206. In general; background.—Son of a Reformed chaplain, Schleiermacher abandoned his belief in Christ’s divinity and in his vicarious atonement while at seminary. In 1794, he was ordained as a Reformed pastor and subsequently influenced by the Romantic movement during a pastoral tenure in Berlin. In 1799, he published *On Religion, Speeches to Its Cultured Despisers*, where his theological thought began to take shape. In 1821, he published *The Christian Faith*, where he stated his mature views.

§5-207. Awareness of absolute dependence; levels of consciousness.—Schleiermacher was convinced that the confessionalism of the day misrepresented religion. He believed that the essence of faith goes much deeper than a series of propositions one must agree with (or at least not openly disagree with) to a feeling of awe and mystery that reason cannot explain. That essence was a deeply felt awareness of absolute dependence upon God. He believed that people everywhere share this experience, and each culture expressed this in their own unique way.

Schleiermacher posited three levels of human consciousness: (1) animal grade where there is no distinction between self and the world; (2) human consciousness which begins as a distinction between self and the world and continues with an increasing sense of freedom vis-à-vis the world (i.e. that we have the ability to affect the world); and (3) God consciousness where we become aware that both self and the world are absolutely dependent on a reality beyond either of them.

Christianity was superior to other religions because of Jesus. Jesus is considered divine because he exhibited an extraordinary level of God-consciousness that is best understood as a result of divine intervention. Jesus communicated his pure awareness of God to his disciples, and the Church he founded continued to inspire this God-consciousness in new generations. Schleiermacher argued that theology should focus on the meaning and dynamics of religious affection (this God-consciousness) rather than on the doctrines and external features of religion.

Indeed, those doctrines only have significance to the extent that they dealt directly with and focused on God consciousness.

Thus, for Schleiermacher, the proper realm of religion is neither knowledge nor morality but feeling. Religion is the feeling of unity with the Whole. It is “the consciousness of being absolutely dependent, or, which is the same thing, of being in relation with God.” It is the constant, profound awareness of the Other whose presence is the source and basis of all that is. Schleiermacher discussed traditional doctrines like regeneration, justification, conversion, repentance, faith, forgiveness, adoption, sanctification, and perseverance from the point of view of God consciousness. Through the transformation of the self to which these various terms refer, Christians became active instruments within the world through which the redemptive activity of Christ was brought to others.

§5-208. Discussion of *Christian Faith*.—Schleiermacher's magnum opus was *Christian Faith*. The introductory section of the book provides a taste of the kind of thinking discussed above. Schleiermacher discusses the doctrines of creation and preservation and the original perfection of the world and humanity. Creation is important in that it teaches the absolute dependence of the entire universe on God. However, the details of the biblical account are not essential to Christian faith. Indeed, intelligent moderns can no longer accept the biblical account.

In the section on the perfection of the world, Schleiermacher contends that the world has always been and still is a sufficient stimulus for God consciousness to develop. This leads to two conclusions: (1) that our failure to develop God-consciousness before we did was sin on our part and (2) our failure to shape the world into the kingdom of God is also sin on our part. The doctrine of the original perfection of the world and humanity means that we have always been capable of God-consciousness and our lack of it is sin. Stories about the Garden of Eden are not historically true but are expressions of God-consciousness. Sin and grace are linked by developing or retarding of God consciousness. Whatever alienation from God there is in the phases of our experience originating in ourselves is what we call sin and whatever fellowship with God there is resting upon communication with the Redeemer is what we call grace.

The highest degree of the awareness of sin comes to us as we view Jesus the redeemer. Jesus shows us what life would have been like had we from the beginning lived out the possibilities of perfect God consciousness. The doctrine of original sin is our awareness that we possess a resistance to God consciousness. The world is seen as an aid in preventing God consciousness. Two divine attributes related to our consciousness of sin are holiness and justice. Holiness relates to our sense of inadequacy in the face of the goodness of God's commands that we don't keep. Justice is our awareness of our lack of conformity to the divine will.

When viewing the self from the consciousness of grace, two subjects come to bear: the person and work of Christ as the cause of grace and the transformation of the self through grace. The redemptive activity of Jesus is due to his sinless perfection, which is to say, his perfect God consciousness. When Schleiermacher speaks of the human and divine in Jesus, this union is not dependent on a doctrine of the Virgin birth, which is not true. The same is true of the resurrection, ascension, and return for judgment. The disciples knew Jesus to be redeemer without these doctrines. Jesus' redemptive work consists in his communication of his absolute God consciousness to other human beings, the work of God through him in us. We become unconscious of our own lives and conscious of his life.

Schleiermacher discusses the work of Christ under familiar headings of Christ as prophet, priest, and king. As prophet, Christ announces the kingdom of God. As priest, the redeemer takes upon himself the sins of the world. This is not to be understood literally that he died in our place but that, since he responded to his situation out of total God consciousness, he opened a new possibility in the world and in history of love, forgiveness, and reconciliation. Schleiermacher opposed views of the atonement that would center the work of Christ on the cross. As king, the redeemer creates a people he rules through the ordinances he established.

§5-209. Critique.—We have developed in some detail Schleiermacher’s thought because of his tremendous influence on subsequent liberal thinking. He has been criticized for his concentration on human God-consciousness rather than on biblical revelation and for his willingness to forsake the transcendent “otherness” of God and its implications for the Christian gospel. He shifted the center of the faith from the biblical revelation of God to the internal experience of the believer. He put self-discovery in the place of revelation, religious consciousness in the place of the word of God, and the mere “not yet” of imperfection in the place of sin.

Schleiermacher’s vision of God seems closer to the Force in the movie *Star Wars* and its sequels than the God of Christian orthodoxy. His theology was rooted in the Romantic movement of the early 19th century and was very much a feeling-centered worldview.

19th century liberalism that followed was severely critical of dependence on ancient sources, namely the Scriptures. It encouraged what we now call “higher criticism” which attempt to reconstruct the various sources the biblical authors might have used. They approached the Bible as a record of people’s feelings and dealings about God. They attacked the historicity of the gospel accounts. They were not historical records at all in a proper understanding, but stories of Jesus that transformed Christians’ lives. Jesus’ miracles were legends not historical events. His death was an example, not a substitutionary sacrifice. What was revived on Easter was not Jesus’ body but his disciples’ love for him. What mattered was Jesus’ teachings about divine love and human social interaction. The essence of Christianity was the universal fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of people, and the infinite worth of the human soul.

Positively, Schleiermacher balanced the individualism of Pietism with an emphasis on the corporate reality of the church, emphasized the importance of a shared Christian experience and of traditions that inculcated a sense of corporate identity, insisted on the centrality of the person of Jesus for Christian faith, and asserted that faith was not a mere endorsement of civil morality.

4. Ritschl

§5-211. In general.—Albrecht Ritschl (1822-1889) proposed that metaphysical speculation should be excluded from theology. The locus of religion is not metaphysical knowledge but moral value. Ritschl represents a return to Kant. He insisted that true religion was concerned with practical living that was freed from sin, selfishness, fear, and guilt.

This practical faith needed to look to the true, historical Jesus. The great Christian fact was the tremendous impact Jesus has made upon the church and people through the centuries. Nature spoke ambiguously of God and the Bible was not credible to moderns. Therefore, the task of theology was to turn again to Jesus. If biblical criticism denies Jesus’ miracles, his Virgin birth, his pre-existence, it does not make Jesus less valuable to us. Jesus’ divinity does not rest on any

traditional religious proofs but solely on the fact that he is the source of a value-creating movement. He leads people to find the God of values. Jesus' life was the embodiment of such high ethical values that we are inspired to live as he did. Jesus is divine in the sense that he can do for us what God does—he makes us conscious of the highest in life.

§5-212. Outline of thought.—In *The Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation*, he states that Christianity is like an ellipse with two foci: redemption and the kingdom of God. The redemption of Christ is not based on an objective act of the expiation of our sins, but rather that the consciousness of guilt for not fulfilling the moral destiny for us set by God loses its power to separate us from God. Ritschl rejects the “objective” theory of the atonement for a modern version of a “subjective” theory of the atonement. It is like a one-sided version of Luther’s “imputed justice”—God imputes his righteousness to us but has no wrath to deal with since the central divine attribute is love. Vengeance, wrath, and punishment just are not part of God’s make-up.

Reconciliation implies more than justification because the latter idea only speaks of the forgiveness of sins, whereas the former refers to a new life based on that forgiveness. It is here that the kingdom of God comes in, for the new relationship with God ushered in by reconciliation is not purely individualistic. The kingdom is a corporate state of life in which spirit rules over nature and there is a loving and free mutual service among human beings.

§5-213. Reflective of, and promoter of, new theological direction.—Ritschl reflected the direction theology took in the late 19th century:

- He emphasized the love of God to the point of rejecting divine justice and wrath.
- The significance of both sin and grace was considerably diminished. Sin originates in ignorance and consists of acts rather than a state of being. Grace is little more than our awareness of God’s love.
- The best approach to the study of the essential nature of Christianity is through historical study, rather than biblical study.
- His emphasis on judgments of moral value and on the application of such judgments to the kingdom of God led to the Social Gospel of the likes of Walter Rauschenbusch as well as to other attempts of applying Christianity to the reordering of society.

Ritschl’s influence was felt throughout Europe and the United States where humanitarian concerns about the conditions caused by industrialization and urbanization gave rise to Christian movements that considered social responsibility as an integral part of the gospel message (some would say, as the gospel message). In the United States, the most important of these was the Social Gospel movement.

5. Historical and Biblical Criticism

§5-216. In general.—The question of history pervaded theological inquiry in the 19th century. This was due in part to Hegel’s attempt to put history at the center of reality, in part due to the attitudes of progress that characterized the period, and in part to critical historical studies. Modern historical research took aim at traditional understanding of the Bible as a supernaturally inspired book.

§5-217. Influences on Biblical criticism.—The radical critics assumed that the Bible is merely a book to be judged by literary canons as any other, that it is the product of religious evolution, and that natural explanations of Biblical phenomena should replace supernatural ones. The philosophy of Kant (1724-1804) combined with the views of Hegel, Schleiermacher, and Ritschl created a philosophical background favorable to a critical approach to the Bible. Kant denied that people could know anything about the world of the noumena and therefore there is no place in his system for an historical and objective revelation of God in the Bible or anywhere else. The Bible is a man-made history book recording people's religious experiences. People with their free will and immanent sense of right and wrong become the center of a religion in which they develop the morality inherent in themselves.

Schleiermacher made feelings or emotions the primary element from which religious experience develops. Religion was not a set of beliefs and obligations based on the authority of an ancient book or a Church, but the result of people's feelings of absolute dependence in an universe in which they are but small entities. Hegel had a marked influence upon theology and biblical criticism by identifying being with thought and positing a dialectic in which the thought of Absolute Spirit developed through history. Absolute Spirit was something that philosophically evolved through time. Ritschl, influenced by Schleiermacher's emphasis of conscious dependence as the centerpiece of religion, insisted that religion was the conscious dependence on the part of the community of the faithful, the Church, rather than just single individuals. The Bible is a record of community consciousness and should be examined like other historically-oriented books.

Thus, the rationalism of the Enlightenment and the idealistic philosophy of the Romantic era birthed a movement that argued against the supernatural nature of the Bible as divine revelation and advocated viewing it as a record of the subjective evolution of religion in human consciousness. Higher Criticism involves, at its root, an attempt to ascertain the historical background and occasion of writing for each book of the Bible. Lower Criticism is the study of the text of each book of the Bible to ascertain whether the text that we have is the one which came from the pen of the original authors.

§5-218. Higher criticism.—Most of biblical criticism's inroads undermining biblical authority involve what we call Higher Criticism. It began with Jean Astruc (1684-1766) who claimed that Genesis was really a composite book based on the use of the names for God—Elohim (God) and Yahweh (Lord). Eichhorn (1752-1827) did this analysis one better identifying other literary characteristics as well as names for God to posit the composite authorship of the Hexateuch (Genesis to Joshua). Hupfeld (1853) was the first to claim that the Pentateuch (Genesis to Deuteronomy) was the work of different authors rather than a narrative composed by Moses.

§5-219. Wellhausen.—Julius Wellhausen (1844-1910) built on this line of thinking. He thought that the history of Israel had evolved from primitive, nomadic beginnings to the formal Judaism practiced in Jesus' day. Wellhausen thought that the Pentateuch was not the product of Moses writing in a particular era, but of anonymous authors living at different times and representing different social, political, and religious viewpoints. He identified four principal sources for the Pentateuch:

- *J document*, characterized by the predominance of the name Yahweh for God, allegedly compiled in the Southern Kingdom of Judah around 950 B.C.
- *E document*, characterized by the name Elohim for God, written in the Northern

Kingdom of Israel about 850 B.C.

- *D or Deuteronomist document*, written around 650 B.C. just before the renewal in Judah under King Josiah.
- *P or Priestly document* composed from ancient traditions around 525 B.C. after the people returned from the Babylonian exile.

The upshot of all this is an approach that depicts the Pentateuch as a potpourri of stories, poems, laws, and myths without internal unity or consistency developed by nameless authors of sources dating from the 10th to the 5th centuries B.C.

§5-220. Later critics.—Later critics ran with this theme. They divided Isaiah first into two documents and then three, relegated Daniel to the Maccabean period so that the text is history rather than prophecy. Bible doctrine was given an evolutionary bent. The critics emphasized the development of the idea of God from a primitive storm god of Mt. Sinai to the ethical monotheistic God of the prophets.

§5-221. New Testament criticism.—New Testament criticism began with Hermann Reimarus (1694-1768), who denied the possibility of biblical miracles and advanced the idea that the writers with their stories of miracles were well-intentioned, pious frauds. Gotthold Lessing (1729-1781), who published Reimarus' works, argued that the Scriptures served as a guide during the primitive phases of human religious development but that reason and duty were sufficient guides in a more advanced state of religion. Christianity was a necessary step in humanity's educational process, but that step should not stop the progress. Reason was the ticket, not creedal adherence. His cry was that the necessary truths of reason could never be proved by the accidents of history.

§5-222. Ferdinand Baur.—Ferdinand Baur (1792-1860) borrowed Hegelian logic and argued that there was a great struggle in early Christianity between the Jewish Christians represented by Peter, in which the Law of Moses played a central role, and the more universal Christianity of Paul. The conflict between the "Petrine thesis" and the "Pauline thesis" led to the higher synthesis of Christianity in the second century.

Baur made evidence of awareness of this conflict an important criterion in his judgment of the authenticity of New Testament books, accepting only those which evidenced this conflict. That led him to reject all but four of Paul's letters. Historical data gave way to philosophical presuppositions and extrapolations in ascertaining the chronology of the New Testament as well as the authenticity of its authorship. Later critics centered their inquiries into the question of the order of writing of the synoptic gospels (Matthew, Mark, and Luke). What resulted was a stance that allowed that the gospels contain truth about Christ but only after one peels off the layers of tradition and form under which the truth is hidden.

§5-223. David Friedrich Strauss.—Strauss published *The Life of Jesus Critically Examined* in 1835. In it he argued that those who took as literal miracles and other supernatural references in the Bible erred. He asserted that the supernatural and messianic claims made about Jesus had less to do with Jesus himself than with early Christian assertions. The New Testament was not simply a chronicle of an actual story but a witness of faith to those who believed in Jesus. Its narrative is a statement of faith not fact. It is myth in the sense of expressing truth of the highest order without pressing too hard on the literal accuracy of the details. He questioned the historical

reliability and value of the New Testament challenging the authorship of the gospels and such Christian beliefs as the virgin birth, the Resurrection of Jesus, and his post-Resurrection appearances.

Strauss was a product of an educational initiative that would contribute to a “modern” German civilization. They wanted a “scientific” investigation of subjects, independent of religious authorities and precedents. The aim of this scientific inquiry, or *Wissenschaft*, was to push the boundaries of human knowledge and to question everything. The approach adopted by biblical scholars like Strauss fueled higher biblical criticism.

§5-224. Schweitzer and *The Quest for the Historical Jesus*.—Numerous historical studies of Jesus followed in Strauss’ train. Albert Schweitzer summarized the protracted process in *The Quest for the Historical Jesus*. At first, the debate concentrated on the question of miracles and the supernatural. Then there were attempts to discover the inner workings of Jesus’ mind and to present him, as an example of the heroic in all of us. Further questions arose about the reliability of the factual data taken from the New Testament in search of the real Jesus. Then others alleged that all this historical emphasis missed the apocalyptic element central to understanding Jesus’ preaching and life. Schweitzer concluded that the earlier attempts at finding the historical Jesus turned him into a 19th century ideal. This friendly, polished Jesus never existed; he was simply a projection of the wishes of his biographers. Furthermore, it was not important to discover the historical Jesus, but the “spirit of Jesus.”

§5-225. Adolf von Harnack.—There was also study into the history of Christianity. Harnack (1851-1930) wrote *History of Dogmas* in the intellectual vein of Ritschl and his followers. He believed that the development of Christian dogma involved the gradual abandonment of the original teachings of Jesus. The teachings of Jesus were summarized by three points: (1) the kingdom of God and its coming; (2) God the Father and the infinite value of the human soul; and (3) the higher righteousness and the commandment of love. He called for a return to the simplicity of original Christianity and urged Protestants away from the dogmatic, liturgical, and ecclesiastical results of he called the Hellenization of the faith.

§5-226. History of religions school.—A related development in Christian historical study involved the History of Religions school. This school produced radical theories about the influence on Christianity of earlier gnostic myths and of the mystery religions. Ernest Troeltsch (1865-1923) came from this group and emphasized the relationship various Christian groups between religion and culture. In *The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches*, he classified various Christian groups into churches, sects, and mystical groups according to the way they related to the surrounding culture.

§5-227. Impact of Biblical criticism.—Biblical criticism threw doubt on the belief that the Bible is a dependable authority for Christian faith and practice. Liberals believed that intelligent moderns needed a radically different view of the Bible. The critics saw themselves as liberating modern believers from the need of defending a God who is recorded doing such things as ordering the Israelites to exterminate the Canaanites or who sent bears to devour adolescents who mocked a prophet.

God revealed himself through an evolutionary process. Beginning with primitive, bloodthirsty ideas, the Bible traced how the Jews slowly came to grasp the idea of a righteous God who can

be served only by those who do justice, love mercy, and walk humbly before Him. The progressive revelation of God found its fulfillment in Jesus who portrayed a loving Father of all people. Liberals focused on Christian experience after abandoning or reworking traditional doctrines challenged by science and history. They often spoke of finding the “living Christ” within the human spirit.

6. Critics of Protestant Liberalism

“A God without wrath brought [people] without sin into a kingdom without judgment through the ministrations of a Christ without a Cross.” H. Richard Niebuhr

§5-231. In general.—Many Christians were critical of liberalism and the biblical criticism it spawned. These critics characterized the result of liberalism much the way Richard Niebuhr did later in the 20th century: “a God without wrath brought [people] without sin into a kingdom without judgment through the ministrations of a Christ without a Cross.”

Liberal Christianity seemed too willing to accommodate modern thought and to forsake or reformulate doctrines that had for centuries been central to the Christian faith. Others asserted that liberal culture, with its belief in the natural goodness of people and the inevitable progress of society toward a better world, encouraged an easy, undemanding Christianity that bore little resemblance to the authentic faith of earlier days.

§5-232. Kierkegaard.—Soren Kierkegaard (1813-1855) was a forceful voice of this second assertion. Although his fellow Danes would identify themselves as Christians, Kierkegaard believed that few grasped the essence of the faith and fewer still dared to live it. The New Testament had little to do with rationalism, emotion, or conventional ethics. It did not describe Christians as well-intentioned liberals, or offer a grand vision of history, or assert that everything made sense when understood from a particular standpoint. Central to Kierkegaard’s thought was the individual and the decision to respond to God in faith even when doing so appeared to contradict sense and custom. He found a powerful illustration of this “leap of faith” in story relating to Abraham and Isaac recorded in Genesis 22.

Living in a remote area of Europe and writing in Danish, Kierkegaard made little impact in his day. However, his thought had a profound impact on the growth of existentialism, a philosophical and literary movement that set greater importance on individual experience and the decisions people made in response to what confronted them in their existence rather than on intellectual and abstract doctrines.

§5-233. Theology in capsule.—Kierkegaard saw himself as a knight of the faith whose mission was to make Christianity difficult. He did not see the Christianity of his day as real Christianity. Christianity’s difficulty became apparent when one viewed the enormous gap between the highest level of human decency and the Christian life.

Kierkegaard saw three stages on life’s way—the aesthetic, the ethical, and the religious. The three stages were not continuous but required a “leap” to bridge the passage between them. This leap was not some kind of logical resolution of a previous conflict, a Hegelian mediation of sorts. Kierkegaard saw Hegel’s mediation, indeed his entire system, as substituting abstract

reasoning for genuine human existence. “The System” gave the impression that everything made sense; that it all fell into place. But actual life was not that way. Existence was primary and any attempt at systematizing it misses the poignancy of life’s genuine issues. Human existence is full of paradox and pathos with which abstract logic cannot deal. Kierkegaard’s works form a vast attempt to call his readers to take the successive leaps that will carry them to the true Christian life.

Aesthetic stage—The first of Kierkegaard’s stages is the aesthetic stage. Those living at this stage have no goal but the pursuit of pleasure. This is not necessarily confined to coarse physical indulgence. However, people at this stage do live for the moment. To live for the moment eventually means that the moment itself is meaningless. Life reduces to a mere series of sensations. Despair is the necessary consequence of dwelling at the aesthetic stage. The majority of those at this stage keep their despair to themselves, but this despair does do the positive service of questioning the aesthetic stage that leads to the leap to the ethical stage.

Ethical stage—The person at the ethical stage attempts to live by principles that are universally true. Making life conform to these principles brings a measure of authenticity. In ethical living, one follows the normal pattern of what is considered good and decent in the community. It is a life of duty and responsibility and recognizes that others have a claim upon us. It matters to be a good parent and spouse, an honest citizen, and a responsible employee. Society is not possible without ethical living.

However, ethical living also leads to despair. It cannot cope with the reality of sin and repentance. What do you do when you do not apply ethical principles in particular situations not because of a mistake but because of your innate constitution as a person? This leads to the despair that can push a person to the leap of faith into the religious stage. This leap is a frightening experience and occurs when a person perceives the ethical no longer as a guide for action but as a temptation to trust in one’s moral rectitude rather than in God.

The religious stage is reached out of the consciousness of sin produced by the ethical stage. The crucial difference between the ethical stage and the religious one is that ethical living is guided by universal principles, whereas in the religious life the Absolute rules supreme. The laws of God are not identical with God. The knowledge that God stands above his laws means that the theological content of the religious stage is the forgiveness of sins. The ethical person knows the commands of God but not his forgiveness. The religious person knows that God both commands and forgives. It is not virtue that overcomes sin, but faith. Here, Kierkegaard is arguing against the entire rationalist tradition that tended to see faith as little more than an aid to virtue. Kierkegaard sees himself as calling others to accept the demands and the grace of the Absolute as revealed in Christ.

How can a person living in the 19th century relate to someone who lived so long ago? Kierkegaard addresses this question in his *Philosophical Fragments*. He concludes that factual vision is not necessarily conducive to faith. Yes, without such factual perception of Christ’s person, it would be impossible to be his disciple, but it is still the leap of faith and not the convincing power of testimony that makes us believers.

§5-234. Critique.—Kierkegaard is one of the main sources of modern existentialism. His insistence on human existence, which neither the Hegelian system nor the rationalism that

preceded it was able to grasp, was the initial insight that gave rise to various forms of contemporary existentialism. Theologically, Kierkegaard drew attention to the discontinuity between history and faith and between the ethical and the religious. He reemphasized Luther's insight into the radical otherness of grace. By showing that the opposite of sin is not virtue but faith, he alerted people following him to the moralism in so much of 19th century thought. He also vigorously pointed out that mere orthodoxy does not suffice. Faith is not a matter of doctrinal formulations, but of a personal relationship with God. Finally, his indirect pseudonymous communication stimulated other attempts to express Christian faith through drama, fiction, and other indirect media. Repeatedly, he focused on the sufferings of the God-man on the cross while addressing the foibles of western Christianity.

On the negative side was his exaggerated individualism. He was a solitary figure and projected that into the whole of theology. It left little place for the church and ignored the corporate nature of sin and injustice and did not call believers to action in society.

§5-235. Oxford movement.—The Oxford movement was a quite different reaction to liberalism. The leader of this movement was John Henry Newman (1801-1890). Liberal theology struck the Oxford folks as disinterested in doctrine and as adopting an alien posture to the teachings of the ancient church, which the Oxford dons regarded as the embodiment of true Christianity. They called on their fellow Anglicans to return to an emphasis on tradition, doctrine, liturgy, and sacrament. They moved closer to the Roman Catholic Church and came to be known as Anglo-Catholics. Newman himself became a Catholic and eventually a member of the College of Cardinals.

In addition, the Oxford movement sought to counteract the influence of evangelicalism in the Church of England. They sought to reemphasize what they saw as a needed sense of tradition and on balancing the need for community with what they saw as an undue emphasis on the individual. In England, the separated, non-established Protestant denominations, Dissenters and Methodists, were increasingly influential and vocal in England and Wales. They formed a distinct Protestant mode of life, the Chapel as opposed to the Church. English tradition of vigorous dissent meant that opposition to the established church did not turn into hateful anti-clericalism or hostility to Christianity, but into alternate Christian practice.

Opposition to this dissenting tradition is a key to the Oxford movement. John Keble and John Newman and their associates at Oxford University put forward a new vision of the church in a series of *Tracts for the Times*. That reality was the basis for the alternate name of their movement—Tractarians. By moving away from the traditions of the faith, the Tractarians thought that both liberals and evangelicals had lost a great deal of richness in worship and community and had unwittingly placed the authority of influential individual interpreters above that of the Scripture. The Oxford movement sparked a liturgical renewal, the revival of monastic orders and disciplines, and the awakening of a piety more closely related to the tradition of the church at large.

As a result of the various controversies of the early Victorian era, the Anglican Church developed three distinct groups: the Anglo-Catholics, the Evangelicals, and a middle group whose adherents grew increasingly impatient with the two extremes of the Church.

§5-236. Growth of Neo-confessionalism.—In response to the trends in 19th century theology

that challenged traditional Christian assumptions, there arose a renewed emphasis on confessionalism. This confessionalism arose in what we now call mainline churches—Reformed, Lutheran, and Anglican. This was a 19th century version of the confessionalization process in the Reformation era. During the Reformation, secular and ecclesiastical authorities in various areas worked together in the effort to create well-informed, conscientious Christians who had specific confessional identities and would be well-disciplined, obedient political subjects of the realms.

In the 19th century, that same basic process, minus the cooperation of the secular authorities, occurred in denominations concerned with the corrosive effects of theological liberalism and a Social Gospel movement that lost the gospel amid its social and political activism. This effort aimed at well informed and obedient members of their respective denominations or groups.

III. European Setting

A. Historical Background

§5-251. In general.—The 19th century was the zenith of European world ascendancy. It was an era of modernization and rapid change in Europe. Economically, this development was catalysed by the Industrial Revolution, which commenced in Britain during the mid to late 18th century. The consequences included enhanced productivity, the development of new technologies, urbanization, the emergence of new enterprises, shifts in relationships between social classes, genders, and states, increased access to education, improvements in transportation and communication, secularization, and the rise of nationalism.

The French Revolution and the Napoleonic era significantly advanced political modernization. This involved the spread of ideologies, such as liberalism, democracy, socialism, modern conservatism, and nationalism. Revolution gained acceptance as a means to change. The masses, including women and minorities previously excluded, first enter history in a self-conscious manner in this era. More highly centralized state structures resulted from these developments.

While these changes were seen predominately in Europe, they were also experienced by those areas heavily impacted by European influence, like the United States and Japan. These changes occurred unevenly and were inherently destabilizing.

§5-252. Periods of the age, generally.—A retrospective division of an age is arbitrary but helpful. We will be dividing the long century in Europe into three periods for purposes of presentation:

- From the French Revolution in 1789 through the revolutions of 1848.
- From the revolutions of 1848 to the unification of Germany at the conclusion of the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1871.
- From 1871 to 1914, a period described as the apogee of Europe.

1. French Revolution to Revolutions of 1848

§5-256. In general.—The first segment lasted from the French Revolution in 1789

through the revolutions of 1848. A dual revolution brought down the old European order. The French Revolution and diffused throughout Europe in the Napoleonic era unleashed the most important forces of this period and the changes wrought by the Industrial Revolution.

§5-257. Revolutionary ideals.—The French Revolution made the concepts of liberty, fraternity, and equality the lingua franca of the age. Significant change resulted, including uniform code of laws, emphasis on civil rights, careers open to talent, a more centralized state, and popular sovereignty in a decidedly nationalistic vein. The democratic ideals of the French Revolution spread by the Napoleonic wars increasingly radicalized the age. Early forms of socialism emerged which increasingly saw economic necessity as the driver of necessary social change. The concept and deep feeling of nationalism advanced throughout the period.

§5-258. Industrial Revolution.—The Industrial Revolution ran parallel to these developments, ushering in a modern, industrial, urban reality that transformed European life. Productivity increased rapidly, freeing Europeans from the harsh whims of nature. With industrialism came the acceleration of urbanization, increased income inequality, evident poverty, and an outcry for social change having vast political and cultural impacts.

2. Revolutions of 1848 to the Unification of Germany and Italy

§5-261. In general.—From the revolutions of 1848 until the unification of Germany after the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871 frame the second part of the long century. This era witnessed the spread of the Industrial Revolution to urban areas throughout western and central Europe. The most profound political changes were the creation of a unified Italian state, the emergence of Prussian-German dominance in central Europe, and the relative decline of both Austria and France.

§5-262. European spring.—The year 1848 was the European spring. The revolutions that occurred all over Europe in that year met with early and widespread success. However, once the elites of France, Austria, and Prussia joined forces, supported by their national armies and Russian intervention, the old order was re-established by 1850. The revolutionary leaders were not united and were divorced from the needs and experience of urban and rural masses. Nevertheless, things did change. There was a regime change in France, the peasants of Prussia and Austria were emancipated from serfdom, and moderate constitutions came into force in Prussia and the Piedmont.

The main results of the revolutionary and nationalistic source of unrest were the German and Italian quests for national unity. In 1852, Cavour became premier of the kingdom of the Piedmont and by the time of his death in 1861, the kingdom included the entire Italian peninsula. In 1862, Bismarck became chancellor of Prussia and became the press for German national unity which culminated in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1871.

§5-263. Realpolitik.—The revolutions of 1848 facilitated the rise of a generation of statesmen known for *realpolitik*, the hard-edged politics of power. Napoleon III of France, Count Cavour of the Piedmont, and Otto von Bismarck of Germany were prominent among them. This in turn contributed to growing national antagonisms and hardening class lines.

3. Apogee of Europe

§5-266. In general.—The period from 1871 to 1914 was the peak of European worldwide ascendancy. This era witnessed major domestic developments with the spread of the second phase of the Industrial Revolution. These developments included a more exclusive nationalism, rapid urbanization, industrial capitalism and socialism, the early rise of feminism, the cultural determinism of modern science, and a leisure-oriented world. Included in this era was the development of European alliance systems, the heyday of European colonial imperialism, increasing tensions throughout Europe, and the rise of militarism and various violence-prone cultural assumptions such as the idea that modern wars would be short and cost-effective.

§5-267. Driving influences.—Internally, the primary forces at work were industrialization and nationalism. The Second Industrial Revolution changed the European environment. Modern technology emerged from the merger of science and industry. The era saw rapid urbanization, the growth of industrial cartels, large unions, and large political parties. Exploitation by industrial capitalism and mass society promoted forms of socialism and ever more violent protest movements, such as anarchism and syndicalism.

§5-268. Nationalism.—Nationalism emerged as a dominant force in this era and hardened as the century advanced. An increasing number of sectors of European society adopted Social Darwinist concepts like the “struggle for survival” and “survival of the fittest,” tending to fuse nationalism and racism and direct the resulting mixture at internal and external enemies.

§5-269. Imperialism.—Nowhere was the impact of Darwinian nationalism and industrialization more evident than in the burst of new European imperialism. The race for empire and the imperialistic spirit it engendered played a significant role in the development of the pre-World War I competitive alliance systems and in exacerbating the arms race.

B. Continental Protestantism

§5-271. In general.—Protestantism showed a tremendous amount of diversity and vitality in this era. There were new denominations, new “free church” and para-church associations, scores of missionary societies formed, an outpouring of hymns and evangelistic efforts, and new approaches to the study of the Bible or of theology in general. 19th century Protestantism in general prospered—

- The growing wealth and prominence of Protestant Great Britain, Germany, and the United States aided its growth;
- It was more congenial than Roman Catholicism to the kind of liberal democracy that was widely spreading in the day;
- The greater connection of Protestantism with historic humanism, which was so potent in the social and intellectual currents of the day. The very flexibility and diversity of Protestantism often meant or at least threatened to mean a departure from historic and distinctive Christian convictions.

§5-272. Germany.—Germany attained prominence in this century. German literature and music won the admiration of the West. German universities became centers of intellectual activity in

philosophy, natural sciences, and historical and literary and social studies, attracting students from throughout the world. That was particularly true from other vibrant centers of the West, making German thought and activity extremely influential. Prussia became the nucleus of the German Empire that emerged from the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871. Germany became a preeminent European and world power and an industrial powerhouse.

§5-273. —Center of liberal theology.—It was in Germany, that the impetus toward a congenial relationship between faith and Enlightenment rationalism took hold. Prominent German scholars embraced a theological project to make sense of the new intellectual landscape after Kant. In 1810, Frederick Wilhelm III of Prussia founded a new university at Berlin committed to show that Christianity could make the methods of the Enlightenment its own. Schleiermacher led the way by refocusing theology away from biblical exegesis to a subjective idea of God consciousness.

It was in German universities that the “big guns” of Protestant liberalism resided. The list begins with Schleiermacher, but it includes many others—Wellhausen, Strauss, Ritschl, Baur, von Harnack, and Schweitzer—to name but a few. They fostered a beehive of theological thought and activity that makes the 19th century one of the most influential centuries of Christian thought. *See II.C.* of these Notes for a brief overview of that thought and activity.

§5-274. —New Lutheranism.—There was a German response to these radical departures from orthodox Lutheranism. This involved a vigorous reassertion of historic doctrines contained in both Lutheran and Reformed confessions. There was a strong emphasis on confessional conformity and sacramental practice. These groups emphasized training and ordination to the degree that made their ministers a distinct clerical priesthood. Luther's emphasis on the priesthood of the believer was lost. This focus on confessional conformity tended to make religious practice cold and cerebral and focused on what needed to be opposed, which included German Pietism as well as liberal theology.

§5-275. —Pietistic renewal.—Pietistic revival occurred in German Reformed and Lutheran groups. It paralleled the New Lutheranism and emphasized historic orthodoxy but with a distinctly devotional and practical bent. This revival had similarities to the religious awakenings in Great Britain and the United States, albeit not as widespread or as dramatic. It stressed personal commitment, sought common ground with other believers in foreign missions and social improvements, and denounced and opposed the rationalism of their liberal contemporaries.

§5-276. —Moderators.—Amidst this theological conflict and controversy, there were those who sought to mediate differences so apparent on the German Christian landscape. People like August Neander, August Tholuck, and August Dorner sought to combine the best of each of the other major groups and to make for peace and harmony among German Christians. These people soldiered on in the midst of charges of compromise. Their peaceable descendants would populate the early ranks of ecumenism, which would emerge early in the 20th century.

§5-277. —Christian vitality.—Party strife, theological controversy, and the progressive de-Christianization of significant elements of the population are only one side of the picture. German Protestants were also reaching to serve the needy and to win those rejecting the faith or drifting from it. Bible and tract societies blossomed, efforts to serve needy constituencies were

born, hospitals founded for the care of the sick or disabled. Efforts undertaken to improve pastoral care for the masses in the growing cities. Women gained a more prominent role in churches. The quality of Protestant clergy improved, first in the cities and then in the rural areas. There was less state interference and greater ecclesiastical autonomy than in previous ages. As the century progressed, “free churches,” not aligned with either Lutheran or Reformed groups, appeared and grew. Foreign mission projects prospered, albeit not to the same extent as in Great Britain and the United States. Many missionary societies were created, predominantly from pietistic and confessionally conservative constituencies.

§5-278. Denmark.—The Danish church saw remarkable revival in this century. This religious awakening took a variety of forms. One was the strengthening of Pietism. The Lutheran Church welcomed and promoted pietistic emphasis, which visibly influenced its corporate life. The Danish Inner Mission was a prominent example. The purpose of this movement was to deepen and enrich the religious life of the nation. It stressed personal conversion and drew believers into circles for the cultivation of spiritual life. It was opposed to the kind of study of the Bible that flourished in the citadels of German liberalism. It emphasized preaching, foreign missions, and lay ministry. A thousand lay preachers and about a third of ordained pastors had connections with the movement.

There was a strong reaction in Denmark against 18th century rationalism and its intrusion in the form of 19th century liberalism. People like J. P. Mynster (1175-1854) and Nicholai Grundtvig (1783-1872) stressed a living faith and a devoted sacramental practice. The latter was as vigorous in his critique of arid and dogmatic Lutheran confessionism as he was of Enlightenment rationalism that was the current rage in German universities. However, the most incisive critic of liberalism and arid confessionism was Soren Kierkegaard (1813-1855). Little known in his own lifetime, he became the most widely read of the Danish Protestants and had a tremendous influence in the century that followed. See further discussion of Kierkegaard in *II.C.6* of these Notes.

§5-279. Scandinavia.—In the Lutheran countries of Scandinavia, the religious dynamics of the age played out. The liberalism of the age gained increasing sway, strong reactions against this tendency came in being, a vibrant mission movement found expression and voice, and revivals occurred. All this happened even as educated Scandinavians grew increasingly secular in outlook and anti-Christian or agnostic in thought. It was in Sweden where these conflicting tendencies were seen most vividly.

§5-280. Netherlands.—The Netherlands Reformed Church, long associated with the national government, remained the largest Protestant group throughout the 19th century. After the downfall of Napoleon, the House of Orange returned to rule and promulgated a loose organization of the national church which accorded a degree of self-government to local congregations and synods. With this loosening, many parties, groups and tendencies developed in the Netherlands Reformed Church. Liberalism became dominant in the national church. The teaching of Reformed confessions was discontinued in 1856 and doctrinal subscription requirements for ministerial candidates were relaxed. By 1883, all that was required of candidates was a promise to “further the interests of God's Kingdom”.

The drift in the national church occasioned two major secessions. One was in 1834 by those who later took the name of the Christian Reformed Church. It was a protest against the prevailing

liberal rationalism in the Netherlands Reformed Church and held strictly to the doctrinal formulations of the Synod of Dordt in 1619.

The second major break from the Netherlands Reformed Church occurred in 1886 by a group that took the name the Reformed Churches in the Netherlands. Its primary early figure was Abraham Kuyper. This break crystalized a simmering discontent with the national church's liberalism. It also gave rise to a network of private schools in which the historic Reformed confessions framed religious instruction. Kuyper founded the Free University of Amsterdam and was instrumental in organizing the dissenting congregations into a broader ecclesiastical structure. A vigorous leader and thinker, a promoter of he called sphere sovereignty, Kuyper carried his ideas into national politics. As Dutch premier from 1901 to 1905, he served as the executive head of the Dutch state.

Dutch Christianity in the 19th century was quite diverse. Other groups abounded outside those of the Reformed, including Lutherans, Mennonites, and the Remonstrants, a church going back to the Arminian controversy of the 17th century out of which the confession of the Synod of Dordt arose. In addition, even after the separation of the Netherlands from Roman Catholic Belgium in 1830, a large and growing Roman Catholic minority remained in Holland. By the time of World War I, Catholics made up approximately one-third of the population.

§5-281. Central Europe.—In central Europe, Protestants were minorities. This century witnessed a loosening of the restrictions imposed by governments heavily influenced by Roman Catholicism. The abiding influence of the political revolutions of the century was to create a greater separation of Church and state. The Roman Catholic Church vigorously opposed this, but as the century unfolded, freedom grew for Protestant worship and religious practice.

§5-282. Latin Europe.—In Latin Europe, Protestants were an exceedingly small minority. Italy still had remnants of the Waldensians, who migrated from their ancestral Alpine valleys to cities in the 19th century. In France, there was something of a Pietistic renewal as well as a rigorous attempt to accommodate Protestant faith with the intellectual temper of the age. While the Roman Church was alarmed at the greater liberty accorded to Protestants by the secular Latin European governments, Protestants continued to be an exceedingly small minority.

§5-283. Characterizations of continental Protestantism.—The details can be bewildering, but certain generalizations emerge that characterize 19th century continental Protestantism.

- *Complexity and vitality*—It was extremely complex and full of vitality. Even though there were forces afoot that threatened orthodox Christianity and de-Christianizing large segments of the European population, there was enormous theological vitality and a strong movement to bring faith to bear on the social, economic, and political forces affecting people's lives. In addition, by missions and immigration, continental Protestantism was more widely spread than at any earlier time.
- *Separation of Church and State*—The growing impact of the separation of church and state in Europe had a tremendous effect on both Catholicism and Protestantism. Catholicism resolutely opposed this and reacted consistently against anything “modern.” For Protestantism, political and economic liberalism contributed to the growth of free churches, those to which a person belonged by choice and supported by means of offerings in contrast to state churches, supported by state funds. The lack of state support renewed the zeal of Protestants in Europe, drawing increasing numbers to various aspects

of church and missions work.

- *Tensions in the midst*—There were fresh and deep tensions in continental Protestantism. One facet of the movement emphasized formal creeds, confessions, and prescribed forms of worship. Another stressed religious experience and exalted the Bible as the inspired (and frequently inerrant) Word of God to people. Still another group endeavored to accommodate faith to the current philosophies and scientific theories and were frequently charged with denying the faith itself.
- *Germany's prominence*—Germany was the clear leader of continental Protestantism. The creedal groups, Pietistic groups, and liberal elements all found their greatest expression through German voices and on German soil.
- *Early ecumenism*—There were clear beginnings, forged primarily in missionary circles, of an ecumenical movement which would grow in both strength and controversy in the following century.

C. British Developments

§5-286. In general.—Revivalism among Anglican and nonconformist groups, renewed ritualism in high Anglicanism, and the effects of theological liberalism framed English religious life during the 19th century. The first fostered evangelistic ardor, social reform, and missionary activities, the second fueled a strong liturgical movement, and the third produced a theologically liberal and socially progressive element in all the major denominations.

§5-287. Evangelical awakenings.—Evangelical revivals resulted in numerous converts, social reforms, and increased missionary activity. The Wesleyan revival brought personal religion to the urban workers and farm folk of England. The early evangelicals (people like John Newton 1725-1807) served as rectors in parishes scattered through the land. Gradually the movement attracted scholarly leaders like Isaac Milner (1750-1820) and Charles Simeon (1759-1836). Its influence began to affect the upper classes. Urged on by the enthusiasm of the revivals, evangelicals viewed the social ills of British society as a call to dedicated service. These evangelicals were not so much interested in church polity and doctrine as in the practical expression of Christian faith through redeemed and pious living. Most social reforms in the British Isles in the period from the 1780s to 1850 were the outcome of evangelical efforts or significantly aided by those efforts.

§5-288. Wilberforce and the Clapham community.—Headquarters for evangelical reform efforts was a hamlet three miles from London. Clapham was a upscale suburb of London in the day and home to a group of wealthy and ardent evangelicals who were committed to social reform. Evangelicals of the era led numerous initiatives, including land reform, educational reform, the prohibition of child labor, laws safeguarding individuals in asylums, and prison reform.

William Wilberforce (1759-1833) was the unquestioned leader of the group. Wilberforce experienced a dramatic conversion at the age of twenty-five. He possessed natural qualities for leadership—a broadly liberal education, unusual talents for organization and persuasion, a capacity for inspirational leadership, and one for bonding friendship in a common cause, and ample wealth. Under his leadership, the Clapham friends held their “cabinet councils” where they discussed the wrongs and injustices of the day and strategized how to address them. They

moved like one body, delegating to each the task they could do best to accomplish their common purposes. The Clapham group launched many projects—the Church Missionary Society (1799), the British and Foreign Bible Society (1804), the Society for the Bettering the Condition of the Poor (1796), the Society for the Reformation of Prison Discipline and many more.

The cause for which they are most famous was their campaign to abolish slavery in the British realm. By 1770, British ships transported the majority of the more than 100,000 Africans taken in human trafficking from West Africa. Wilberforce took on the mantle of opposing this in 1787. Through years of frustration, the Clapham group learned two basic realities in politics: how to create movement in public opinion and how to bring the pressure of that opinion to bear on the government. Victory finally came in early 1807. That halted traffic in human lives, but many Africans were still in chains.

Wilberforce continued the battle until poor health forced his retirement from Parliament. He wisely chose Thomas Buxton to lead the “holy enterprise.” The Emancipation Act of 1833, freeing the slaves throughout the British Empire passed just four days before Wilberforce died. This was significant. Before the exploitation of Africa by Europe was really in earnest, the most powerful of the nations destined to control the continent had decided that slavery should not define the relationship between the black and white races.

Woman played a significant role in the abolitionist movement. One of William Wilberforce’s key collaborators was Hannah More, who served as his chief publicist. She vividly portrayed the horrors of slavery appealing to human empathy. Another abolitionist, the Quaker, Elizabeth Heyrick, took aim at people’s pocketbooks. She attempted to persuade merchants to stop stocking sugar and other products produced by the slave plantations of the West Indies. Her writing made a significant impact on the tireless abolitionist advocate, William Lloyd Garrison.

Other beneficial work by evangelicals prospered as well. The Sunday School movement, founded and popularized by Robert Raikes, gave children elementary instruction in the 3R’s, reading, writing, and arithmetic, as well as religious training. Rescue missions arose to reach the urban poor. The Religious Tract Society and the British and Foreign Bible Society worked in practical ways to promote the spread of the gospel through the printed page at home and abroad.

§5-289. Latitudinarians.—The Latitudinarians or the Broad Church movement represented the liberal or modernistic element in the Anglican Church. The movement began in the 1830s and was characterized by an emphasis on the intuitive consciousness of God, a view of the immanence of Christ who was looked upon as the son of God, and a de-emphasis upon, or ignoring of, the fall of man and the atonement of Christ. They had a high regard for the authority of reason and had a very tolerant, anti-dogmatic temper. Critics described them as “gentlemen of a wide swallow.”

One segment of the movement, led by John Maurice (1805-1872) and Charles Kingsley (1819-1875) founded a Christian socialist group and originated the Social Gospel in England. They attacked the laissez-faire philosophy, saying that community, not competition, was the true law of the universe. However, their cooperative workshops were poorly organized and unduly optimistic about the role of laborers. Their most profound effect was to inspire for the American Social Gospel movement. Another wing of the Latitudinarians adopted and promoted the theories of German biblical critics.

§5-290. Oxford movement.—This group emphasized the importance of the institutional church and of liturgical ritual in the religious lives of individuals. They were called the Oxford movement (linked to Oxford University), the Tractarians (*Tracts for the Times* sponsors), and the Anglo-Catholics (for their Catholic beliefs and practices). John Keble (1792-1866) initiated the movement with his work, *The Christian Year*. He emphasized his beliefs relating to the Eucharist and to apostolic succession that were akin to Catholicism. John Henry Newman wrote several of the *Tracts for the Times* and functioned as the leader of the group before he and a number of others left the Anglican fold for Roman Catholicism. He later was elevated to the College of Cardinals.

Edward Pusey (1800-1882) became the de facto leader of the group after Newman's defection. The group continued its interest in upholding the spiritual nature of the Church and its freedom from State control, in finding a middle ground between an infallible (after 1870) ecclesiastical body and the rampant individualism they witnessed in the evangelical non-conformist groups, and in a renewed emphasis on the sacraments. They emphasized the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist and held to baptismal regeneration. Their sacramental emphasis and concern for artful worship brought a renewed stress on the importance of ritual and liturgy in Church worship.

§5-291. Free Church; non-conformists.—The Free Church was not idle. William Booth (1829-1912) founded the Salvation Army around 1865 to reach the down and out by open-air evangelism and social work. George Williams founded the YMCA in 1844 to meet the need of young men in the inner city for exercise, social life, and lodging in a Christian environment. The YWCA was organized in 1855, offering similar services to young urban women. Protestant support for the labor movement came mostly from the nonconforming denominations. Leaders of the early labor movement often had their apprenticeship as Methodist lay preachers. They carried their zeal, organizing skill, and rhetorical abilities to the social crisis.

Edward Irving (1792-1834), a Scottish Presbyterian minister, led The first manifestation of what would be known as Pentecostalism. He believed that the Church should enjoy the full complement of the Spirit's gifts. Irving organized the Catholic Apostolic Church in 1842, and his followers emphasized "speaking in tongues" and in the imminent return of Christ.

John Darby (1800-1882), a lawyer turned minister, organized what became known as the Plymouth Brethren. They were earnest students of the Bible, emphasizing the priesthood of the believer to such an extent that they resisted the idea of an ordained ministry. They focused on practical piety as witnessed by the ministries of George Muller, founder of a large orphanage in Bristol, England, and Samuel Tregelles, a great student of the study of the text of the New Testament. Darby founded Dispensationalism, a theological outlook which took root in the Free Church in America in the early to mid-20th century.

Near the end of the century, Charles Spurgeon (1834-1892), described in his day as the "prince of preachers", regularly filled the 6,000 seat Metropolitan tabernacle in London. He preached incessantly, established orphanages and a ministerial training school, edited a monthly magazine, and wrote numerous books.

§5-292. Divisions in the midst.—Alas, there were also divisions. The Scottish Church was plagued with divisions over the question of lay patronage. Lay patronage meant that the crown,

noble, or significant landlord could dictate the choice of a minister for congregations. Liberalism also made inroads and occasioned divisions in the Scottish Church, highlighted by the career of Professor William Robertson Smith. Likewise, the Irish Church struggled with divisions born of racial antagonism and the natural enmity of the conquered (the Irish) for the conqueror (the English). Two major trends affected this: (1) the thousands of Scotch-Irish that migrated to America from Northern Ireland during this period and (2) the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Ireland in 1869.

D. Roman Catholicism Circles the Wagons

§5-296. In general; French Revolution.—The Roman Catholic Church bore the brunt of French revolutionary ire. The Church owned large tracts of land in France, the revenues of which went to the upper clergy who were exempt from taxation. In 1789, the National Assembly declared that the church lands were public property. In 1790, it abolished the monasteries, reduced the number of French bishops to eighty-three, and required their election by the same voters who chose the civil officials. During the Reign of Terror from 1792 to 1794, things got worse. Many officials were executed, church support became voluntary, an opera dancer of doubtful morals was crowned the goddess of reason in Notre Dame Cathedral, the calendar was changed eliminating Sundays and most holy days, and the Pope was captured and, in the time of Napoleon, taken as a prisoner to France.

§5-297. Napoleonic era.—Napoleon normalized relations with the Church in the Concordat of 1801. In the concordat, Napoleon required that the Pope install only those bishops nominated by the State. He also asserted the right for the State to reject priests appointed to lower clergy positions by bishops. He later prohibited the publication of papal decrees and the meeting of synods without prior governmental permission. He made his most striking statement about church-state relations at his coronation as emperor in 1804. He crowned himself, denying the Pope who stood nearby the opportunity to suggest that the church had any authority over him.

The net effect of the policies fostered by the French Revolution and its institutionalization by Napoleon was to encourage the secularization of society in France and elsewhere in Europe by replacing Christian values, institutions, and authorities with religiously neutral ones approved by the State. In addition, the Holy Roman Empire was dissolved in 1806, removing the ancient symbol of the old dream of a unified Christendom. However, there was an upside. Pius VII won sympathy and admiration for resisting the bullying tactics of Napoleon, who held the Pope as a prisoner in France for six years.

§5-298. Era of Metternich.—After the Napoleonic wars, the Papacy regained some lost advantages in European politics. Metternich, the foreign minister of Austria, who orchestrated the Congress of Vienna (1815) and the alliances in the 1820's and 1830's that attempted to turn back the clock, favored alliances between European states and the Church to prevent uprisings in Europe. The Church regained the Papal States and the importance of religion as a bulwark of civil order was emphasized. The revolt of the Romantics against the excesses of 18th century rationalism and individualism aided the Church. The removal of feudalism and its apparatus from the European scene, enabled Rome to exercise greater influence over its bishops and those bishops were more attentive to their ecclesiastical duties.

Ultramontanism—The aftermath of the Napoleonic era also witnessed a strengthening of Papal

power among Catholics. The movement that embodied this mood went by the name of ultramontanism, deriving its name from a phrase meaning “looking beyond the mountains.” These people looked across the Alps to Italy, reverencing the Pope’s authority. The influence of this movement grew due to a de facto alliance with a revival of popular Catholic practice, in reaction to efforts by monarchs and revolutionaries alike to interfere with the everyday lives of devoted Catholics. Pilgrimage regained popularity and new religious orders sprang up. In reaction to revolutionary and nationalistic violence, an international Catholic women’s movement grew. Women’s associations had an ever-growing part in running local parish affairs. Proportions in religious orders swung heavily towards women’s participation. This participation was primarily in the active ministry (teaching, health care, ministry to the poor) and not in contemplative types of endeavors as in the past.

The Jesuits were disbanded in 1773 and reestablished in 1814. They returned in force to their educational and missionary priorities, although they stayed away from the political activism that got them into hot water with the European national states. The Oxford movement in Great Britain in the mid-19th century helped the Church. Several of the Oxford movement’s leaders became Catholics and those that remained Anglicans moved the Church toward the Catholicism in doctrine and ritual. The Popes centralized their power during this era.

§5-299. Aftermath of revolutions and unification.—

However, the period after 1870, witnessed significant reversals for the Church. Italy seized the Papal States in 1870. The Pope refused to recognize this and became a prisoner of the Vatican at his own insistence. Bismarck grew suspicious of the internationalism of the Church as a barrier for his unification of Germany and passed laws secularizing education, putting vital statistics under the control of the State, and expelling the Jesuits. In France, anticlericalism grew and in 1905, the Church lost any advantages gained in the Concordat of 1801. Popes denounced these trends but to no avail.

Papal authority claims grew as papal influence in the international scene decreased. Pius IX (1846-1878) reacted to territorial losses in the new Italian state with the promulgation of the Syllabus of Errors in 1864. That culminated with the proposition that it was wrong to believe that the Pope “can and ought to reconcile himself with progress, liberalism, and modern civilization.” Catholics linked liberalism with many things and some of these associations were quite curious (e.g. freemasonry).

The middle to late 19th century was a prolific period for Marian devotion. Numerous sightings were reported, predominantly by women. Fierce controversy ensued about these appearances, typically pitting skeptical men against insistent women looking for clerical and lay support for their experiences.

During this period, Pius IX established definitively what was previously unspecified. In 1854, in support of the revival of Marian devotion, he promulgated the dogma of the Immaculate Conception (that Mary herself was conceived without sin). Shortly after this, in 1858, Mary allegedly appeared at Lourdes in the French Pyrennes, seen as a gesture approving of the Pope’s action. Lourdes quickly became something of a 19th century Catholic Mecca. In Vatican I Council in 1869-1870, The Church declared that the Pope was “possessed of the infallibility with which the divine Redeemer willed that his Church should be endowed for defining faith and morals”. This authority has been used occasionally, particularly concerning Marian devotion. In

1950, Mary's bodily assumption into heaven was declared a dogma of the Church.

Meanwhile, throughout Europe in the late 19th century, Catholic hierarchy seemed locked in a struggle with liberal and nationalistic elements emerging on the European political scene. The Vatican's struggle with the newly created Italian state epitomized this struggle where the Pope was increasingly impotent in his own back yard. The Church wed its highly authoritative conservatism with a commitment to social justice. However, this commitment repudiated the class conflict so pervasively proclaimed by socialist groups and grounded its vision of society in organic cooperation between interest groups.

IV. North American Setting

"There is no country in the world where the Christian religion retains a greater influence over the souls of [people] than in America."—Alexis de Tocqueville (1831).

A. Historical Background

§5-301. In general.—In the United States, the 19th century was a time of tremendous growth and change. The new nation experienced a shift from a farming economy to an industrial one, a major westward expansion, a civil war, displacement of native peoples, and rapid advances in technology and transportation. The history of the Christian faith in America in this century is a rich and varied one.

§5-302. Early democracy—A republic if you can keep it.—Key themes in the early development of the American democracy were:

- American exceptionalism, symbolized by the Puritan idea of a "city on a hill;"
- Socioeconomic mobility and marketplace opportunity;
- Expanding the franchise of citizens in the development of political democracy;
- Reality of the "melting pot", inclusion of a variety of people in the national body politic.

There were distinctly different visions for the American republic at the outset of our country. The political tensions between Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton best illustrate American reactions to early industrialization. Jefferson gloried in the agrarian republic as a vision of the development of early America while Hamilton sought to expand American commerce and industrial capacity. Jefferson feared the moral compromise he saw inherent in industrialization which would undermine the American republic, while Hamilton and his followers thought that the American experiment would never succeed unless it built itself up as an industrial competitor to Europe. How to make a republic and keep it in the midst of a hurricane of economic changes in the late 18th and early 19th century was the challenge of the day.

§5-303. Western expansion.—The Louisiana Purchase from France in 1803 launched a century of westward expansion across the American continent. Americans saw it as their destiny to expand from Atlantic to Pacific. As settlement of the United States expanded westward through the century, the meaning of the term "West" changed. Before 1800, the crest of the Appalachian Mountains was the western frontier. The sweep of that term kept moving across the North American continent: to the Mississippi River, to Texas and the southeast, to the Great Plains, and

to California and the Pacific Northwest.

Americans saw this expansion as their Manifest Destiny. The phrase was coined in 1845 and specifically referred to American expansion westward all the way to the Pacific. It has a strange and imperialistic sound in the 21st century era. However, in the 19th century, European immigrants and American settlers took for granted that whites were superior and were justified in taking lands from the Mexicans or the Indians on the pretense of cultural hegemony. When James Monroe announced the Monroe Doctrine in 1823, that the United States would not countenance new European ventures in the Western hemisphere, many felt that the practical result of this exclusion of rival imperialists combined with native American wars of independence in Spanish America was American hegemony in the North American continent. Few opposed this naked aggression. Their voices were drowned out by the clamor for land and the question of whether slavery would be allowed to go west.

Challenge of American West—The American West provided evangelical Christianity with an opportunity to press the claims of the gospel upon the nation. The ever-moving western frontier was the great fact of 19th century America and a key factor in the growth and dynamism of the American church.

§5-304. Slavery and road to Civil War.—Historians commonly call the period before the Civil War and after the War of 1812 the antebellum period of American history. The antebellum period saw the rise of the abolition movement and the gradual polarization of the country between abolitionists and supporters of slavery. During this same time, the country's economy began shifting in the north to manufacturing as the Industrial Revolution began, while in the south, a cotton boom made plantations the economic center.

Early on, opposition arose to the South's "peculiar institution." Slavery became an offense to religious conviction. New England Calvinists, beginning with Samuel Hopkins denounced it, as did the Quakers. When slavery began to cease being profitable, Southerners started to agree with the criticism. The principal cash crops grew unprofitable and the British interfered with Atlantic slave trade, diminishing the prospect of sustainable slave labor. The Constitution did not mention slavery, putting the debate off for twenty years. Could the slave trade be abolished in 1808?

However, by 1830, that optimism changed. A new cash crop arose—King Cotton, the white gold of the first part of the Industrial Revolution, drove the new reality. The cotton gin, invented by Eli Whitney in 1793, made the aggressive use of slave labor enormously profitable. In addition, the growing anxiety of slave revolts fueled Southern fear. There were revolts in the 1830s, the most successful of which was Nat Turner's uprising in southern Virginia. Vigorous enforcement of the slave status quo was seen as the only defense against mass racial murder or the bloody consequences of emancipation.

The Civil War was an event of seismic portions in American history. It clearly divides the 19th century into two distinct components. Both North and South went into the Civil War convinced of the rightness of their cause and of the victory that divine providence would ensure. How could a brutal war, the costliest in American history, be baptized in piety by both sides? The Civil War represented a deeply religious event in American life. Its origins lay in the unresolved moral dilemma of slavery; both sides approached the war with the fervor of a religious crusade. With its seedbed in the golden age of American democratic evangelicalism, the Civil War contributed

to the spiritual crisis of the Gilded Age.

§5-305. Gilded Age—progress and moral decline.—So named by Mark Twain, the Gilded Age was an era that occurred during the late 19th century, from the 1870s to about 1900. It was an era of rapid economic growth, especially in the Northern and Western United States. It was also an age of income inequality and economic exploitation. The era witnessed the assassination of two American presidents, the impeachment of another, an arguably stolen election, and widespread business and political corruption. American civilization was commonly described as “Christian,” but this was hardly the Christian millennium. One wit called it a dime-store millennium.

Railroads were a major growth industry, with the factory system, mining, and finance increasing in importance. Immigration from Europe and the Eastern states led to the rapid growth of the West, based on farming, ranching, and mining. Labor unions became increasingly important in the rapidly growing industrial cities. The South grew more racist and anti-intellectual. The North struggled with immigration and industrial and urban expansion. In the West, there was wide open expansion and a relentless appetite for Native American lands. African Americans, Native Americans, and Hispanics were objects of discrimination.

An optimistic sense of progress characterized the age that assumed the superiority of the white race, the Protestant faith, and the democratic system based on free enterprise. In the late 19th century, Josiah Strong, the general secretary of the Evangelical Alliance, declared that God was preparing the Anglo-Saxon race for the final competition of races and arriving at the point of representing “the largest liberty, the purest Christianity, the highest civilization” and “would fulfill its God-given destiny of dispossessing the weaker ones, assimilating others, and molding the rest so as to ‘Anglo-Saxonize’ humanity.”

§5-306. Early progressivism—reform and social action.—The so-called Progressive Era was a period of widespread social and political reform movements across the United States that spanned the 1890s to the 1920s. The main objectives of the Progressive movement were addressing problems caused by industrialization, urbanization, immigration, and political corruption. The movement primarily targeted political machines and their bosses. They also sought regulation of monopolies and corporate conglomerates through antitrust laws to promote equal competition. They also advocated for new government rules, regulations, and new agencies to conduct these reforms.

Progressives supported the prohibition of alcoholic beverages to destroy the political power of local bosses financed by their sales. They had numerous allies motivated by religious conviction. Women's suffrage movement was another arena where progressives of a secular bent formed alliances with those motivated by religious conviction.

§5-307. Windows of observation.—The topics that follow (*IV B-O of these Notes*) offer windows of observation on the rich and varied kaleidoscope that was American faith in the 19th century.

B. Impact of Revolution and Independence on Christian Faith and Practice

§5-311. In general.—The birth of the American Republic had immediate impacts on the Christian church:

- Separation of church and state;
- Infusion of democratic sentiments into religious organizations;
- Deepened idea of America as a nation chosen for a special purpose;
- Promotion of churches attuned to the needs and inclinations of common people appealing to them in a personal, voluntary way.

The War for independence was unfriendly to the church and its values. It helped to unhinge personal principles, morality, and religious practice in America. It also accelerated Enlightenment values (all the rage in the last decades of the 18th century), natural theology, and secularized thought.

§5-312. Democratic polity; voluntary associations and theology—The Revolution raised troubling organizational questions for churches. People routinely challenged trained elites and ecclesiastical hierarchies. What developed in America were not churches in the hitherto traditional sense, fundamentally confessional and territorial, but a voluntary association of like-minded individuals, united by common beliefs or the common purpose of accomplishing tangible and defined objectives. There was a multiplication of denominations around an evangelical core. These voluminous groupings bred skepticism in some circles and praise in others. Skeptics criticized the lack of organizational unity while others saw these groupings as addressing specific problems of the Christian life in their own unique way.

§5-313. Organizational traits.—These various groupings had the following common traits:

- A dominant strain of *revivalism* and a penchant for separatism. This was a hallmark of early 19th century American Christianity and we will elaborate on that in the topic Revivalism and Religious Awakenings.
- *Pragmatism*—The arcane and abstract issues of yesteryear gave way to practical insights for living honed for the common person. This was an active, success-oriented Christianity that suited the demeanor of the American republic. There was an underside to this—that serious intellectual activity was counterproductive of genuine piety. This left the church unprepared for the serious intellectual challenges that presented themselves in the latter part of the 19th century.
- *Primivitism*—Inspired by the hope of a pure and normative beginning to which return was possible (like the American republic itself which saw itself putting aside the decaying traditions of Europe), many viewed the previous history of the Church as an aberration and even a corruption that was better ignored. Many sought to return to the “New Testament church.” These attitudes brought into question the traditional function and significance of the institutional church. Creeds and church polity structures were suspect. Methodism was particularly beset with defections related to polity issues.
- *Voluntary*—This characteristic was true administratively and theologically. Churches were not the preserves of the trained elites, but open to all. In addition, there was a revolt against high Calvinism. The following limerick expressed the attitude of the era:

Know then that every soul is free
To choose his life and what he'll be
For this eternal truth is given

That God will force no man to heaven
 He'll draw, persuade, direct him right
 Bless him with wisdom, love, and light
 In nameless ways be good and kind
 But never force the human mind

Methodism prospered most from this spirit. Wesley had emphasized not being respecters of persons and proclaiming the gospel to common folk. Messages were simple and straightforward, asserting that people were free to respond or reject God's grace, often preached by lay preachers.

§5-314. Toward a new order.—The Revolution created in America the sense that events of truly apocalyptic import were unfolding before people's every eyes. Sermons abounded on Christ's second coming. People commonly saw the United States has having a unique role in bringing in the millennial kingdom. We were return to this point in noting apocalyptic tendencies in American church belief and practice throughout the 19th century.

C. Revivalism and Religious Awakenings

§5-321. In general; background.—American religious groups had a tough time after the Revolutionary War. Loyalist Anglicans fled the country reducing the Church of England to a tiny group. State governments did away with established churches. Wartime disruptions and post-war uncertainties interfered with stable religious life. Rogue groups arose as competitors to traditional Christianity—Deists, Unitarians, and Free masonry (offering a secular ritualism as an alternative to religious practice).

Out of this milieu, Christian groups staged a remarkable comeback in the first half of the 19th century. This age of revival in general and the Second Great Awakening in particular grew from three factors:

- Revivalism proved to be a vigorous way of renewing Christian reality;
- The virtue that the founders of our nation deemed essential for the stability of the Republic was asserted by religious institutions to be within their unique purview;
- American optimism about the future was promoted by the Christian millennialism of the era.

§5-322. Swelling tide of revivalism.—In the first half of the 19th century, revivals in America became a national ritual. These revivals were extensive and came to be called the Second Great Awakening. Preachers like James McGready (1758-1817) and Baron Stone (1772-1844) organized camp meetings and thundered out the gospel. Characteristics included:

- simple, lively, persuasive preaching;
- common folk emotionally turning to evangelical faith;
- independence from, or cooperation between, denominations;
- controversy between supporters and critics of revival;
- high pressure evangelism, assuming and leaning hard on people's free will.

By the 1820s, Charles Finney was introducing his “new measures” along the Erie Canal (Rome, Utica, Troy, Rochester):

- long evening meetings;
- exhortations by women;
- anxious bench;
- forthright publicity;
- direct speech;
- high pressure to act now.

By the 1850s, revivalism flourished in urban areas in America. In 1858, there were twenty daily noontime prayer meetings in New York City alone. Two thousand people jammed into Chicago's daily prayer meeting at the Metropolitan Theater. The newly formed Young Men's Christian Association helped organize union prayer services and revival meetings.

§5-323. Revivalism as technique and style of Christianity.—Attitudes about revival shifted between the First and Second Awakenings. For Jonathan Edwards, spiritual awakenings were a “surprising work of God.” For Charles Finney, “revival is not a miracle, or dependent on a miracle in any sense. It is purely philosophic result of the right use of constituted means.” The latest communication and publicity techniques were used.

Christianity colored by revivalism had certain dominant themes:

- Individual's right and ability to choose;
- Assumption that individuals understood the conversion process;
- Emphasis on the conversion “transaction.”

Conversion was a matter of an individual's choice. Americans brought religious experience to the level of common people but were much less successful at teaching people worshipful awe and wonder, the need for informed and devoted discipleship, and acknowledging that a person's destiny lies outside the individual's sovereign choices.

§5-324. Second Great Awakening.—The Second Great Awakening was a wave of revivals that swept Britain and America on and off for about fifty years. Some argue that the Awakening commenced in the mid-1780s at Hampden-Sidney College, a small institution located in Virginia. Shortly after 1800, a New England Congregational phase began at Yale under the leadership of Timothy Dwight, president of Yale and grandson of Jonathan Edwards. One-third of the student body was converted and the revival spread to Dartmouth and Williams College.

The Awakening brought a new earnestness in Christian devotion and living. Initially, it did not have the anti-intellectual overtones of later revivals. The early stages saw the founding of gospel societies that fueled a significant increase in missionary zeal and a dedication to the elimination of social evils. Women played a significant role in the Second Great Awakening; the roots of American feminism are often traced to the Awakening.

§5-325. Methodist engine.—The Methodists were the human engine behind these revivals. John and Charles Wesley were the key figures in the founding of Methodist movement. We covered their journeys in a previous course. Here, we pick up where others assumed their mantle. After the Revolution, the Methodist affiliation with the Church of England was no longer a practical option, so new ministers were ordained outside the Anglican fold. Francis Asbury was appointed superintendent of the American Methodist family. Asbury founded the Methodist Episcopal

Church at Baltimore in 1784. The Methodists in Britain reorganized in the 1790s and pulled out of the Church of England altogether.

Asbury organized circuits staffed by circuit riders who traveled year-around from meeting to meeting. Lorenzo Dow was an example of a circuit rider who operated effectively on the frontier. He rode all over the frontier, sometimes attracting crowds of close to 10,000 people. Savvy at drumming up interest, he was part revivalist and part entertainer. Frontier towns welcomed preachers like Dow as a way of dealing with and controlling the ruffians common to frontier situations.

By 1850 the Methodists were the largest Christian group in America. Wesley did not believe in predestination and held a view of sanctification that taught that one could gradually arrive at a state of Christian perfection. This led to a parting of the ways with more Calvinistic Methodists, particularly in Great Britain. Wesley and his friend and colleague, George Whitefield, agreed to disagree on a number of points of doctrine and parted ways.

§5-326. Revival on the frontier; effects.—As the awakening moved west, it grew much more emotional and much less cognitive. The Cane Ridge Revival in Kentucky in 1801 marked a significant step in that process. This was the most famous camp meeting of the Second Great Awakening. For about a week in August 1801, between 10,000 to 25,000 people poured into Cane Ridge. Camp meetings became promoters of a deeper faith. Motives for those attending varied. On the frontier, revival was about the only form of entertainment and social life available to people trying just to survive. Excesses abounded. One critic remarked that at Cane Ridge as many souls were conceived as were converted.

However, these revivals did work a marked net improvement of morals and became an important part of the social life on the frontier. Part of their success is the recognition of how these meetings met social needs of those in isolated frontier settings. Another reason for their success was the willingness to present the message simply. Lay preachers with little or no formal theological training preached at these meetings and remained to pastor churches. By the middle of the century, Methodists and Baptists were the largest denominations on the frontier, indeed in the country. A corollary of revivalism in the West is that it tended to break down the strict correspondence between ethnic origin and religious affiliation. Among new Methodists and Baptists were German ex-Lutherans, Scottish ex-Presbyterians, and Irish ex-Catholics.

§5-327. Back to basics; Restorationism.—Many charted the beginning of their spiritual pilgrimage to these revival meetings. Out of these revivals came a call for evangelical unity and a questioning of denominational particulars. They urged Christians to forsake denominational loyalties and to unite on Scripture alone.

Restorationism—Restorationism was a variety of movements to return to a simple apostolic faith. These people believed that the Methodists, so active in revival, did not go far enough in reforming Christian worship and practice. Barton Stone spearheaded one strand of the movement. Thomas and Alexander Campbell shared Stone's desire to return to a simple apostolic faith. They joined with the Presbyterians, then the Baptists, before uniting with Stone's followers in 1832. However, by the beginning of the 20th century, the restorationists had splintered beyond recognition. They divided over such things as whether it was permissible to use musical instruments in church and how much cooperation with other churches was advisable

even over endeavors like foreign missions.

§5-328. Revival preaching.—

Next Sunday, we all went to church, about three mile, everybody a-horseback. The men took their guns along, so did Buck, and kept them between their knees or stood them handy against the wall. The Shepherdsons done the same. It was pretty ornery preaching—all about brotherly love, and such-like tiresomeness; but everybody said it was a good sermon, and they all talked it over going home, and had such a powerful lot to say about faith and good works and free grace and preforeordination, and I don't know what all, that it did seem to me to be one of the roughest Sundays I had run across yet.—Mark Twain, *Huckleberry Finn*.

A significant figure in the revivalism of the day was Charles Finney. A lawyer turned preacher, he quipped to a beckoning client “I have a retainer from the Lord Jesus Christ to plead His cause, and I cannot plead yours.” Reason-centered optimism guided Finney’s approach. Finney did not think revival was a miracle but consisted in the proper exercise of the powers of nature. Finney’s “new measures” included pressuring people not to leave his meetings until they were sure of their salvation. Seekers walked the aisles and sought salvation on “anxious benches” near the platform set aside for prayer and counseling.

In his later years, Finney veered from historic Christian beliefs. Nonetheless, many people counted their spiritual births from one of his revivals or more became engaged in social reform at his urging. Finney never divorced evangelism and social reform. He openly opposed slavery, fought against social snobbery in churches, and served as president of a college that allowed both African Americans and women to attend.

The archetypal western preacher was James McGready. He was a Scotch-Irish firebrand who stressed the wrath of the Lord against stiff-necked sinners and ignited revival. This type of preaching characterized the early camp meeting experience. Eventually, the enthusiasm surrounding these meetings cooled, but the concept of the camp meeting stayed with evangelicalism, only moving indoors and continuing its winning ways in rural chapels and urban auditoriums.

The “High” Church was critical of this firebrand revivalism, but the revivalists continued westward, preaching the gospel, planting churches, and founding colleges. Revivalism began running into a persistent issue, the South’s peculiar institution, especially as it attempted to spread westward. How could democracy infused with Christian principles continue to sanction the enslavement of millions of people?

§5-329. Later revivalism.—In the second half of the 19th century, professional evangelists assumed leadership of the revival movement. In the 1850s, Joseph Lanphier transformed a poorly attended daily prayer meeting in New York City into a noonday prayer phenomenon that regularly drew 10,000 people to various assemblies throughout the city’s boroughs. Dwight Moody (1837-1899) was a particularly winsome evangelist and preacher.

§5-330. Revivalism and social reform.—Evangelical revivalism emphasized internal spiritual transformation and for the converts to take their newfound piety into the world. Prominent

evangelists of the Second Great Awakening were leading social and political activists of their day. Revivalists were active in the abolitionist and temperance movements. They also launched organizations to fund and staff foreign missions around the world.

Slavery was the hottest of these issues and will be considered under the heading “Slavery, Civil War, and Its Aftermath”. Evangelicals were particularly interested in the pervasive problem of alcoholism and various issues that surrounded it. Temperance societies sprung up around the country throughout the century. Their relentless advocacy led to the adoption of the ill-fated Eighteenth Amendment in 1919.

§5-331. Awakenings in Canada.—During the years between the American Revolution and the War of 1812, evangelists and circuit riders regularly traveled between Ontario and New York. The War of 1812 put a stop to this border traffic and Canadian evangelicals became connected with their British cousins. What that practically meant was a more hierarchical and centralized system of church governance, a move away from emotional camp meetings, and an emphasis on conversions over time rather than of the lightning bolt variety.

§5-332. Challenges to revivalism.—Divisions resulted in denominations based on support or opposition to the revival. Typically, the Baptists and Methodists led the way adopting a periodic revival into their mainstream agenda. Presbyterians often reacted against revivalism, even taking punitive action against participating ministers. In New England, the New Haven school vigorously opposed the high Calvinism of the Princeton school and its vehement opposition to revivalism. It characterized the Calvinist critique as opposing the work of God in the name of God.

D. Slavery, Civil War, and its Aftermath

§5-341. In general; early struggles of conscience.—There were early stances against slavery among American Christians. As early as 1769, Rhode Island Baptists spoke out against slavery. John Woolman, in his *Journal*, described the devoted and successful efforts to expel slaveholders from the Quakers in 1776. In 1784, the Methodists banned slaveholding among members when the American Methodists organized as a separate church. Regional Baptist groups took similar action. The American Anti-Slavery Society was founded in 1833. Inspired by people like William Garrison, the editor of the *Liberator*, the poet John Whittier, the educator Jonathan Blanchard, and the novelist Harriet Beecher Stowe (author of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*), the group campaigned against slavery through the middle decades of the 19th century.

Over time, Christian denominations wavered on this question. Only the Quakers remained firm in that commitment. Methodists and Baptists moderated their stance to attract slave-holding whites in the South and to be able to preach to slaves. Initially, anti-slave sentiment was nearly as strong in the South as in the North. However, over time that changed. Abolitionism grew strong in the North where slavery had little economic impact, while the opposite occurred in the South whose economy was increasingly dependent upon slavery.

§5-342. Christianity among the slaves.—The African slave traffic destroyed people’s cultural networks, depriving them of any personal dignity or of any sense of place in the world. Christianity gave the slave a new center for his or her life in a new place. By the middle of the

18th century, slave Christianity began to develop as the slaves adapted the surrounding evangelical culture to the remnants of their African culture. Many slaves became devout Christians in the early revivals of the 19th century. Camp meetings spread an emotional, conversion-oriented evangelical Protestantism across the South with the slaves as least welcomed as converts.

Methodists and Baptists, both initially foes of slavery, realized that their abolitionist stance closed them off from preaching to the slaves. They saw their duty to spread the gospel as requiring them to moderate their abolitionist sentiments. Baptists and Methodists allowed for and sometimes even welcomed African American worshipers. Sometimes African American churches were organized as adjuncts to a parent church and were allowed to elect their leaders, chose their own ministers, and shape their own religious lives with a minimum of white supervision. This changed whenever an uprising occurred. The last two decades of the antebellum period saw the development of a vigorous outreach to slaves. They heard the gospel along with a very paternalistic message of control: obey your masters.

On plantations throughout the South, secret worship meetings happened in forest clearings described as “hush arbors.” These meetings often meshed Christian practices with practices inherited from their African ancestors. Slaves met in the woods at night or on Sunday afternoons. Emotional expression, movement, and spirited hymn singing (the black spirituals) were part of these meetings. While this underground religion was usually orthodox, especially in the spirituals, more native African customs and beliefs were mixed in. In their self-identification with the Hebrew people enslaved in Egypt, the slaves discovered a self-respect and sometimes a feeling of moral superiority. Forgiveness and a sense of self-worth provided strength of character to endure slavery without being enslaved psychologically.

Until early in the 19th century, evangelical groups allowed blacks to preach to people of their own race. Baptists and Methodists even licensed these preachers until the state legislatures began to crack down in the 1810s. As the century progressed the slave codes grew more and more repressive. By 1820, most black congregations were under the authority of white congregations and denominations. However, in practice, these groups would often delegate preaching and pastoral responsibilities to black preachers and elders.

Certain themes emerge from early slave worship:

- Divine authority—Leaders arose claiming God’s authority to teach the Christian message. Claims of direct revelation from God himself were a way to get around the restrictions imposed by dominant groups.
- Pre-slavery religious traditions—It is impossible to know for sure how much African religious tradition retained from its pre-Christian, pre-slavery past. However, slave owners frequently complained of their slaves engaging in “devil worship.”
- Early on, evangelical preachers who were eager to preach to the slaves were extremely critical of slavery as an institution. However, these missionaries were pragmatists and made compromises with sinful institutional structures to spread their message.

By the 19th century, slave holders began to change their mind about Christian missionaries, whom they initially opposed. During this century, ministers and missionaries became apologists for slavery. They argued that slavery was a covenant between master and slave with

mutual responsibilities. The slave was to obey, and the master was to be kind. Emancipation might one day occur if God willed it, but it was not the place of Christians to try to change the social order.

§5-343. Slave religion and rebellion.—Sometimes, prayer meetings provided cover for plotting rebellion as was the case in Gabriel’s rebellion near Richmond, Virginia in 1800. The most famous slave revolt in America was Nat Turner’s rebellion in 1831. He led seventy followers in an uprising that killed approximately sixty white people. Close to two hundred black people were killed in the savage backlash.

§5-344. Growing Christian opposition to slavery.—Opposition arose to the South's “peculiar institution”. The attack on slavery took on force in the North as a campaign of conscience. Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1858) was something of a verbal earthquake, an ink-and-paper tidal wave. Her portrayal of chattel slavery as undercutting slave families despite the best intentions of even Christian masters, set forth the heavy cost of slavery even in its most benign form. Slave revolts raised regional tensions, viewed by Southerners as incited by militant Northern abolitionists.

A primary fountain of evangelical sentiment against slavery was the preaching of Charles Finney. One of Finney’s followers, Theodore Weld, led an impassioned crusade against slavery. His powerful writings, such as *The Bible Against Slavery* and *Slavery As It Is* were very influential. It became the inspiration for Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*. Evangelicals, thinking in terms of Christian America and seeing the nation having a key role in the unfolding divine plan for the ages, increasingly saw slavery as a sin that must be purged. The Nation’s soul must be cleansed to avert the divine scourging of the body politic.

§5-345. Southern society and the defense of slavery.—It’s hard for moderns to understand how Southern Christians in that era could defend slavery. Before 1830, there was a sense of optimism that slavery would die out because it would cease to be profitable. However, all that optimism changed when cotton became the new cash crop, making the use of slave labor enormously profitable. A massive increase in slavery occurred in the antebellum South—from 700,000 in 1790 to 3.5 million in 1860. In addition, the growing anxiety of slave revolts fueled Southern fear. Vigorous enforcement of the slave status quo was vital to life and limb.

Southern ideology suited their economic needs and addressed their racial fears. Biblical narrative describing slavery were read as approving it rather than as instruction for dealing with a cultural reality.

- Racial difference theory formed one part of this ideology. Romanticism glorified racial and national identities. Hierarchies of races subordinated Africans and biblical texts twisted to establish African inferiority, fitting them only for enslavement.
- Patriarchal and Mosaic acceptance of slavery was cited as biblical approval of the institution.
- The fact that the apostles never demanded the emancipation of slaves was frequently cited.
- Paul's advice in Ephesians 6 that slaves should obey their masters was repeatedly stressed.
- A condescending paternalism was part of the defense, defending slavery as a household

institution.

- Others defended it on pure economic grounds. They even argued that Southern slavery was more socially responsible than the wage-slavery of the northern factory workers.

§5-346. Divisions in Christian denominations over slavery.—Sectional strife over slavery took its toll on Protestant denominations. Several denominations divided over attempts to end slavery by religious persuasion or compulsion. The Methodists divided in 1844. Founded in 1845, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South defended slavery as beneficial. The Baptist divided in 1845 over the national convention's refusal to appoint slave-holding missionaries. Southern churches organized the Southern Baptist Convention. As early as 1837, “Old School” Presbyterians and “New School” Presbyterians reflected sectional tensions. New School membership centered in the free states and old school in the South. The Episcopal and Catholic Churches valiantly tried to avoid the controversy. American churches were unable to serve as instruments of moderation and compromise. In the two decades leading up to the Civil War, churches in the North and South shored up cultural positions with theological arguments.

§5-347. Reconstruction and its aftermath.—After the war, Reconstruction was contested bitterly in the South. Groups such as the Klu Klux Klan, formed and supported by a number of Southern Christians, fostered fear with violence. Southern pulpits often joined the fray with questionable biblical exegesis and unprincipled rhetoric. There was a backlash against African Americans given positions of responsibility by Northern administrators.

When Reconstruction ended, Southern whites moved quickly and effectively to restrict the rights and power of African Americans. Jim Crow laws, touting “separate but equal” treatment of the races, filled state statutory codes. Southern white churches continued racist practices and teachings, encouraging African Americans to leave the fold. They did so, forming their own churches (e.g. Black Methodists formed the Christian (originally “Colored”) Methodist Episcopal Church). A similar experience of racism and separate identity occurred in the North.

Black churches grew to be one of the principal institutions in African American society. For a century after the Civil War, most African American leaders were also pastors. The Church contributed to a sense of identity and cohesion and would be the backbone of the civil rights movement in the mid-20th century.

§5-348. Post-Civil War Black churches.—After their emancipation following the Civil War, the black community had to contend with three other significant obstacles: lack of education; poverty; and racial prejudice. After the Civil War, African Americans were quickly forced into economic dependence, usually as sharecroppers. Rising from such rural poverty was extremely difficult. The South remained determined to be a white person's country. After Reconstruction ended in 1877, African Americans were soon “put in their place”.

In this hostile setting, black churches and Christianity played a significant role. A de-facto segregation was the rule in the South, institutionalizing white refusal to relate with black people in anything resembling equality. For blacks, separation was essential for their ecclesiastical independence from white control.

Black churches included over 40% of the black population by World War I. Sweeping observations were made: “In the South, at least, practically every American black is a church

member.” And again, “A proscribed people must have a social center, and that center for this people is the black church.” Ministry was virtually the only profession open to talented blacks and churches the only institution controlled by blacks. Black churches were, on the surface, much like the Baptist and Methodist churches from which they sprung. However, there were distinct differences:

- Afro-Americans did not hear Christian teaching in the abstract categories of Greek thought or the controversies of the Western world. They were more immediately biblical.
- Their faith was more spontaneous, and their services were especially responsive. There was an antiphonal character to worship, a creative dialogue between preacher and congregation.
- They were extremely sensitive to the mysteries of God's providential care with the hope of heaven front and center.
- From their vantage point of being poor and oppressed, they often heard and responded more clearly to Christian responsibility to people in need.

The same forces of industrialization and secularization that were transforming America challenged the black community. The black church struggled during the migration north for jobs in the cities. Churches were often reshaped by the unsettling conditions and competition of the free enterprise system without the social support of tight-knit rural communities. Holiness and Pentecostal groups of bewildering varieties sprung up among black churches providing channels of emotional expression for the migrants. The most famous and eccentric was Father Divine (1879-1965) who claimed to be God incarnate and rose to fame in Brooklyn and Harlem in the 1920s and 1930s. However, publicity exaggerated this trend. Approximately two-thirds of black churches followed orthodox Baptist beliefs, while the majority of the remaining third adhered firmly to Methodist traditions.

E. Immigration and the Immigrant Church

§5-351. In general.—There were waves of immigration from Europe to the United States late in the 18th century and throughout the 19th century. This reality had far-reaching effects on the shape of Christianity in the United States. At the local level, each group of immigrants saw the church as a means of preserving its culture and tradition. On the national level, there were power struggles between various groups, each wanting to be governed by a hierarchy that understood and represented it.

§5-352. Engine of religious pluralism.—The 1790 census revealed that British Protestantism was the common heritage of 85% of white Americans. The influx of immigrants in the 19th century tested the boundaries of religious liberty. The majority of the newcomers were Roman Catholics from Ireland and Germany. Later in the century, Jewish immigration contributed to the growing religious diversity.

§5-353. Roman Catholic growth.—Catholicism grew rapidly due to immigration. At the time of American independence, Catholicism was a small minority but grew to a substantial contingent by the mid to late 19th century. This growth engendered a strong reaction on the part of Protestants who saw Roman Catholicism's hierarchical understanding of authority and its assertion of the rights and privileges of Latin Christendom as a threat to American pluralism and religious independence.

The history of the Catholic Church in America from 1865 to the new immigration legislation of 1924 is, in large part, the story of one of the largest migration of peoples in history. At the time of the Civil War there were approximately 30 million people in the United States. By 1930, the same number of new people migrated to the States. The majority of these were at least nominally Catholic. The Catholic Church in the United States grew from 3 million in 1860 to about 20 million in 1930.

§5-354. —Cultural conflicts.—There was a virulent nativism in 19th century America. The “Know-Nothings” of the 1850s was an entire new political party sworn to defend America from foreigners and Catholics. That odd conjunction was not so odd in the mid-19th century. At that time, the Catholic Church was unmistakably foreign. Protestants saw these foreign Catholics as untrained or unable to think for themselves and easy prey for demagogues, not to mention the autocratic foreign Papacy. There was a general suspicion of Catholic American loyalties.

The Pope's Syllabus of Errors issued in 1864 was an embarrassment to American Catholics as was Vatican I's declaration of papal infallibility in 1870. Nowhere else in the world did so many Catholics live without some support of the State. American Catholics and international figureheads thought that such a situation was not normal, fanning Protestant fears that massive migration would eventually lead to a Catholic political takeover. The growing education mission of the Catholic Church, covering everything from the earliest school years through universities, further ensured the continuing separation and integrity of Catholic traditions.

Protestants were at times gripped in fear of a great Catholic conspiracy, never dreaming of how precarious the Catholic Church in America really was. It was the Catholic parochial school system that became a focal point in this cauldron. People's deepest convictions about life are internalized, defended, and propagated by their educational institutions. Catholics saw Protestants doing this in sectarian schools and in the budding public-school movement. Public schools promoted generic Protestantism. Protestants saw the parochial school system as evidence of Catholics not integrating into the mainstream American culture.

§5-355. —Ethnic conflicts.—Apart from Protestant hostility, the main difficulty facing American Catholics was their own ethnic diversity. Strong ethnic loyalties brought divisions, often exasperated by historical memories. These loyalties not only fragmented Catholics, but they also served to impede assimilation into the American mainstream and to preserve ethnic customs in little pocket communities across the American landscape.

Ethnic groups not only divided among each other, but also among themselves. In each ethnicity, two parties developed—one that favored Americanization and the other that was convinced that any concession to American ways was not just an ethnic betrayal but a betrayal of the faith itself.

§5-356. Protestant migration.—Protestant immigration was largely from northern Europe—Germany, Scandinavia, and Holland. Protestant churches played a pivotal role in helping immigrants meet the challenges of their unfamiliar environment. Immigrant communities tended to be conservative, preserving traits of the religious life of the homeland. Most northern Europeans moved into the farmlands of the Midwest, a factor that tended to contribute further to their religious conservatism. The largest Protestant immigration group was Lutheran While tending to fray into factions, Lutherans manifested a deep commitment to the Augsburg Confession and preserved their identity with separate school systems.

The Dutch Reformed and German Reformed also grew in this era. Among the Dutch a series of schisms in both Holland and America led to the formation of the Christian Reformed Church in 1857. This was a separatist and conservative body, strictly confessional, built on a substantial ethnic subculture, and developing a thoroughgoing educational system. The Mennonites and the Moravians also grew through immigration.

§5-357. Communal experiments.—Many immigrants brought with them an ideal of life in a religious community governed by gospel principles and distinct from society at large. The 19th century American countryside was dotted with experiments in communal living undertaken by Mennonites and other Anabaptists, Moravians, German Pietists, and other groups. We will have more to say about this under the topic heading, Social and Moral Reform.

F. Industrialization and Urbanization

§5-361. In general.—This was a century of industrial revolution and rapid urban development. The Industrial Revolution flowed from four developments:

- substitution of machines for hand labor in producing commodities;
- substitution of artificial power for human, wind, or animal power;
- organization of labor into factory systems; and
- funding of enterprises through commercial capitalism.

The Industrial Revolution had far-reaching effects on American life and on American religious practice.

§5-362. First phase.—The first phase of the Industrial Revolution concentrated on textiles and other consumer goods. Britain led the way in the mid-18th century, these developments came to the United States about fifty years later in the early 19th century. America moved from being a rural farming society to a highly industrial urban one. One historian went so far to say: “the American boy of 1854 stood nearer to the year 1 than to the year 1900.” The influx of foreign industrial workers significantly increased urban crowding.

§5-363. Second phase.—Second Industrial Revolution dates from the aftermath of the Civil War. Powered by steel, steam, electricity, and oil, this revolution was synonymous with rapid urban development. It led to previously undreamed levels of productivity, trade, and investment as well a serious disruption to social realities and to traditional patterns of thought.

§5-364. Dramatic late century expansion.—America industrialized rapidly after the Civil War and by 1900, was one of the three leading industrial powers (Britain and Germany were the other two). There were natural advantages for industrial growth:

- Americans at this time in history tended to have an optimistic and venturesome outlook.
- There was a tradition of arduous work. Many have waxed eloquent on the Protestant work ethic in the America of that day.
- An enterprising spirit abounded.
- Legal arena for amenable to maximum growth. Governmental regulation was quite minimal.
- America abounded in natural resources and in available labor pools.
- Rapid development of means of transportation and communication enhanced industrial

growth.

In the late 19th century, the scale of American industry increased dramatically. Rockefeller in oil, Carnegie in iron and steel, Vanderbilt in railroads created massive corporations, integrated vertically and then horizontally until they dominated entire sectors of the American economy. As industrialization accelerated, society became accustomed to successive improvements and inventions. Thomas Edison (1847-1931) was among the inventor-geniuses of the era (light bulb, gramophones, motion pictures). He held 1,328 patents at the time of his death.

However, all was far from peachy. The downside of this rapid development was that industry became increasingly anonymous. Workers were trapped in low-paying, dangerous, and monotonous jobs. They became resentful and began organizing trade unions. Income inequalities were enormous and inner city working conditions pitiful.

§5-365. American colonialism.—The rapid growth of industry and agriculture in the Gilded Age made America wealthy and created the possibility and incentive for a more aggressive national foreign policy. Theodore Roosevelt favored the creation of an American colonial empire to rival those of the European powers. War with Spain in 1898 resulted in American protectorates in Cuba and the Philippines. Land in Panama was ceded to America and the Panama Canal built between 1903 and 1914, connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

As in Europe, the American public supported this policy of imperialism. Nationalism, the competitive state system, Social Darwinian and racist sentiments, and economic concerns fueled the frenzy. Industrial and technological modernization provided an opportunity that Europeans and Americans convinced themselves must be seized.

G. Social and Moral Reform

§5-371. In general.—Americans were optimistic and eager for reform throughout most of the 19th century. There was something of a crusader mentality, especially early in the century. Americans believed that the American experiment was unparalleled in human history and that it would lead to further improvement of humanity. Suspicion of the effects of material success on public virtue proved to be a fertile ground for reform movements.

With a heady confidence, Americans organized scores of reform societies dedicated to causes such as the emancipation of the slaves, temperance, peace, women's rights, missions, educational reform, and penal reform. It was that kind of age on both sides of the Atlantic (William Wilberforce was a member of sixty-nine benevolent societies). The earliest Christian reform societies hoped to free the poor and oppressed from sin and suffering. The rescue mission movement began serving the down-and-out with food, clothes, and lodging.

§5-372. Benevolent societies.—Benevolent societies organized to target various social reform movements populated the American landscape. Earnest Christians led the way. American evangelicals used William Carey's idea of the voluntary society to exert influence on public opinion, to provide support for far-reaching missionary and educational activities, and to spread reform ideals. Adoniram Judson helped organize the first missionary society in 1810, Samuel Mills launched the American Bible Society in 1816 and the American Colonization Society in 1817. Justin Edwards organized the New England Tract Society in 1814, and the American Tract

Society in 1825. Edwards was later involved in organizing a temperance group in 1826. Louis Dwight gave his energy to penal reform. Arthur and Lewis Tappan were the principal supporters of Charles Finney and his evangelistic campaigns and gave generously to a host of social reform efforts. The Tappans also represented a tendency in some wings of this spirit of reform in that the high call of God came to be replaced by one fundamentally concerned with the happiness and welfare of people, the growth of the institutional Church, and the moral order which reflected the ethics but no longer the theology of evangelicalism.

§5-373. Radical social reform.—Antebellum Americans questioned traditional social arrangements and envisioned various ways to improve both individuals and society. What would seem bizarre to us now, seemed plausible then. There was a sense of the absence of limits, of boundless potentiality. Perfectionist projects were launched by both devoutly religious people and thoroughly secular ones.

§5-374. —Communal experiments.—Many of these reforming types saw the threat to purity so great as to require withdrawal from society. Many social improvement movements were religious and separatist. The Shakers practiced absolute celibacy and subordination to the teachings of Mother Ann Lee. The Millerites believed that they would be raptured out of the world by the Second Coming of Jesus Christ in 1843. The Mormons organized their own colony in Illinois and then withdrew further West.

Secular reform movements called for a rethinking of American participation in market capitalism, education, diet, and women's rights. Economic reform involved working people's parties, Horace Mann led education reform, and Sylvester Graham and W.K. Kellogg promoted dietary reform. Temperance was the target of choice for a host of reformers. Secular reform colonies were formed, including Brook Farm, a Transcendentalist experiment in communal living, and Northampton Association, organized an industrial, non-capitalist, economic cooperative. Oberlin, Ohio was established simultaneously as a colony and an educational institution, grounded in a philosophy that emphasized self-sufficient manual labor.

§5-375. —Outstanding examples.—Some outstanding examples of community reform projects included:

- *Oneida*—John Noyes (1811-1886) organized a perfectionist community at Oneida, New York, which grew to more than 250 and lasted from 1838 to 1881. In addition, there were five smaller offshoots. These communities attempted to implement what amounted to biblical communism. Elements included mutual criticism, divine healing, male continence, complex marriage, eugenic experimentation, and theocratic democracy. There were charges of adultery which caused Noyes to move his initial community to Oneida in 1848 and then to escape to Canada in 1879. His unprecedented experiment in human breeding to produce a superior spiritual generation ended in Oneida's dissolution in 1881.
- *New Harmony* on the Wabash River in Indiana was the site of a religious utopian community of New Harmony (1814-1824) and a secular one of Owenites (1825-1827). It was founded by eight hundred communitarian Separatists from Germany, disciples of Johann Rapp (1757-1847). He and his followers drew inspiration and unity from biblical prophecy. The community grew restless with the long delay in the coming of the millennium and with an unstable economy. They sold out to Robert Owen in 1824 and moved to Economy, Pennsylvania. Owen's experiment drew hundreds of utopians and

developed and maintained an international reputation decades after the community dissolved in 1827. For all its notoriety, the Owenite community only lasted three years and experienced frequent dissension and twelve different constitutions.

§5-376. Reform movements growing out of the Industrial Revolution.—As the century progressed, reform movements responded to concerning growing out of the Industrial Revolution. Urban poverty, among other causes, drove a crisis of conscience for American Protestantism. An explosion of industrial development, laissez-faire economics, convictions about self-help, and a deep distrust and dislike for the union movement combined to hinder effective legislative action to address the root problem. However, evangelistic efforts brought evangelicals in touch with the urgency of supplementing preaching with simple charity. A Danish immigrant, Jacob Riis, wrote *How the Other Half Lives*, shocking Victorian sensibilities with his account of slum conditions in New York City.

Radical protest groups also stirred things up. Secular and religious reformers were grappling with the results of the Industrial Revolution, which permitted a wealthy few to extract enormous profit from the land and the working poor while traditional communities and ways of life seemed to be coming apart at the seams. From the 1830s on, a series of Christian activists and theologians tried to reform the church's approach to social problems.

§5-377. Urbanization and urban missions.—Increased industrialization during and after the Civil War and expanded immigration from southern and eastern Europe after 1890 provided unskilled labor for the mills, mines, and factories of the Guided Age in America. Cities like Chicago and Detroit grew immensely during this time, creating new problems and beckoning the church to new ministries. Youths often neglected their religious life in urban environments that provided anonymity to them. Immigrant laborers settled in inner city squalor while native groups fled to developing suburbs. Urban life tended to foster a growing secularism in America.

As early as 1850, churches founded city rescue missions to meet the physical and spiritual needs of urban down and outs. The YMCA first appeared in America in Boston in 1851. The YWCA was operating missions by the 1860s. The Water Street Mission founded in 1872 was among the most famous of these missions. The Salvation Army began working in American cities shortly after its founding in England.

§5-378. Institutional church movement.—The institutional church movement arose. This movement was an attempt to provide for the entire life of the individual. Gymnasiums, libraries, dispensaries, lecture and social halls, sewing rooms, auditoriums and other necessities for meeting the physical, spiritual, and social needs of people sprung up under the auspices of the church. Thomas Beecher's Park Church in Elmira, New York was one of the first pioneers of the institutional church movement. Russell Conwell's Baptist Temple in Philadelphia adopted institutional practices in 1891 and gradually grew into what we now know as Temple University. Goodwill Industries originated in Edgar Helms' church in Boston around 1900.

§5-379. Revivalism and Sunday School.—Urban revivalism adapted the camp meeting to meet the needs of the urban setting. D.L. Moody led the way. He conducted meetings in cities on both sides of the Atlantic for many years. He had many colleagues, and revival became a significant aspect of the American urban landscape.

The Sunday School movement was a good example of home missions in operation. This movement became the most important and effective means of reaching the unchurched. Often entire families were reached through their children. Sunday School classes for adults became de-facto agencies for evangelism. “Each one win one” was much more than just a motto. In some denominations, the movement grew so influential that Sunday School superintendents rivaled ministers in influence.

The Christian Endeavor Society was launched in 1881 to “promote earnest Christian life” and to provide training for Christian service. Weekly devotional meetings and monthly larger meetings for special consecration formed the hub of persistent activity and concern for devoted discipleship. The organization grew so rapidly that it could claim 3 million members in the years shortly before World War I.

§5-380. Early activists.—Frederick Denison Maurice was one of the first-generation Christian activists. His vision was one of Christian socialism, which he understood as calling the national church to its social mission to help the poor and enable their education and their organization to defend their own interests. Revolution was in the air in 1848, across the continent of Europe. In Britain, activists called the Chartists presented the People’s Charter to Parliament, demanding universal suffrage and other reforms to strengthen the voice of the people. Maurice’s collaboration with the Chartists and others led to the creation of the Working Men’s College in 1854. While Maurice’s vision of Christian socialism floundered, it did influence a second generation of activists, the leaders of the Social Gospel movement.

H. Woman and Reform

§5-381. In general; expanding roles.—In the mid-19th century America, convention ascribed to women gifts of gentleness, patience, and sensitivity and prescribed women’s sphere to be in the home. During the Civil War, many more women became active outside the home. That experience encouraged women to take more direct action in missions, benevolence, and social causes in the latter part of the 19th century. Various women’s benevolent associations aided those who were alone and helped the displaced rebuild their families.

§5-382. Women’s causes.—Evangelical Protestantism in the 19th century was hospitable to first-wave feminism, particularly on the mission field and in social reform movements at home. Women engaged in many 19th century reform causes including abolition and temperance movements, foreign missions, pure food and drug campaigns, and labor issues such as the 8-hour day, protection of women workers, and the regulation of child labor. The activity that attracted the greatest number of church women was the temperance movement and turned into a campaign for Prohibition. The Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) was formed in 1874 and carried the Prohibition banner until the enactment of the 18th Amendment in 1919.

Women were everywhere in these reform movements, church-based volunteer work, abolitionist societies, Sunday School campaigns, tract societies, and various moral reform groups. Estimates place women as making up 55-70% of church attendance in the 19th century. Woman played a huge role in the abolitionist movement. One of William Wilberforce’s key collaborators was Hannah More, who was his chief publicist. She vividly portrayed the horrors of slavery appealing to human empathy. Another abolitionist, the Quaker, Elizabeth Heyrick, aimed at people’s pocketbooks. She attempted to persuade merchants to stop stocking sugar and other

products produced by the slave plantations of the West Indies. Her writing made a significant impact on the tireless abolitionist advocate, William Lloyd Garrison.

Frances Willard led the WCTU from 1879 to 1898. She was an ambitious feminist that expanded the WCTU agenda to include social programs like the 8-hour working day, prison reform, women's suffrage, and women's rights around the globe. Their least successful major reform campaign was the crusade for sabbath observance. Women's groups viewed both the Sabbatarian and temperance movements in terms of personal morality and as important social reforms.

§5-383. Gender and culture on the mission field.—From 1861 to 1894, women founded women's missionary societies in thirty-three denominations as well as seventeen groups focused on evangelism in the United States. Stories of the relative independence of women's ministry on the mission field began to alarm male church authorities and in the middle of the fundamentalist-modernist controversy in the 1920s and 1930s, many churches and organizations began to crack down on allowing women to train and serve in various capacities on the missions field. It was not until the 1970s that a countertrend began. The rationale presented was that evangelicalism had historically supported various progressive causes, prompting inquiries into the underlying reasons for its shift in direction.

§5-384. Roles in the institutional church.—Early Christian feminism became a vital feature of Protestantism. Women did begin challenging their extremely limited role in institutional churches. They were allowed to preach and be ordained in newer holiness groups. Protestant women tended to don the mantle of the prophetess. One was Joanna Southcott, who passed through Methodism and founded an apocalyptic movement with female leadership. Others included two charismatic Scottish sisters, Isabella and Mary Campbell, whose display of the “gifts of the Spirit” provided the first glimpses of the modern Pentecostal movement.

However, opportunities emerged slowly in mainline denominations. In 1853, the first woman outside of the counter-cultural Quakers was ordained as a minister of a Congregational Church in New York. The Methodist Episcopal Church created the office of deaconess in 1888. That denomination allowed women to be ordained as local preachers in 1924 and as ministers in 1954. Presbyterians changed more slowly, allowing women to be ordained deacons in 1922 and as ruling elders in 1930. Even with these advances, women who felt called to the ministry often faced opposition from family and friends. Even in the earliest receptive churches, such as the Congregational Church and the Methodist Protestant Church, few women were ordained before 1920.

In an interesting irony, advancement in opening church offices to women paralleled a comparative loss of roles in the benevolent and mission societies. Several denominations placed previously autonomous women's missions' organizations under the control of male dominated denominational missions boards. Control of benevolent associations also shifted out of the hands of women in the early 1900s. These organizations became professionalized, they began to hire trained social workers, and women's involvement diminished significantly.

I. Modern Learning's Impact on 19th American Faith

1. Evolutionary biology

§5-391. In general.—Two ideas rocked the American Christian world in this era: the theory of evolution and critical biblical scholarship. Liberal and evangelical Protestantism began to part ways in this encounter with modern learning. The fundamentalist-modernist divide would follow in the early part of the 20th century. Evolutionary science (Darwinian biology) and aggressive conclusions from historical-critical literary methods were the primary sources of this growing divide. Evolution was set over and against biblical creation. Furthermore, the Bible began to be regarded as a collection of texts written at various times by different authors, distinct from those traditionally credited, and as a record of the religious experiences of its people. This view was set against the idea of the Bible as the inspired Word of God.

§5-392. Darwin's evolutionary theory.—Darwin published *On the Origin of Species* in 1859. The book put forward the theory of natural selection. In each generation of plant or animal species, chance variants make one offspring slightly different from another. If a variant promotes the survival of an individual then it is more likely to pass on through reproduction. Over time, favorable variation will be increasingly common, until eventually it will mark a new species. Darwin's innovation was twofold: (1) he offered a theory of the mechanism by which this competition and species variation happens; and (2) he theorized how this process could occur by chance, no designer required.

§5-393. Science-faith controversy.—Darwin shied away from stating explicitly what his theory might mean for Christian belief. In private, his writing varied, sometimes referring to a divine creator and other times are agnostic. However, Darwin's followers aggressively pushed the theory of natural selection with a full-frontal assault on organized religion.

Christian thinkers found ways to assimilate Darwin's theory into their worldview. Some argued that Darwin had done the church a favor by helping answer how a benevolent God could have created such a savage world of merciless competition. However, others increasingly linked evolutionary theory with what they saw as the blasphemous writings of biblical critics. Both undermined the traditional interpretation of Scripture and, if anything, made the problem of evil even more insoluble. If sin cannot be attributed to Adam and Eve, then one must consider alternative explanations for its origin.

§5-394. Effects.—Darwinism hit evangelical Protestantism extremely hard in two ways:

- It questioned the accuracy of the Bible and discredited the Genesis account of the special creation of God. It invited the application of the evolutionary paradigm to the Bible's formation and to the development of Christian faith and religion. The application of an evolutionary paradigm was used to reduce the Scriptures from being the Word of God to people to the mere record of the religious experiences of an ancient people. It suggested that sin was either not significant or simply an animal instinct from which humanity was evolving.
- It reversed perceptions of religion and science. In the early 19th century, Christian apologists rested their case on arguments from design. It was irrational to think that so complex and orderly a system could lack an intelligent designer. Darwinism posited just the opposite and gained credence as the scientific view.

2. Biblical criticism

§5-401. German theological scholarship.—David Friedrich Strauss published *The Life of Jesus Critically Examined* in 1835. In that book, he asserted that both the rationalists and traditional Christians got Jesus all wrong. The Gospel stories recorded events that looked like miracles. However, these Jesus stories were myths. These events did not really happen. They tell us more about the worldview of the apostles than about Jesus himself. Strauss was a product of an educational initiative that would contribute to a “modern” German civilization. They wanted a “scientific” investigation of subjects, independent of religious authorities and precedents. The aim of this scientific inquiry, or *Wissenschaft*, was to push the boundaries of human knowledge and to question everything. The methodology employed by biblical scholars such as Strauss is referred to as higher biblical criticism.

§5-402. Modernism's impact.—Some wanted to import the German model wholesale. Others believed the German model was an arrogant disaster waiting to happen. Nevertheless, Strauss changed the way scholars approached the study of the Bible. In addition, the modern university model promoted in Germany became the adopted one in Europe and eventually in America.

§5-403. Liberal mindset.—Liberals adapted and modified Christianity to modern intellectual trends. Liberalism or Modernism saw itself as a movement designed to save Protestantism. People brought up to unquestioningly accept the full authority of the Bible and the truths of evangelical teaching found themselves in a world where such beliefs were not intellectually acceptable. Many leaders of the liberal movement were brought up in well-to-do evangelical homes and formed early and close attachments to the faith, although usually lacking dramatic conversion experiences. Inevitably, their educational journeys brought them to the point of thinking they must abandon Christianity or modify it to maintain intellectual respectability. In the early 20th century, liberalism or Modernism became firmly established in many of the foremost theological seminaries.

§5-404. Characteristics of the mindset.—The movement had the following characteristics:

- Deifying historical process—God revealed himself in history and was incarnate in the development of humanity. The Bible was not the inspired Word of a transcendent God so much as it the record of the religious experiences of an ancient people. It was not an encyclopedia of doctrine or dogma but an ancient model of religious life. Darwinism provided the model for theological thinking. Darwin explained biological development through natural processes, so liberal theologians explained religious development in history and society.
- Stressing the ethical—The key to Christianity is life not doctrine. The liberals thought Christianity would be preserved by emphasizing its ethical principles. Whatever would fall before the withering blasts of all-confident criticism, the ethics of Jesus would survive. Moral lessons predominated in Sunday School materials. The focus was on faith through Christian nurture rather than a conversion experience.
- Centrality of religious feelings—Religious feelings were considered fundamental to Christian faith. Following Schleiermacher, liberals thought that the basis of religion was the feeling of absolute dependence. They contrasted heart-felt religious sentiment with cold, pugnacious reason and dogma.

§5-405. Emphases varied.—Various individuals emphasized what they wanted to emphasize. Henry Ward Beecher was content with economic orthodoxy and social Darwinism and rejected

the more aggressive liberal Protestant beliefs. Walter Rauschenbusch and Washington Gladden were thorough going modernists and social reformers. George Herron argued for Christian socialism and accused America (and its capitalist dynamic) of being a fallen nation. Corporate, economic, and social sins were what hit the liberal radar screen. Individual sin was downplayed or even denied.

§5-406. Conservative reaction to Modernism.—Many of the Lord's people, albeit shaken by secular science and the assured findings of radical critics, continued in their belief in the fundamental reliability of the Scriptures and the historic tenets of the Christian faith. However, there were conservative innovations in reaction to Modernism. They had in common a distinctly anti-liberal stress on the dramatic intervention of the supernatural. See §§5-418 et seq. below.

J. American Theological Reflection

7-411. In general.—Some historians of 19th century American religion have observed that while religion prospered in America, theology went slowly bankrupt. Various reasons have been proposed:

- Advent of democratic culture undermined the authority of classically trained elites;
- Few people thought through the implications of democracy in the rush to shift from theoretical to applied divinity;
- Widespread reaction to the ground rules of existing theological reflection. Theology became the hobby of any person with a Bible in his or her hand.

In this climate, American clergymen restructured theology for popular consumption.

§5-412. New Theology in America.—Theological liberalism came to America in the 19th century. It moved among New England churches under the name of the New Theology. Its leading advocates emerged from within traditional Calvinist circles. Theodore Munger, Newman Smyth, George Gordon, Washington Gladden, George Harris, and Lyman Abbott lead the way. People like Henry Ward Beecher followed in their train. It was a protest in the interests of modern thought against evangelical Puritanism.

Early in the 19th century, most New England ministers held to the sovereignty of God, the innate depravity of people, the substitutionary atonement of Jesus as the ground for the forgiveness of sin, the Holy Spirit's movement in causing conversion, and to the eternal separation of the saved and the lost in heaven and hell. Later in the century, these beliefs came under fire. Theological liberalism emphasized the ethical message of a humanized Christ and the immanence of God in the human heart. The religious experience of the individual rather than the content of the Scriptures was normative. Liberals harmonized the faith with the latest scientific opinions and to explaining away the supernatural aspects of the Biblical record. They opposed the miraculous, original sin, and the vicarious atonement of Christ.

A celebrated early controversy erupted at Andover Seminary. Established in 1808 to counter the Unitarian tendencies at Harvard, the seminary adopted a subscription requirement to a Calvinist creed. This came under attack in a series of articles in the *Andover Review* by Smyth, Tucker, and Harris. Beginning with whether the heathen who die without hearing the gospel are forever damned, the controversy spread step by step to a defense of liberal theology.

§5-413. New Haven controversy.—Initially, justification and sanctification were in issue. Nathaniel Taylor (1786-1858) wrestled with the practical issues of justification. How to reconcile Calvinism with effective evangelistic methods? His New Haven Theology (he taught at Yale) critiqued traditional Calvinism. He was primarily concerned with guilt and human freedom. Instead of total depravity, he taught that people are free moral agents. Sin was in the sinning. People sin inevitably but not necessarily. He thought there could be no sin in choosing evil, unless there was the power to choose good. Regeneration relates to people negate their sinfulness.

Taylor's de facto denial of original sin undermined any kind of divine action in regeneration. He thought that traditional Calvinism paralyzed revival preaching. He said that the average person could feel the “sneer of contempt” in concepts like the imputation of Adam's sin that left humanity helpless and floundering. Taylor vigorously opposed the high Calvinism of people like Charles Hodge and characterized Hodge's vehement opposition to revivalism as opposing the work of God in the name of God. He did not go beyond this to teach “entire sanctification,” that an altogether higher and more stable form of Christian life was attainable and was the privilege of all Christians. However, people like Charles Finney did take that step.

On the other end of the theological continuum, the Princeton School spared no ink in warning against the dangers of revivalism. Charles Hodge (1797-1878) actively opposed the prevailing sentiments of his era, diligently working to reinforce orthodox Calvinism, particularly as it had developed within the traditions of Protestant scholastics. He drew heavily on the Reformed confessions and the works of Francis Turretin (1623-1687) and appealed to the principles of unquestioned biblical authority and strict confessionalism.

Hodge opposed Taylor and the New Haven Theology. If there is no original sin, then the work regeneration described in Scripture collapses. Hodge rooted his argument in Paul. If humanity is not “in Adam,” then we cannot be “in Christ” for the way we relate to one is paralleled in Scripture to the way we relate to the other. God appointed Adam as the federal head of those he represented. However, the new humanity is different from the whole of fallen humanity. Christ's substitutionary death occurred on behalf of those he represented, specifically the elect. Likewise, Hodge opposed the revivalism of the day. He found the ecclesiastical disruptions they caused dangerous and the free will theology abhorrent.

§5-414. Unitarianism.—Second Awakening had the effect of promoting Unitarianism among its opponents in New England. Unitarianism firmly opposed revivalism and conversion-focused pietism. The American Unitarian Association, established in 1825, was dedicated to the principles of the inherent goodness of humanity, salvation through personal character development, the unity of God, His presence within the human soul, and acknowledging Christ's humanity rather than His divinity. Unitarians placed a great emphasis on human reason, natural theology, human ability, and Enlightenment ideas of progress and perfectibility. These ideas were influential but not widespread. There was truth to the quip that Unitarian beliefs were limited to the fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, and the neighborhood of Boston.

William Channing, this era's outstanding exponent of Unitarianism (“Christianity reveals to me this moral perfection of man as the great purpose of God”), was influential in contemporary American culture and influenced such figures as Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

§5-415. Ralph Waldo Emerson and Transcendentalism.—Transcendentalism was a reaction against both the excesses of revivalism and against Enlightenment dogma. It was a romantic philosophy and theology which featured:

- An admiration for, and living in harmony with, nature;
- Revolt against reason as senseless formality and cold logic;
- Glorification of emotion (the sublime);
- New understanding of language;
- A tendency to become an artistic cult.

Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882) was the most famous of America's Transcendentalists. Raised in a Trinitarian evangelical tradition, he became a Unitarian minister. His break with his evangelical heritage came in 1832 when he resigned a prestigious pastorate because he could not administer the Lord's Supper in good conscience. Heavily influenced by German higher criticism, he came to a place where he had “no curiosity respecting historical Christianity, respecting persons and miracles.” Whether a part of Scripture was poem or chronicle was to him no matter of concern.

Transcendentalists sought to “transcend” the commonsense philosophy of the day. Common sense philosophy is the assertion that the mind can directly know the objects of its ideas, can have direct and accurate intuitions of objective reality outside of itself, can comprehend the moral content of objects and of its own mental processes. It also held that such an orderly system of understanding can be constructed inductively.

Transcendentalism sought to discover ideas of moral truth and beauty apart from rational sensation. Transcendentalists espoused reform movements based on communities that identified norms for behavior through mystical delight and the discovery of “authenticity.”

In the end, Emerson and his fellow transcendentalists exchanged an orthodox faith for a mildly pantheistic religion of nature. God was an impersonal deity, while endlessly active in nature and forever productive of order, goodness, beauty, and love. He was beyond propositional description (there's goes the Bible) and knowable only by our intuitive responses to nature and human culture (forget revelation). Idealistic Emerson certainly was, an idealism sorely tried by personal tragedy (prematurely losing his wife, a son, and a brother), and by the increasing materialism and skepticism of the age. One commentator summarized his life as that of Jonathan Edwards in whom the concept of original sin (and a personal God) had evaporated.

§5-416. Harold Bushnell's influence on Christian education.—Horace Bushnell (1802-1876) had a significant impact on Christian education in the churches. Bushnell was a law student at Yale and went on to study under Taylor at the Divinity School. As an influential pastor, he became increasingly disaffected with revivalism and with Taylor's New Haven Theology. He asserted that debates such as those between Taylor and Hodge were asking human language to bear more than it could. Religious language was only tangentially related to the eternal realities it was describing.

Bushnell came to a vague almost mystical understanding of what he called orders of reality that seemed closer to pantheism than to anything in traditional evangelical thought. He ended up arguing that Jesus' death was not a substitutionary atonement, but an example. All suffering was

in its own way atoning. For an historical example readily at hand in that day—the Civil War's suffering was America atoning for its national sins.

Bushnell was very influential in the arena of Christian spiritual formation. He emphasized the idea that children merely had to grow into grace in a religious environment. He minimized original sin, held to the moral influence theory of the atonement, and did not believe that the experience of conversion as emphasized in evangelical churches was necessary. He wanted children to “grow up Christian” so that they would never know themselves as anything other than Christian.

§5-417. Founding of religious liberal arts colleges.—This era saw the establishment of numerous small religious liberal arts colleges. These, along with their more prestigious forebears along the eastern coast, formed the backbone of American higher education throughout the 19th century. These colleges were controlled by denominations or geographical communities that gave birth to them, not by independent faculties. The quality of the leadership of any given institution determined its growth and influence. These institutions attempted to blend the moral absolutes of biblical theism with the heritage of Western learning. Their objectives were to impart knowledge, train young minds, and prepare responsible leaders for a society that was undergoing explosive growth.

§5-418. Growth of American neo-confessionalism.—A new confessionalism arose in response to the onset of liberal theological ideas, to the unschooled enthusiasm and extreme individualism of revivalism, and to egalitarian and so-called progressive ideals of aggressive secularism. This response attempted to keep traditional orthodoxy untainted by these influences. It was not geared to integrating the new currents of thought into theology.

This confessionalism took different paths. One was a movement among mainline traditions, Lutheran, Reformed, and Anglican in particular, to reinforce their confessional stances. This movement was rooted in an insistence on stricter adherence to traditional creeds and doctrinal stances inherited from previous ages. Another was the dawning of the fundamentalist movement. Yet another was a movement to underline tradition in a way that would counteract both the novelties of liberalism and the individualistic excesses of revivalism.

The neo-confessional emphases in Lutheranism, Reformed groups, and in Anglicanism in this era tracked the confessional concerns of the Reformation era. However, the fundamentalist movement and the movement to underline tradition as a leveling influence in theology need further elaboration.

§5-419. Fundamentalism.—As liberal and evangelical Protestantism began to part ways, a movement that came to be known as fundamentalism arose. A serious fundamentalist-modernist divide would follow on the American scene in the early part of the 20th century. Fundamentalism gained its adherents from revivalist elements and not from the neo-confessional ranks described above. However, it did share the concerns over the doctrinal drift and denials of liberalism and, at times, joined forces with neo-confessionalism in defense of historic Christian doctrines.

Fundamentalism as a movement got its name from a list of five fundamentals of Christian faith proclaimed at a Bible conference in Niagara Falls, New York in 1895. They included:

- The miracles of the Bible really happened;

- Jesus really did die on the cross for our sins, offering himself as an atonement for them;
- Jesus was physically resurrected;
- Jesus was born of a virgin—miraculously conceived;
- The Bible is completely trustworthy, without error.

William Riley founded the World's Christian Fundamentals Association in 1919. It started with a bang, a conference in Philadelphia in which 6,000 people attended, but soon descended into a constant squabbling among its leaders. A Presbyterian fundamentalist, Carl McIntire, founded the International Council of Christian Churches in 1948, but soon ran into similar divisive problems. Protestant fundamentalism became a predominantly American phenomenon. We will spend a much more time with Fundamentalism in our next course on the Twentieth Century.

§5-420. Dispensationalism.—This system was the fruit of renewed interest in biblical prophecy after the Civil War. It was the commonly held theological viewpoint of fundamentalists. Dispensationalists saw the churches and culture declining and that Christians would only see Christ's kingdom after he personally returned to rule in the millennium. Christian culture was always an illusion and that was apparent with the increasing secularism of the society of the day. Leaders like Dwight Moody, Reuben Torrey, C.I. Scofield, and A.J. Gordon were active evangelists who promoted hosts of Bible conferences and assumed leadership of new Bible teaching institutions.

They strongly opposed Modernism. Where Modernism was optimistic about modern culture, Dispensationalism was pessimistic. Where Modernism interpreted the Bible through the lens of human history, Dispensationalism interpreted through the lens of Scripture (doubling down on the Reformers' principle that Scripture interprets Scripture). Where Modernism stressed natural, social forces as being crucial to understanding religious experience, Dispensationalism accentuated the supernatural as God acting in human history and revealing Himself to people.

§5-421. Protestant groups underlining traditions.—The classical expression of this line of thought was the Oxford Tractarian movement in England (see §5-235). They sought to counteract the influence of both liberals and evangelicals in the Church of England of their day. In their eyes, both liberalism and evangelicalism lacked a sense of rooted tradition to guide them and had a dangerous emphasis on the authority of the individual above that of the community. Cutting themselves off from tradition had led both groups to lose a great deal of the richness of Christian worship. In addition, historic tradition was a corrective both to the waywardness of liberal theology and to the foibles of evangelical interpretation of the Scriptures. They felt that the evangelical emphasis on the authority of the Bible, lacking a traditional monitor, unwittingly elevated the individual interpreter above that of the Scripture. Tradition acts as a corrective to this tendency. In addition, a liturgy that brought to life the grand patristic traditions of the Church would be the means for re-instating the corporate nature of Christian life to its proper place.

This line of thinking had kindred spirits in 19th century America. Its influence operated primarily in the Episcopal tradition but did reach beyond the limits of that communion to other Protestant bodies. Kinship to this way of thinking can be seen in the “Mercersburg Theology”. That group was critical of American revivalism and its excesses, and yet resistant to a wholesale restructuring of the faith along liberal subjective lines. They called for a more historically

informed embrace of an inclusive evangelicalism that would avoid the doctrinal squabbles of yesteryear. Led by the historian Philip Schaff and a fellow professor, John Nevin, at the German Reformed seminary at Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, this group called for a God-centered faith that focused on the objective work of Christ and on the church's sacramental life and organic development. They veered away from a focus on subjective experience or religious feeling and re-emphasized traditional religious patterns.

K. Social Gospel

§5-431. In general.—Urbanization also inspired work by more liberal Christian groups. How could 10% of the people control 90% of the wealth of the nation? Unregulated capitalism excused overreaching greed. Liberal Christians believed that the gospel redeems sinful social structures as well as sinful lives and that the economic and political institutions of American society should be molded by biblical ethical standards.

The Social Gospel movement was born out of this conviction and was a direct response to the problems created by rapid industrialization and urbanization in the latter years of the 19th century. Early activism and a new wave of social concern in churches brought proposals for more comprehensive reform of the social and economic order. Those who joined the Social Gospel movement often did so because they felt that evangelical ministries dealt with the symptoms of economic maladies and were not sufficient because they left the causes of those maladies untouched. They supported the development of organized labor to challenge many capitalists who seldom considered the welfare of the consumer or worker in their attempts to maximize their profits. Proponents rejected laissez faire economics and self-help individualism and insisted that the government take an active part in alleviating the harsher effects of unrestrained free enterprise.

These proponents tended to make their social concerns central to their understanding of the gospel itself. That fit well with the emerging liberal theology of the day. The liberals based their social work on concepts of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man in ministering to the economic plight of people. They downplayed the reality of individual sin (they readily recognized the reality of corporate sin) and of the need for redemption based on the atoning sacrifice of Jesus Christ.

§5-432. Washington Gladden as father of the movement.—Washington Gladden was the father of the movement. Gladden was an inner-city pastor who found time to write scores of books exposing the effects of the economic law of the jungle in urban America. Others sought to utilize the newly developing social sciences to inform Christian moral principles. While some grew radical, most reflected American pragmatism focusing directly on urgent practical reform: the abolition of child labor, the reduction of the twelve-hour workday, even the need for a sabbath rest. These goals became formalized in the Social Creed of the Federal Council of Churches. The Social Gospel differed from evangelical reform efforts (like the Salvation Army) in that it tended to emphasize structural reforms, and it was firmly rooted in the Protestant liberal theology of the day.

§5-433. Second generation reformers—This was in the late 1800s, known to historians as the Gilded Age. A new generation of socially conscious Christians emerged motivated by the

excesses of that age. A tiny number of tycoons gained incredible wealth while the masses of farmers and factory workers struggled to survive. These second-generation reformers took direct aim at these excesses and demanded structural and collective solutions.

§5-434. Walter Rauschenbusch.—Walter Rauschenbusch (1861-1918) was the best known of the prophets of the Social Gospel. He grew up near Rochester, New York, son of a preacher and in the evangelical Pietist tradition. He became a Baptist preacher and ministered in Hell’s Kitchen in New York City for years. Discouraged and burned out, he left for Europe in 1891 and studied in Berlin. He met Christian socialists who had worked with Frederick Maurice, got to know Beatrice and Sidney Webb, famous English socialists, and became convinced that the traditional approach to poverty—relying on private charities and a small social safety net for the deserving poor—was not enough. He concluded that traditional Christians obsessed over personal sin but ignored institutionalized “social” sin built into society’s structures. He returned to the United States and threw himself into community work as well as writing extensively to articulate the theology of the Social Gospel movement.

He anchored his appeal for social responsibility in the concept of the kingdom of God. His experience of ministering to the needs of a congregation in the worst of New York City’s slums led him to write *Christianity and the Social Crisis* (1907), in which he spoke of the kingdom of evil that can only be broken by Christians working to establish the Kingdom of God. Philanthropy and individual conversion could not solve the problems in New York slums. It was necessary to transform the very order of society, its laws and institutions, to provide a more just environment for human life. He sought to limit the unbridled power of unregulated capitalism and to enact laws to aid the poor and to promote economic and social justice. He fervently believed that the Church must realize the kingdom of God upon earth rather than merely talk about a future millennial or eternal kingdom.

He thought that the Social Gospel was the old message of salvation enlarged and intensified. The individualistic proclamation of the gospel taught people to see the sinfulness of every human heart and the willingness and power of God to save. But it did not provide an adequate understanding of the sinfulness of the social order and its share in contributing to and being derivative of individual sinfulness. The prime example of sin in society, according to the Social Gospel preachers, was unfettered capitalism. Human salvation was impossible as long as the system remained unchanged.

§5-435. Social Gospel penetrates denominational structures.—The Social Gospel significantly influenced churches. Nearly all denominations established departments for pressing social concerns. The Federal Council of Churches (predecessor to the World Council) adopted a “Social Creed of the Churches” as one of its first acts of business. The movement tied into a long history of Christian involvement in improving human life on earth, that concern for people’s eternal destiny must also demonstrate concern for their earthly needs. It also displayed a recurring tendency to lose track of the Church’s saving mission in its social concern. The decline of liberal optimism following World War I shifted focus to other immediate issues, which were revisited in different contexts later in the 20th century.

§5-436. Social Gospel and social legislation.—In the 20th century, Christian reformers in Europe were playing a significant role in the expansion of government-funded social services, but their American counterparts were not so successful. They were diligent in local community

work, establishing a network of churches which went beyond worship to offer social services, health care, employment guidance, and recreational facilities. They were advocates of social legislation they saw as needed to reform American capitalism. However, their movement had limited success because of American anxiety over communism and socialism and the excesses of centralized power. In addition, traditionalists increasingly thought that the Social Gospel people were so focused on social aspects that they had forgotten the basic Christian message of salvation from sin.

§5-437. Social Gospel in Canada—In Canada, the Social Gospel became a major, institutionalized force in national politics. Tommy Douglas was one leader propelled into national politics by the influence of the Social Gospel. He rose through Saskatchewan politics to the national stage and was instrumental in building a universal public health-care system. In Canada, the Social Gospel put down political roots in the Social Democratic party. In America, the Social Gospel functioned more as a prophetic voice, stirring up pressure for reform outside the centers of power rather than as an entrenched force within the political system.

L. Religion in the American Gilded Age

§5-441. Religious practice and reflection.—During the Gilded Age, which spanned from the end of the Civil War until the early 20th century, American society was often referred to as "Christian". Shared values, largely influenced by Protestantism, held it together. Biblical values were a common part of home and school education. Evangelical leaders effectively drove revivalism and the energy of voluntary religious organizations to counter what we would describe today as forces for purely secular change. However, the evangelical establishment faced severe challenges:

- Intellectual challenges which began with the publication of Darwin's *Origins of Species* in 1859. It forced the issue of the reliability of the Genesis account of creation. However, the trustworthiness of the Bible also came into the purview of challenge. The trustworthiness of the Scriptures was key to the mindset of 19th century American evangelicalism.
- Post-Civil War social crisis—America moved from being a rural farming society to a highly industrial urban one. One historian went so far to say: “the American boy of 1854 stood nearer to the year 1 than to the year 1900.” This shift was exacerbated by the fact that a sizable proportion of new industrial workers in urban areas were immigrants, predominantly Catholics from non-English speaking countries.
- Increased secularization of American culture—This was seen most vividly in higher education and in the scientific community. Universities were re-organized in the German scientific model. Professional curricula developed with new disciplines with standards no longer influenced by the Bible. Within a generation, biblical considerations and standards were removed from vast areas of American thought and academic life.

With the unfolding of the Gilded Age, it became clear that economic and political activities seldom came under religious review. Religious and moral concerns justified what the competitive demands of business would dictate.

§5-442. Thought followed the pragmatic issues of life.—Thought reflected the pragmatic issues of life in the Gilded Age. Social Gospel movement arose, urging Christians to think about

the salvation of society, not just individually. However, coupled with all the denials of biblical truth so common in this movement, the Social Gospel came to be a religiously vacuous social reform movement. It had a wide audience—the working and living conditions of the urban poor were appalling. The temperance movement pointed out the consequences of the escape to alcohol that so many took.

Liberals adapted and modified Christianity to modern intellectual trends. The particulars of that emphasis tended to be what various individuals wanted to emphasize. Increasingly, Jesus was as a sensitive friend and helper in need, not the omnipotent God. Elizabeth Phelps' *The Gates Ajar* (1868) and *The Story of Jesus Christ* (1897) were classics of this type of genre. At this time, Charles Sheldon published his popular challenge *In His Steps* (1896). Evangelistic campaigns flourished as well. The emphasis was on free-will conversion rather than in the context of the old predestinarian theology. Dwight Moody was the era's most popular evangelist.

Catholics had their own experience with increasing diversity even within their own mix. Ethnic divides presented a host of practical conflicts and concerns. So much so that Catholic bishops found themselves fighting to prevent the creation of ethnically distinct parishes. Interestingly, American Catholic intellectual life was dominated by ex-Protestant converts. Isaac Hecker founded the Paulist Fathers. Orestes Brownson's voluminous journals shaped Catholic opinion of a wide range of religious, social, and political issues.

§5-443. Flavor of the age in a survey of its “ecclesiastical stars”.—You get the flavor of the day by surveying its ecclesiastical stars:

- Henry Ward Beecher (1813-1887)—He was widely regarded as representative of forward-looking Protestantism. He served as pastor of an influential church in Brooklyn for forty years. He was the popularizer of the “new theology,” reassuring his audiences that Christianity progressed with the modern age. The religion of the modern age was a matter of the heart rather than the question of strictly orthodox doctrine. Side-stepping, rather than denying, traditional doctrines, Beecher identified Christ with the highest ideals of respectable Protestant American culture.
- Philip Brooks (1835-1893)—An early representative of positive thinkers in the pulpit, his audiences were told to believe in themselves and to reverence their human nature. He used Darwinism to articulate a Christianity of self-help and individualism. His view of human nature was opposite those of high Calvinism. He thought the ultimate fact of human life was goodness and not sin. He had great faith in America itself. One could not be an American and not catch something of God's purpose for this great land.
- Dwight L. Moody (1837-1899)—He was the premier evangelist of his day and a much more mainstream evangelical than those listed above. A hugely successful preaching tour of Great Britain from 1873-1875 set the stage for massive evangelistic campaigns throughout America in the years that followed. He was not a sensationalist like Charles Finney before him or Billy Sunday after him. His forte was down-home storytelling, and his message was simple 3Rs:
 - Ruin by sin;
 - Redemption by Christ;
 - Regeneration by the Holy Spirit.

Moody founded a Bible Institute in Chicago (later renamed the Moody Bible Institute) to

train lay people for evangelistic work. He also sponsored the Northfield Conference in Massachusetts, out of which grew the Student Volunteer Movement that swelled the missionary ranks of the day.

M. Holiness Movement; Pentecostalism

1. Holiness Movement

§5-446. In general.—New groups arose out of dissatisfaction with the direction of Methodism in the 19th century, particularly its lack of emphasis on sanctification. In this era, holiness churches arose and slowly crystallized into new denominations. The Church of the Nazarene, organized in 1908 through the union of several holiness churches, was an outstanding example of this trend.

Phoebe Palmer (1807-1874) was one of the leading voices of the holiness movement. In 1835, she began a prayer meeting in her home and that exploded into an international ministry. She was convinced that perfect holiness (the second blessing after conversion) must be the goal and outcome of the Christian life. She emphasized the social dimension of holiness (tangible acts of love) as well as personal purity. Many of these holiness groups engaged in worship characterized by manifestations of the gifts of the Spirit—speaking in tongues, miracles of healing, and prophetic utterances. These were abandoned by holiness churches but reappeared with great vigor in early Pentecostalism.

§5-447. Holiness tendencies.—Liberals emphasized ethical conduct and spoke of natural goodness in people. Holiness groups emphasized ethical conduct but spoke of natural tendencies to immoral behavior which only the supernatural work of the Holy Spirit could overcome. Holiness teachers not only emphasized conversion experiences as other revivalist groups but also a definite second blessing in which the work of the Holy Spirit freed people from sin's power.

Holiness groups with their ethical focus were concerned not only with personal purity but also, with social responsibilities toward the poor. Interestingly, Holiness groups drew from more modest socioeconomic groups. Their leanings to help the poor often contrasted with more well-to-do Christian groups. An observation in modern church life flows from this—the more well-to-do the group, the less demanding its requirements for sanctification.

Holiness groups tended to unite around a common cultural style. Unrestrained emotionalism, puritanical mores, sentimental music, and hostility to modern biblical scholarship were parts of that cultural mix. These groups also exhibited a high degree of humanitarian concern, a definite spiritual vitality, and equality among classes and between genders not seen since the early days of the Quakers.

2. Pentecostalism

§5-451. In general.—Pentecostalism arose out of Holiness groups but was even more inclined to be radical and to attract the socially disinherited. Interestingly, liberals tended to emphasize non-supernatural religious experience as an unassailable authentication. Pentecostals emphasized experience but in a way that accentuated the supernatural work of the Spirit.

Pentecostals have as their most distinctive trait the emphasis on the gift of the Spirit in speaking in tongues (glossolalia).

§5-452. Pentecostal origins.—The term “Pentecostal” comes from Acts 2 and the dramatic initial outpouring of the Holy Spirit on people at Pentecost. The Holy Spirit descended on a large group of people and enabled them to speak in foreign languages they never learned. This ability is called xenolalia. Throughout Christian history there have been sporadic reports of people “speaking in tongues,” uttering spontaneous sounds that are not a recognizable language, called glossolalia. However, most Christians in the 19th century believed that the outpourings of the Spirit in Acts were special occurrences and that those miraculous experiences did not happen anymore.

Charles Fox Parham did not hold that viewpoint. He grew up as a sickly youth, with club feet, heart and stomach problems, and rheumatic fever. He studied to be a doctor until a bout of rheumatic fever almost killed him. He turned his direction to the ministry and joined the Methodist Church. Soon, he had his own mission and Bible college in Topeka, Kansas. One of his students, Agnes Ozman, spoke in tongues of the xenolalia variety. It was interpreted as an indication that miraculous spiritual gifts from the Acts period had reappeared, suggesting that Christ's return might be imminent.

Parham and his students traveled far and wide spreading this message. An African American follower, William Seymour, heard and believed and carried the idea of the need for the baptism of the Spirit to Los Angeles in 1906. There he led a revival, the Azusa Street revival, which ran for three years among a diverse group of participants that planted the seeds of a global spiritual explosion.

There were revivals in various places in the late 19th and early 20th centuries that prepared people from Sweden to Australia to be receptive to the Pentecostal message. A great gathering of Pentecostals in 1914 was the event out of which emerged the Assemblies of God, the main Pentecostal denomination in the United States. The movement divided along racial lines and today, there are primarily white Pentecostal groups like the Assemblies of God, and black Pentecostal groups like the Church of God in Christ.

§5-453. Pentecostal precedents and emphases.—Pentecostals have grown from the confluence of five distinct religious traditions:

- Second work of grace—an emphasis on a life-transforming experience after conversion that eradicates sinful desires and tendencies;
- A call to the higher Christian life—power that equips believers for witness and service;
- Dispensational pre-millennial prophetic beliefs;
- New theology of faith healing;
- A longing for restoration of the power and miracles of the New Testament church.

We will have more to say about Pentecostalism and its influence on contemporary Christianity in our next course.

N. New Faiths

§5-461. In general.—The largest of these new faiths were the Mormons, the Jehovah’s Witnesses, and Christian Science. We will also discuss the emergence of the Seventh Day Adventists.

§5-462. Mormons.—The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, commonly known as the Mormons, was founded by Joseph Smith (1805-1844). He claimed to have visions informing he would be instrumental in restoring true Christianity. In 1823, a heavenly messenger named Moroni directed him to a hill near Palmyra, New York, where Smith found two golden plates with strange writing that he translated with Moroni’s help. This translation is the Book of Mormon published in 1830. It tells the story of the “lost tribes” of Israel from 600 BC to 421 AD and relates how Christ appeared to them after his Resurrection and founded a church among them. Near the end of the fifth century, a prophet recorded this group’s history in the Book of Mormon which was discovered by Smith fourteen centuries later.

Smith and his followers moved from New York to Ohio and then to Illinois. They established a self-governing community with its own militia, where Smith was later referred to as the leader of the Kingdom of God. Tension with the surrounding community grew, especially after Smith declared himself a presidential candidate. After a mob lynched Smith and one of his followers, leadership of the group fell to Brigham Young (1801-1877) who led the Mormons to Utah. Young announced that, prior to his death, Smith had a vision re-instituting polygamy. In 1857, conflict arose between the Mormons and the United States, but eventually, the Mormons adapted to mainstream society, moving away from their focus on visions and communal living. In 1890, they officially abandoned polygamy.

§5-463. —Mormon beliefs.—Mormonism sees itself in relation to Christianity what Christianity was to Judaism—its culmination. The Mormons accept the authority of the Old and New Testaments, but their canon also includes the Book of Mormon and two additional texts, *Doctrines and Covenants* (1835) and *The Pearl of Great Price* (1842). Mormons accept traditional Christian doctrines but often with substantial modification. For example, the Trinity is really three different gods, all once human, who are united in their shared purpose and perfection. The possibility of becoming a god or goddess in one’s own right is open to all people who succeed in living up to moral standards. They believe that all people will be saved, though there are different levels of salvation. Divine revelation is a continuing process which now occurs primarily through church leadership. They are active proselytizers, and their missionaries are mostly young people who devote two years of their lives to missionary service.

§5-464. —Typical Christian critique.—Christians believe that Mormonism is really a different religion for three main reasons:

- Mormons accept additional holy scriptures. Besides the Book of Mormon, Mormons believe that two other books of Smith’s teachings are holy scriptures—the Doctrine and Covenants and the Pearl of Great Price. They also believe that Smith’s successors are prophets as he was, and that they can issue teachings on par with scriptural revelation.
- Historically, Mormons engaged in marital practices that were outside the mainstream of Christianity. Smith received his initial polygamous revelation in 1831, deriving this idea from the lives of Israel’s patriarchs. At his death, he had between thirty and forty wives, one as young as fourteen.
- The Church of the Latter Day Saints (LDS) has very non-traditional views on the nature

of God, humanity, and the path to salvation. Smith believed that God was once a human being and is now an exalted man, still of flesh and bone. The trinity is a social trinity, in which the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are distinct and separate people who relate to one another. Jesus is not a paradoxical God-man, but the most exalted of God's spirit-children. In addition, the Mormon path to salvation looks like works righteousness. You must have faith and then live a righteous life, following prescribed rituals. These rules apply to every aspect of life, from what you eat and drink (avoiding alcohol and coffee among other things) to your finances (you must tithe the whole ten percent).

§5-465. Jehovah's Witnesses.—The faith of the Jehovah's Witnesses arose out of reading the Bible as a book of hidden clues regarding future events and the end of the world. The lay preacher Charles Taze Russell (1852-1916) organized the group in 1881. Russell initially predicted that Christ would return invisible in 1874 to prepare for the Kingdom of God. The battle of Armageddon was to follow before the world as we know it ended in 1914. He elaborated on all this in *Studies in Scripture* in 1879 and started a magazine entitled *The Watchtower*, elaborating on these ideas. After Russell's death in 1916, Joseph Rutherford became the leader of the group. Rutherford reinterpreted Russell's teachings and organized the Witnesses into a substantial missionary movement. The group takes their name from Jehovah, a form of the Hebrew name for God.

The Jehovah's Witnesses are strict Unitarians and do not hold to the Trinity. They understand Christ to be God's Son, but they do not believe in his deity. The Holy Spirit is neither divine nor personal. People do not possess souls but are souls. However, they deny the immortality of the soul. They believe humanity is fallen, but that the penalty for sin is not eternal torment, but physical death followed by annihilation. Only the elect will only achieve full salvation—a—Christ and 144,000 others drawn from all periods of history. They alone will be taken to heaven. All others may be saved through obedience and faith but their reward will be eternally earth-bound. The Jehovah's Witnesses see themselves as a theocratic kingdom apart from the world ruled by Satan. They regard other churches as having fallen into gross error.

Jehovah's Witnesses oppose drinking and smoking, refuse to vote or hold office, and forbid all blood transfusions (based on Old Testament passages forbidding the drinking of animal blood). They are pacifists, opposing all forms of military service.

§5-466. Christian Science.—Mary Baker Eddy (1821-1910) founded this group. She suffered repeated illnesses during her youth. Twice married and widowed, poor and sick, she went to P.P. Quimby, who claimed that illness was merely error and knowledge of the truth sufficed to cure it. Claimed to be healed by Quimby, Eddy claimed to be healed by Quimby, became his disciple and published *Science and Health, with a Key to Scripture* after Quimby died in 1875. She created the Church of Christ, Scientist, in 1879 and founded her Metaphysical College in Boston in 1881, where practitioners (not pastors) were trained. She founded *The Christian Science Monitor*, the movement's newspaper, shortly before her death in 1910.

Christian Scientists have no formal creeds or doctrines. They believe the Bible is the inspired word of God and that Jesus is the "Way-shower." They distinguish between the man Jesus and his nature "the Christ." The death of Christ had nothing to do with salvation. Salvation occurs when someone quits sinning or stops believing that sin is real. Christian Scientists believe all reality is spiritual and that matter, disease, and death are not real. Human suffering arises

because we do not recognize and refuse to recognize the unreality of the non-spiritual. Illness is mental error. To heal it, one should not go to physicians, but to employ the spiritual science Jesus used and Eddy rediscovered. The knowledge of such science would produce happiness and prosperity.

Christian Science congregations are lay organizations with no ministers and their services consist of readings from the Bible and Eddy's *Science and Health*, hymns, and recital of the Lord's prayer. There is no preaching and, while they recognize Baptism and the Eucharist, they do not outwardly celebrate them. Baptism is an ongoing purification of thought, and the Eucharist is a spiritual communion with God through prayer and Christian living. Christian Science is one of the forms taken by a larger movement known as New Thought. The American psychologist, William James (1842-1910), described this movement as "the religion of healthy-mindedness." They emphasized mental healing, the spiritual nature of all reality, and prayer and meditation as the avenue of realizing the presence of God.

Eddy used traditional terms of Christian orthodoxy (God, Christ, trinity, salvation, etc.) in a unique spiritual sense similar to ancient Gnosticism. All is God and God is all. God is not personal, nor does he rule the world. Indeed, he did not create the world, for matter is not real. This tradition holds that the material world is either imaginary or of secondary importance, that the purpose of human life is to live in harmony with the Universal Spirit, and that the Scripture is to be interpreted by means of special clues unknown to most uninitiated Christians.

Mary Baker Eddy ended her days in pain and anguish, only alleviated with increasing doses of morphine. Her spiritual distress was significant, necessitating constant companionship with her followers to shield herself from the negative influences exerted by her adversaries.

§5-467. Seventh Day Adventists.—Adventism, the expectation of the near return of Christ, grew out of American Protestantism's millennial interest in the mid-19th century. William Miller (1782-1849), a Baptist minister in New York, formed the first of these congregations. In 1835, Miller announced that Christ would return in 1843. After the Second Coming did not occur as predicted, recalculations followed.

Ellen White (1827-1915), originally one of Miller's followers, founded the Seventh-Day Adventists, the largest of the Adventist groups. She was a superb organizer whose published visions attracted remnants of Miller's followers. These people were organized into a church in 1868. She taught that the Second Coming was postponed due to Christians not following the Ten Commandments, especially the commandment honoring the Sabbath. She also believed that the Scripture was full of rules for physical as well as spiritual health. Seventh-Day Adventists practice vegetarianism, abstain from tobacco and alcohol, and prefer natural remedies to drugs when ill.

O. Apocalyptic Elements of 19th Century American Faith

§5-471. In general.—A strong interest in End Times prophecy characterized the 19th century. Like early Christianity, this era took very seriously the near return of the Lord.

Why the long delay? End Times speculation works overtime to resolve the already/but not yet paradox of the gospel message. Christ has already come and atoned for sin, but history is still not

complete. The final order of things and the judgment of the Lord has not unfolded. Premillennialism gained popularity at the end of the 19th century because it provided a tool to manage the anxiety caused by this already but not yet paradox. In addition, it supplied to lay Christians a definite guide to complex prophecies related to world events that explained the increasing chaos and uncertainty of modern life.

§5-472. Millerites.—One of the early significant figures of American apocalyptic thought was William Miller. He converted sometime in his thirties and began studying the Bible intently. He was convinced that he had hit on the true way to interpret biblical prophecy. He predicted the second coming to occur between March 1843 and March 1844. That did not happen. He revised his calculation, saying he was off by a year. That did not happen, this time to the great dismay of his considerable following.

§5-473. New apocalyptic churches.—The Millerites may have been dismayed, but the apocalyptic movement was not over. One follower, Hiram Edson, became convinced that Christ had indeed returned on the date Miller predicted, but the return was a heavenly event, not an earthly one. The end-time prophecies were still to come. A group formed around Edson's explanation, calling themselves Adventists, and eventually organized a denomination known as the Seventh-Day Adventists in 1868.

Another apocalyptic group emerged about a generation after Miller's predictions—the Jehovah's Witnesses. They are dogged missionaries, believing that we live in the end times and that Armageddon is close at hand.

§5-474. Darby and Dispensationalism.—Darby is the father of Dispensational premillennialism. He divided biblical history into different dispensations, in which God dealt differently with human beings. He took Daniel 9 to be a key passage of when Messiah was to come to earth again. He thought that the current dispensation, the Church Age, was coming to a close. When? No one quite knows (Matt. 24:36-41; Mk. 13:32-33). One of the prophecies relegated to the end times was the rapture (from the Latin translation of the Greek verb “caught up” in 1 Thess. 4:17), an event in which all true Christians will be physically removed from the world. After the Rapture, the Antichrist will appear, a political-religious figure, backed by churches who have fallen away from the true message. Darby thought that the Bible predicted the return of the Jews to Palestine where they will suffer intense persecution. In this time a considerable number will accept Jesus as Messiah. Christ will return and defeat the forces of evil and establish his earthly reign of a thousand years.

§5-475. End Times popularity.—Darby's ideas caught on:

- Intellectual appeal—It seemed to be scientific and supernatural at the same time. The Bible was treated as a divinely inspired science and history textbook;
- Prophecy was made accessible to a lay audience. Anyone could understand even the most complicated ambiguous prophecies of the Bible;
- It provided reassurance in a world of change. Conservative Protestants felt that they were losing control because of social and cultural changes. Premillennialism explained the chaos as a prelude to glory;
- The 20th century continued this interest. The dawn of the atomic age brought additional avenues of speculation to end times prophecy as did the formation of the Jewish state in

1948.

V. Eastern Orthodoxy in the Muslim World and Beyond

A. In Muslim Lands

§5-481. In general.—The 19th century witnessed the rapid decline of the once mighty Ottoman Empire. Indeed, it became known as “the sick man of Europe.” By the outbreak of World War I, it had surrendered its European, except for Istanbul (formerly Constantinople). The Turks had retreated before the surging nationalism in the Balkans aided by Russia and other European intruders. With the humiliating loss of territory to new Christian polities, who justified their independence by their Christian identity and grew unapologetically nationalistic, it was not surprising that the Ottoman sultans were increasingly inclined to see their Christian subjects as a threat to their survival and emphasize their authority with reference to their Muslim identity. It was a desperate grab for enhanced spiritual authority by a monarchy losing control, like the Pope’s declaration of infallibility at the time of the loss of the Papal States.

One of the key issues confronted by Christianity in the 21st century is how to live and thrive in the post-Constantine era. What happens to the church when it can no longer count on political support or a politically favored position in society? Due to its historical circumstances, a survey of eastern Christianity is informative on this front.

§5-482. Orthodoxy and the spirit of the age.—The traditional character of eastern Orthodoxy changed little in the 18th and 19th centuries. Orthodox thinking during this time expressed a certain frustration with both Islam and the West after centuries of political and cultural domination. There was an ongoing debate about the relationship between Orthodoxy and the new philosophy and science coming out of the West. Eugenios Bulgaris (1717-1786) left his teaching role at Mount Athos due to his support of the views of Descartes, Locke, and Leibnitz. Nicephoros Theotokis (1736-1800) had a parallel career and spent the latter part of his life in Russia, more open to Western ideas.

By the 19th century, Orthodoxy began circling the wagons. Constantine Economos claimed that upholding all traditional teaching prevents error and protects the integrity of faith. He extrapolated this argument to the origins of the Septuagint. To question the legendary accounts of its inspiration was tantamount to questioning the inspiration of Scripture. As a corollary of this extrapolation, he opposed the translation of Scripture into modern Greek, all attempts to abbreviate the liturgy, and any attempt to loosen the traditional deference to the Patriarch of Constantinople.

There were those who opposed this approach. Theocletus Pharmakides exemplified that opposition. He distinguished authentic tradition from later additions and extrapolations which lacked that authenticity. The approach involved using thoughtful analysis and conducting historical research without being influenced by prevailing opinions of the time. Thus, research could show you that the Septuagint was not itself divinely inspired but a translation that God used to speak to the church at a given period. Therefore, allowing modern translations of the Scripture was not the first step on the slippery slope to perdition. Likewise, given the pressures

of modern life, it made sense to abbreviate the liturgy. Change came slowly, but it did come to most of Orthodoxy by the 20th century.

Orthodoxy also underwent a period of women's activism in Christian practice. Between 1850 and 1912, the number of female religious leaders doubled and women's involvement in monastic orders grew tenfold.

§5-483. The Balkans.—While the Ottomans did initially grant a measure of freedom to peoples of the Book, the patriarch of Constantinople (now Istanbul) occupied the difficult position of presiding over the Orthodox Church from within a Muslim state. The patriarch was expected to implement the policies of the sultan or lose his position and frequently his life. The Ottoman Turks placed severe economic and social pressure on the Church which resulted in many abandoning their faith. The patriarch of Constantinople was little more than a liaison between the sultan and his Christian subjects. The Greek Church had to keep the Ottoman power happy and Western influences at bay.

During the decline of Ottoman influence in the 19th century, national Orthodox churches emerged in several countries, including Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Romania. Nationalism was a driving force for independence and was closely associated with Orthodoxy. These non-Greek Orthodox groups had come to identify the Greek hierarchy with the hated Ottomans. They showed little interest in following Constantinople and increasingly formed autocephalous (self-governing) national churches independent of the Patriarch of Constantinople and of one another. The Patriarch of Constantinople eventually recognized these various national Orthodox churches as well as others—in Estonia, Latvia, and in Czechoslovakia. Today, the Patriarch of Constantinople has an honorary primacy among Orthodox bishops but only has direct authority over the Orthodox in Turkey, Greece, and Crete.

Nationalism led to political and ecclesiastical independence throughout the Balkans: in Serbia where Orthodoxy closely identified with expansionist Serbian nationalism and looked to Russia for aid; in Romania (with the fusion of the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia) after the defeat of Turkey by Russia; and in Bulgaria, at least partly driven by long-standing Greek-Bulgarian animosity. Even in Greece, there came a separation from the Patriarch of Constantinople after the long bitter war for independence from 1821 to 1829. In 1833, the national assembly of the newly formed Kingdom of Greece passed a resolution, signed by many bishops, that the Church in Greece owned no head but Christ. The new king then gave a charter to the autocephalous national Church of Greece.

§5-484. North Africa west of Egypt.—The Christian church that flourished in the early centuries of our era gradually disappeared under Muslim rule. At the dawn of 19th century, the presence of Christianity in North Africa was confined to several Spanish outposts in Morocco, European traders, and some individuals captured by Muslim raiders. Through the period we are studying, European powers occupied this area and this led to an increase in the numbers of Christians, almost entirely European immigrants. There were European missions, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, but these efforts had little numerical success. Through personal contacts, literature, schools, and hospitals, thousands of Muslims were brought under the influence of Christianity, but few declared themselves Christians and received baptism. Muslim law and customs made accessions from Islam almost impossible.

Roman Catholic communities did emerge in Algeria conquered by the French in the 1830s and 1840s and in Tunisia occupied by the French in 1881. The outstanding Roman Catholic bishop in the 19th century was Charles Martial Allemand Lavigerie (1825-1892). He became a cardinal and the primate of Africa. He was an active visionary, seeing the French colonies in North Africa to be the base from which the Roman Catholic faith would spread throughout the continent. He was the founder of the White Fathers who extended mission south of the Sahara.

§5-485. Egypt.—Though Muslim, Egypt was different. It was home to ancient Monophysite churches which never died out. Though Arabic speakers, they continued their services in the Coptic language which had been the lingua franca of the population before the Muslim-Arab conquest in the early Middle Ages. The chief strongholds of the Coptic Church in Egypt were in the cities of Upper Egypt. The Greek Orthodox Church also continued, under the Patriarch of Alexandria. In the late 19th century, immigration of Syrians and Greeks augmented its numbers. Schools, hospitals, and other charitable ministries were carried on under Orthodox auspices.

§5-486. Ethiopia.—In the mountain fastness of Ethiopia, the ancient Christian church held out against the Islamic encroachments. This ancient church was Monophysite in its creed and shepherded by leaders of the Coptic monasteries of Egypt. In the 19th century, the Roman Catholic Church renewed its efforts to win the Ethiopian church. They gathered thousands into the Uniate Ethiopian Church. For a brief time in the 1880s, there was an attempt to bring the Ethiopian Church into union with the Russian Orthodox Church, but nothing came of this. Indeed, the effort for union was more one to offset the encroachments of French, British, and Italian imperialism than one motivated by religious concerns.

§5-487. Palestine.—Palestine had its already varied religious complexion further enhanced in the 19th century. Jerusalem was hallowed ground for Christians, Jews, and Muslims. In the 19th century, Palestine was under Ottoman rule, but had a significant Christian population, including Orthodox, Armenians, and Roman Catholics. During this era, Roman Catholics grew. Franciscans led the Roman Catholic efforts, but other newer orders contributed as well. Protestants also began ministry efforts. Connected to the bishopric of Jerusalem was a joint ministry effort by the Anglicans and the Evangelical Church of Prussia begun in 1840 and extending until 1886.

§5-488. Syria.—At the outset of the 19th century, the Christians in Syria were mostly Jacobites, Greek Orthodox, and Roman Catholics. Massacres of a sect of Roman Catholics in the 1860s led to French intervention which resulted in this province in the Ottoman Empire having a Roman Catholic governor. Roman Catholic missionaries increased, and the Uniate Church prospered. Later in the 19th century, American missionaries introduced Protestantism.

§5-489. Armenia.—The 19th century was a troubled era for Armenian believers, complicated by the intrigues of great powers. Throughout much of the 19th century, Armenia experienced a complex interplay of political and ecclesiastical influences. In the early part of the century, Russia moved south across the Caucasus. In 1828, after a war with Persia, she established her control over a large segment of Armenia. In 1878, after a war with Turkey, Russia obtained another part of Armenia. The British were concerned with Russian ambitions and arranged a secret convention with Turkey that placed Christians in Asia Minor under British protection. Fearing that Armenian nationalism uniting around the church would become of tool for British interference, Russia cracked down, forbidding the use of the Armenian language in schools and,

in 1903, confiscating Church properties.

Factors internal to the Armenian religious scene complicated this situation. There was a revival of an indigenous religious movement, akin to the ancient Paulicans, labeled as heretical by the Armenian Church. Roman Catholics augmented their missionary activities and drew increasing numbers from the Armenian Church to the Uniate bodies. Pressure from France caused the Ottoman Turks to recognize these Uniate bodies and the restless laity in those bodies grew increasingly vocal. Finally, American Protestant missionaries came, translating the Bible into the vernacular, opening schools, and starting theological seminaries. These developments alarmed the Armenian Patriarch in Istanbul (formerly Constantinople) and resulted in the excommunication of those people following the Protestant missionaries.

In short, what a mess!

§5-490. Nestorians.—The chief center for the Nestorians was in the mountains of northwest Persia (modern day Iran). The Nestorians had earlier been found throughout Mesopotamia, but had dwindled in number through the centuries. In the 19th century, there were massacres of Nestorians by the fierce Kurds, notably in the 1830s and 1840s. Some Nestorians became Uniates. Known as Chaldeans, they increased in number due to the efforts of Roman Catholic missionaries from Europe. Later in the century, Anglican and American missionaries came and planted Anglican and Presbyterian churches in areas earlier populated by Nestorians.

B. Russian Orthodoxy

§5-491. In general.—Russia interpreted the fall of Constantinople in 1453 as punishment for agreeing to union with heretical Rome. Just as Constantinople had replaced Rome as the “second Rome” so Moscow regarded itself as the “third Rome” whose providential task was to uphold Orthodoxy. Russian Orthodoxy’s expansion and renewal took place against the background of an autocratic Russian State and the fragmentation of the Ottoman Empire. As Russia expanded south, east, and west, the Orthodox Church also expanded, which tended to mute the discomfort of clergy with the shackling of Church institutions to the Tsar’s centralizing bureaucracy. Russian identity is based on Orthodoxy, autocracy, and nationality. The Tsars controlled Islam in the acquired territories by borrowing the Islamic pattern of control—a central assembly of mullahs and system of parishes held accountable for the behavior of Islamic people.

§5-492. Opposition to Westernization.—By the 19th century, reactions against western influence sponsored by rulers like Peter the Great became evident in Russian Orthodoxy. Western science and philosophy were penetrating Russia and tended to further religious skepticism among many. The reaction against this went in two different directions: (1) a return to the early sources of Russian Christianity to the days before Peter the Great; and (2) an attempt to discover what it meant to be Russian within the framework of philosophical idealism.

The first group documented Russian church history and spoke of theology before Westernizing influences, producing manuals of throwback theology and ecclesiastical history but no outstanding theologians. The second group gave rise to the Slavophile movement which set out to develop a view of Russian ecclesiology as a Hegelian synthesis of Catholic thesis and a Protestant antithesis. They asserted Catholicism had unity but no freedom, Protestants freedom

but no unity, while Orthodoxy has both in full measure. According to the Slavophiles, Orthodoxy was the best of both worlds on a wide range of issues.

The Slavophiles, led by Alexis Khomiakov (1804-1860), asserted that the Russian Orthodox Church was the one, true Church and robustly condemned Western rationalism. He spent much of his time devising arguments for the superiority of the Russian Orthodox Church over Catholicism and Protestantism. Others, like Vladimir Soloviev (1853-1900) rejected this view as too narrowly Russian, but envisioned a more ecumenical union of Christians ushering in a new Christian era of history. The best known of the Slavophiles was the famous novelist Fedor Dostoevski (1821-1881).

§5-493. Reinvigorated monasticism.—Russian Orthodoxy was strengthened by a reinvigorated monasticism. The leading figures in this movement were the *startzi* (elders), spiritual counselors whose dedication to prayer and spiritual perfection gave them a special authority in the Church. The *starzi* represented a tradition remote from the 19th century Western world dedicated to monastic discipline and mystical experience going back centuries to the solitary desert fathers in the early Church. They were akin to those in the Hesychast movement in the Middle Ages.

An ironic feature of Russian Orthodoxy, given the popular Slavophile insistence on the self-sufficiency of Russian identity, was the concern of Russian ecclesiastics in preserving the very letter of the tradition received from the Greeks. These Church leaders played prominent roles in the Slavophile movement. One of the first leaders of the Slavophiles was Aleksei Khomiakov. Key to his thought was the concept of *sobornost*, a proposition that freedom is inseparable from unity and community. Within the pan-Slav community, Orthodoxy would carry out the divine commission of ensuring unity and community and bring all Christianity under its roof.

In addition, Russian clergy spoke of social progress and questioned Tsarist autocracy. Following Russia's defeat in the Sino-Russian War of 1905 and the ensuing social unrest, the Orthodox Church faced significant internal divisions regarding its course of action amid governmental repression and censorship.

V. Latin American Setting

A. Panoply of New Nations

§5-501. In general.—In the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in Latin America there grew a tension between newly arrived Europeans (*peninsulares*) and the native descendants of earlier European immigrants (*criollos*). The *criollos* had become wealthy through the exploitation of Indian and slave labor and felt that they understood the affairs of the colonies better than the newcomers. The *peninsulares* were better connected to the authorities in Europe and got the plum appointments. The net effect was that the *criollos* played a role in Latin American independence like the role played by the bourgeoisie in France.

§5-502. Post-Napoleonic revolts.—Napoleon deposed the royal house of Spain in 1808 and appointed his brother Joseph as king. However, Napoleon lacked the power to force obedience to his brother in the New World. When the *peninsulares* insisted on obedience to the new regime,

the *criollos* took the occasion to set up independent states ruled apart from the new king. When the royal house of Spain was reestablished in 1814, the Spanish king, instead of showing gratitude for those who had preserved his territories for him, set out to undo these regional juntas.

Revolts throughout the continent ensued and one by one South American countries established their independence. Movements led by Simon Bolivar (1783-1830) and Jose San Martin (1778-1850), and others won freedom for Spain's colonies. Brazil declared independence from Portugal in 1822 and was governed as an empire under a branch of the Portuguese royal family until it transitioned to a republic in 1889. The South American freedom fighters were influenced by Enlightenment thought. With independence came a friction between those who wanted to see the Church subordinated to the state and those who wanted to minimize governmental interference with religious practice.

There were common threads in these revolts. Democratic and republican ideas from France and the United States provided an ideological framework for revolution and independence. However, these revolutions usually resulted in power residing in the *criollos*, who had gained their wealth and prominence by exploitation and who subsequently paid little or no attention to the needs of the masses, whether it be land reform or anything else.

B. Church in the New Nations

§5-506. Post-revolt situation of the Roman Catholic Church.—The Latin American Catholic Church struggled after the revolts. The revolts were led by native Caucasians against European officials. The European-born clergy either perished or left the country and the parishes, missions, and dioceses staffed by them suffered. Schools, missions, and other ministries were closed. The native-born clergy were inferior to the monastic clergy who had departed and worship and religious practice suffered significantly.

To add to the difficulty, the anti-clerical and anti-Christian currents in post-Napoleonic Europe were very evident in the Latin American scene. The secular and rationalistic revolt against Catholic Christianity had its corollary expression in the new republics/dictatorships of Latin America. In every Latin American country, the struggle between the clericals, who backed the Church, and the anti-clericals, who sought Church subordination to the State, was chronic and often bitter.

The result was that the Roman Catholic Church became quite anemic over this century. People drifted away from regular religious practice. The Latin American Church continued to be parasitic, dependent on European clergy. There was a significant effort by Rome and Catholic Europe to ride to the rescue and to buttress the Church in Latin America. However, this failed to take root in native practice. Latin American Catholicism took almost no share in the worldwide propagation of the faith, did little to reach native South Americans with the faith, and gave rise to no new monastic orders or creative theological movements.

§5-507. Ongoing debates.—Throughout the 19th century, there was a great ideological debate in Latin America between conservatives and liberals, both belonging to the upper classes. Conservatives feared freedom of thought and free enterprise and liberals promoted them. Conservatives looked to Spain and were in lockstep with the reactionary (at the time) Roman

Church, while liberals looked to Great Britain, France, and the United States as their models. However, neither group really wanted to alter the social order. They just wanted their group to control it.

§5-508. In general; divisions in the Church.—The tensions between the *peninsulares* and the *criollos* showed itself in the structures of the Roman Church. The *peninsulares* controlled the higher offices and the *criollos* formed the bulk of the lower clergy. When the nations of Latin America broke away from Spain, the new governments started nominating their own bishops. It was fifty years before the Roman Church finally acknowledged this new political reality and began to appoint bishops as recommended. Given the sacramental nature of Catholicism, the lack of bishops meant more than just a lack of senior leadership but also of ordained clergy. The practice of sacraments in the church experienced significant interruptions in South America. While the higher officials had opposed the uprisings against Spain, the lower clergy had overwhelmingly supported them. The attitudes toward the new governments tracked the old divide between *peninsulares* and *criollos* from colonial times.

§5-509. Trends in late 19th century society.—In the second half of the 19th century, Latin American liberalism espoused the positivist philosophy of August Comte, which advocated for a society reorganized by the dictates of reason. The positivists became vehemently anti-Catholic. Comte argued that human society had gone through three stages: theological, metaphysical, and scientific. While there were conclaves of the first two stages, Comte argued that society needed to be in the third stage. There should be a clear distinction between spiritual authority and temporal power, the latter in the hands of the capitalists and the merchants who better understood the needs of modern society. Spiritual authority could be placed in a new Catholic Church without a supernatural God and devoted to the needs of humanity. These ideas gained ground among the bourgeoisie in Latin America.

The second half of the 19th century brought new waves of immigrants to Latin America. The main consequence was the significant increase in baptized Catholics, with the church offering little ministry attention or religious instruction. Latin American Catholicism grew ever more superficial. As current ideas gripped the middle and lower classes, new admixtures of faith and modernity emerged. The faithful came to see their faith as something held independently or even against the authority of the Church.

§5-510. Protestant churches.—Latin American independence led to the founding of Protestant churches in every Latin American country. This was the result of immigration. Latin American countries encouraged immigration from Europe and the United States for a variety of reasons: (1) to provide experienced personnel necessary for industrial development; (2) to encourage the farming of untilled and arable land; and (3) to introduce ideas contrary from those of Spain and the Roman Catholic Church.

§5-511. Immigrant patterns.—In order to encourage this immigration, Latin American countries enacted laws guaranteeing freedom of religion to immigrants. Immigration brought missions. During the second half the 19th century, permanent Protestant missions work began in almost every Latin American country. By the beginning of the 20th century, Protestant missions had made significant strides in Latin America. These missions preached the gospel but also were concerned with the physical health and education of the populations they served. By 1914, there were significant numbers of Protestants in every Latin American country.

VII. Christianity's Worldwide Expansion

“Expect great things from God! Attempt great things for God!” William Carey

A. In general

§5-521. In general; linkage with European colonialism.—The 19th century marked an new interest in Protestantism in getting the gospel to distant peoples. At the beginning of the century, Protestant Christianity had a meager representation outside of Europe and North America. The 19th century was the great era of Protestant Christian expansion.

Geographically, Christianity expanded dramatically with the expansion of European colonialism. In addition to bringing the gospel, missionaries also brought with them their confidence in the superiority of Western culture. Some opposed the treatment of natives in colonized regions, but most believed the benefits of colonization would eventually outweigh the drawbacks. God had placed the benefits of Western civilization in the hands of white people in order that they “share” it with the rest of the world. Rudyard Kipling famously crystalized this attitude as “the white man’s burden” to “civilize and convert the heathen.”

Modernity did produce substantial benefits. However, it also produced the dislocation of the landless poor, the destruction of cultural patterns that had sustained societies in the past, and growing disparities in living conditions between the rich and the poor. Western colonial expansion coincided with Protestant (and Catholic) missionary expansion and created a complex relationship between colonialism and the missionary enterprise. Missionary work was linked with European colonialism in the minds of natives.

§5-522. William Carey, father of modern missions.—The Pietists and the Moravians were first Protestants to show interest in missions. However, their concern focused on Europeans in the colonies. They created tiny islands of faith in the surrounding sea of heathenism. William Carey was the individual who introduced Protestant Christians to missions on a grander scale. He has been aptly described as the “father of modern missions”. He thought of evangelizing entire countries. He thought that the development of local ministry was the first and greatest concern of all missionary considerations. Christianity should be deeply integrated into the culture and traditions of the region where it is established.

Carey was a cobbler who converted in 1779 and was baptized in 1783. After acquiring some preaching experience, he became a Baptist pastor, supporting his family by teaching and by shoe-making. He began associating with other Baptist pastors who resisted the prevailing hyper-Calvinism, which asserted that preaching should avoid application to the hearers and appeals to conversion lest the preacher interfere with God’s election of his chosen people. Particular Baptists thought it unnecessary to send people to missions work. God would save his own in his own time and way. The elect would come, grace was irresistible, and to get involved with missions would muck it up and might cause missionaries to preach to the non-elect for whom God had made no provision. Carey came to the conviction that this was an artificially truncated endeavor. He came to believe that it was the duty of those entrusted with the gospel to carry it to the entire world.

In 1792, he published *An Inquiry into the Obligation of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathen*, in which he took on five common objections raised against missions to the heathen: their distance, their barbarism, the danger incurred, the difficulties of support, and the language barrier. In that same year, he and others formed the Baptist Missionary Society and soon Carey and his family were on their way to India.

The British East India Trading Company opposed his work so he settled in Serampore under the Dutch flag and secured part-time employment in a factory in Bengal. Several years later, two other Baptist missionaries joined him. In the first seven years in India, Carey suffered through personal tragedy and ministerial disappointment. He lost two children, his wife suffered through depression, and he only baptized one person. However, as he later said: “I can plod. I can persevere in a definite pursuit.”

“Expect great things from God! Attempt great things for God!” became his rallying cry. He and his colleagues labored on for the next quarter century organizing and teaching a growing network of missions stations in and beyond Bengal. They plunged into the Hindu culture. They regarded a full understanding of the culture as essential to their work. They also spent time translating the Scriptures. By 1824, Carey had supervised six complete and twenty-four partial translations of the Bible as well as publishing grammars, dictionaries, and translations of native textbooks.

§5-523. Contagion of missionary service.—Before he died, William Carey was instrumental in many conversions of people and many translations of the Bible into formerly unreached languages. His zeal and his faithful reports inspired people in Britain and the United States to follow him into the foreign field. His example proved contagious. Protestants embraced the mission to carry the gospel to all people. By the 1820s and 1830s, overseas missions became a general feature of British church life.

Two characteristics drove this movement. First, it was evangelical, firmly believing that salvation came only through Christ and convinced that people were lost without faith in him. Second, it was prophetically optimistic. These people genuinely believed that the knowledge of the Lord would fill the earth and that this spread of the gospel worldwide would prepare for the coming reign of Christ on earth.

§5-524. Follow-on work and workers.—After Carey’s death in 1834, Adoniram Judson continued his work in parts of India before going to Burma. Judson became something of an American foreign missions rock star. A missionary to Burma for 38 years, he became the foremost exemplar of the foreign missions movement. The lionization of Judson and his family showed how deeply evangelical America embraced foreign missions in the early 19th century.

This movement went far beyond one or two outstanding examples. Robert Morrison worked in China, John Williams in the South Seas, and Robert Moffat in South Africa. In 1860, Hudson Taylor founded the China Inland Mission. Taylor allowed single women to become missionaries, inspiring Lottie Moon and Amy Carmichael to take the gospel deeper into China and India. Listen to few stanzas of Amy Carmichael's verse to get a picture of the devotion of these women:

From prayer that asks that I may be
Sheltered from winds that beat on Thee
From fearing when I should aspire

From faltering when I should climb higher
 From silken self, O Captain, free
 Thy soldier who would follow Thee.

From subtle love of softening things
 From easy choices, weakenings
 Not thus were spirits fortified
 Not this way went the Crucified
 From all that dims Thy Calvary
 O Lamb of God, deliver me.

Seventy-six years after Carey's death, one thousand two hundred missionaries from one hundred and sixty different mission boards met in Edinburgh, Scotland. The number of foreign missionaries had increased 1,000% over that period.

American Protestants had been active in home and foreign missions throughout the 19th century, but that interest and activity mushroomed from 1890 on. The period from 1890 to 1917 in America was the golden age of Protestant missions. American influence impacted both the receiving and sending countries. In 1890, there were approximately nine hundred Americans serving as foreign missionaries. By 1900, that jumped to five thousand. By 1925, that jumped to the Pietists and the Moravians thirteen thousand and comprised half the global total.

§5-525. Creation of voluntary societies.—Carey pioneered the creation of voluntary societies as a form of support for missions. These societies, for missions and for other causes, transformed 19th century Christianity. Both Catholic and Protestant missions were supported by well-organized missionary societies. The Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions founded in 1886 was a prime mover in this dramatic increase in support for foreign missions. Other movements flourished, like the Missionary Education Movement founded in 1902 and the Laymen's Missionary Movement founded in 1907. While not primarily sending agencies, these latter two organizations were supportive of foreign missions. The Foreign Missions Conference founded in 1893 sponsored mission conventions that paved the way for a global missions conference in Edinburgh, Scotland in 1910, which proved to be the organizational launching pad for the ecumenical movement.

Modernists gained control of mainstream denominational missions boards latter in the century. The missions dynamic began to pass to international, faith-based missions. J. Hudson Taylor's China Inland Mission, founded in 1865, became the pattern for these new faith missions. Others followed suit on both sides of the Atlantic: Woman's Union Missionary Society, Sudan Interior Mission (1893), Africa Inland Mission (1895), and Inland South America Missionary Union (1914). Wycliffe Bible Translators (1934) and World Radio Missionary Fellowship (1931) were later America expressions of this type of missionary zeal for specialized constituencies. The Christian and Missionary Alliance (1881) was a new denomination united by its missionary zeal and sustaining support for that work.

The base of Catholic mission was France; that of Protestant missions was England and later the United States. It made possible interdenominational action and cooperation. Mission drove these societies rather than denominational hedges. By the end of the 19th century, almost every Christian body and almost every country had its share of missionary endeavors overseas.

§5-526. Gender and culture in the mission field.—From 1861 to 1894, American women founded women’s missionary societies in thirty-three denominations as well as seventeen groups focused on evangelizing in the United States. Stories of the relative independence of women’s ministry on the mission field began to alarm male church authorities and in the middle of the fundamentalist-modernist controversy in the 1920s and 1930s, many churches and organizations began to crack down on allowing women to train and serve in various capacities on the missions field. It was not until the 1970s that a countertrend began. The argument used was that evangelicalism had once aligned with progressive causes and questioned the real reasons for retracking.

§5-527. Ecumenical leadership.—John R. Mott (1865-1955) was the most widely traveled and influential missions leader and ecumenical administrator of his time. He was instrumental in founding the World Student Christian Federation in 1895. In 1910, he chaired the Edinburgh Missionary Conference and then the Continuation Committee. That in turn became the International Missionary Council, which Mott served as chair until he retired in 1942. Mott wedded personal Christian commitment with superb organizational and administrative skills along with a desire to transcend historic confessional distinctives in the interest of Christian cooperation.

§5-528. Marks of modern Christianity.—The Protestant missionary movement of the 19th century highlights several characteristics of modern Christianity:

- Worldwide expansion usually came by voluntarism not by compulsion. Until this era, the propagation of the faith had had the active support of rulers of Christian countries and often resulted in compulsory mass conversions. Protestant missions in the 19th century, with few exceptions, were without state support or control. They advanced primarily by the power of persuasion.
- The missionary movement tapped the wealth and talents of rank-and-file Protestants. Unlike earlier movements led by missionary monks or bishops, the new missionary societies organized on the widest base possible.
- A variety of humanitarian ministries accompanied the widespread preaching of the gospel. Missions established schools, hospitals, taught better health and nutrition practices, reduced languages to writing and translated not only the Bible but other writings into these languages.
- Ecumenical movement—Christianity in the 19th century began to be a truly universal church. Until the 19th century, Christianity was primarily a Western religion. By 1914, there were Christian churches in almost every nation of the world and these churches were beginning to develop their own national leadership. This resulted in the birth of the ecumenical movement in two senses—it pertained to the entire world and the driving force of modern Christianity was the missionary movement. Ecumenical sentiments gained ground in different Christian confessions because of causes that appealed across denominational lines—abolition, temperance, fundamentalism, liberalism, and so forth. Another reason for ecumenical unity was that missions often required cooperation. Divisions that made sense in Europe and the United States were senseless on the mission field.

B. Asia

What follows is a brief description of the spread of Christianity in Asia.

§5-531. India.—In the 18th and 19th centuries, the British followed the Dutch settlers and took over most of India and created colonies in Burma, Borneo, and Malaya. At the beginning of this era, Christianity in India had three main wings: (1) the Syrian Church, professing to trace its origins to the Apostle Thomas, (2) the Roman Catholic Church, active in the India since the closing years of the 15th century, and (3) the Protestants, who began making converts through the Danish mission early in the century.

The 19th century witnessed a substantial growth of Christianity in India. William Carey (1761-1834) was one of the first Protestant missionaries to work there. At the time of his arrival (1790s), the British East India Trading Company, which represented British commercial interests in the area, opposed missionary activity out of fear that it would cause social tensions disruptive to trade. Despite this opposition, Carey preached throughout the Bengal region and translated the New Testament into Bengali. His work was widely reported in Britain and the United States. These led to an end of restrictions on missionary activity and inspired other missionaries to join him. In the early part of the 20th century, there were over 5,000 Protestant missionaries in India. There were numerous conversions in India, especially among lower classes, including the "untouchables" who had been marginalized.

Alexander Duff, continuing Carey's work in India, became famous for his emphasis on education. When India gained its independence in the following century, many of its leaders were Christian or people profoundly influenced by a Christian based education. Many in the lower classes – the untouchables – found real liberation in the gospel carried to them by Protestant missionaries. Pandita Ramabai was outstanding among these workers, particularly in the ministry to, and education of, women.

The Roman Catholics were also active in India during this century. The Jesuits and several new orders and missionary societies led this effort. The number of reported Roman Catholics more than doubled during this time. Once again, many of the converts were members of the lower classes and the hill tribes of very primitive cultures. Catholic missionaries undertook measures to raise the economic level of these destitute peoples. Catholic missionaries provided cooperative stores, rice banks, industrial schools, cottage industries, and improved methods of agriculture.

The Syrian Church did not experience expansion at all. It had settled into a mode like a caste, a closed society neither losing many to non-Christian faiths nor gaining many from them.

§5-532. Southeast Asia.—In Southeast Asia, the kingdom of Siam (Thailand) geographically separated the zones of colonial influence. The French Indochina appeared to the east of this kingdom and British Burma to the west. Siam was and remained solidly Buddhist. The Roman Catholic Society of Missions of Paris worked in the country but made very little headway.

Roman Catholicism in French Indochina made gains during the first two-thirds of the century. However, this period was punctuated by recurring persecutions with hundreds of priests and thousands of lay believers losing their lives. Despite these persecutions, the Catholic faith

survived and experienced growth during intervals of peace.

France made these persecutions the reason for extending her colonial rule and after the completion of the French conquest, the persecutions ceased. Christianity increased more rapidly in this era and many of the new believers gathered into villages purely of the faith. Thanks to the tutelage of missionaries and native clergy, the people in these villages tended to be more prosperous than their non-Christian neighbors.

Adoniram Judson was the most famous missionary to Burma. He devoted himself to translation work and gained few converts at first. One convert began a movement of mass conversion within his tribe. There was a rapid growth of the faith, mostly among the Karens tribe and chiefly by the American Baptists (Judson's denomination). The extension of British rule over Burma aided missionary work in that it created a sympathetic governing structure. Where there were almost no Christians at the outset of the century, there was a healthy and growing church at its conclusion.

§5-533. China.—Ancient tradition held that the apostle Thomas first brought Christianity to both India and China. We do know that Syrian Christians reached China with the gospel in the 7th century and survived there until the early years of the Ming dynasty in the 14th century. Christianity was reintroduced by Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) and his Jesuit companions the 1580s. He preached the gospel to the country's aristocratic elite, explaining it in terms of traditional Chinese religious and philosophical concepts. However, controversy and waves of isolationism among the Chinese had rendered this initially successful work a small and precarious grouping.

§5-534. —Significant missionaries.—The first Protestant missionary in China was Robert Morrison (1782-1834). He was an employee of the British East India Trading Company who settled in Canton and devoted his life to translating the Bible and other books into Chinese. He gained few converts but his example and the existence of a Chinese translation of Scripture nurtured the native Christians and kept alive the dream of really opening this vast land to the influence of the gospel.

The Opium War (1839-1842) broke out. The British found themselves going to war to protect the right of British merchants to import opium into China in violation of Chinese imperial decrees. The upshot was that British gained Hong Kong and forcefully opened five Chinese ports to British trade. Soon, other powers followed the British example and forced ever greater concessions from the Chinese. These forced concessions provided for the presence of missionaries and granted them protection. Converts came to be known as rice Christians, because they were suspected of converting to enjoy the privileges of Christianity (such as food rations).

One of the results of this was the Rebellion of Taiping and the establishment of the Heavenly Kingdom. The movement began in Hong Kong led by a teacher convinced that he should reign over the Heavenly Kingdom of the Great Peace. In 1850, the movement led to open rebellion against Chinese authorities and won important victories, establishing their capital in Nanjing in 1851. It took the imperial armies fifteen to finally crush the rebellion. The war resulted in approximately 20,000,000 deaths (yes, you read that number right!!).

Hudson Taylor arrived in China during this rebellion. He founded and led the China Inland

Mission. The purpose of his organization was to evangelize China without introducing the divisions that existed in European and American Protestantism. He refused foreign protection and typical colonial advantages because he thought these would eventually prove counterproductive.

His objections proved prophetic. In 1899-1901, China was torn apart by the Boxer Rebellion, a violent expression of Chinese resentment of foreign intervention. Hundreds of missionaries and thousands of Chinese Christians were tortured and killed. The Chinese laid siege to Western embassies until Western armies arrived to crush the rebellion. The upheaval led to even greater concessions to Western powers and finally to the collapse of the Chinese imperial authority in 1911.

§5-535. —Linkage with foreign domination.—European optimism about Christianity's progress in China at the start of World War I was unfounded. The Christian missionary endeavor was linked with foreign intervention in the Chinese mind which regarded that intervention with revulsion.

§5-536. Japan.—Roman Catholic missionaries introduced Christianity to Japan in the 16th century, but it was banned and forced underground in the 17th century. From that time until the 1850s, Japan remained all but sealed from Western influence. Japan's rulers closed the country to all Western contacts except a for limited and tightly controlled trade with the Dutch through the port of Nagasaki. In 1854, Commodore Perry of the United States Navy forced the Japanese to sign a commercial treaty. Britain, France, the Netherlands, and Russia followed suit in signing commercial treaties with Japan in quick succession.

During the decades that followed, trading relationships began to flourish. Japan moved quickly to reorganize its government, military, business, and industry along Western lines. They recognized Western technological superiority and sought to learn as much as possible. By the turn of the century, Japan was an industrial and military power capable of defeating the Russians in 1905 and annexing the Korean peninsula.

Christianity made no great headway in Japanese society in the 19th century, even though re-introduced in the late 1850s. Catholic and Russian Orthodox missionaries were the first to return once Japan opened its doors. Protestants soon followed. Jesuits, Dominicans, and the Franciscans led the Catholic advance. Those same orders had much to do with the original introduction of Christianity in the 16th and 17th centuries. Hidden Catholic groups were uncovered, but many of these had developed ancestral practices that caused them to maintain a separate existence.

Russian Orthodox efforts were led by Ivan (Nicolai) Kassatkin. He came as a chaplain to the Russian consulate in a northern Japanese island and slowly won converts. He moved to Tokyo, expanded his resources in Russia, and became the bishop and later archbishop in Japan. At his death in 1912, there were tens of thousands of Orthodox believers.

Protestantism was the most successful and influential of the Christian groups in Japan. The Protestant missionaries were primarily from the United States. At the end of this period, membership in Protestant churches numbered over 100,000. Protestant influence went further. Many Japanese thought of themselves as Christians and became such through Protestants but did

not formally adhere to any particular Protestant denomination. The lectures, Bible teaching, and writing of Kanso Uchimura (1861-1930) were of import. An earnest Christian, he had no ecclesiastical ties out of concern for the divisions of denominationalism.

While Christianity, particularly Protestant Christianity, grew in numbers and influence throughout the latter part of the 19th century, it still represented less than one percent of the Japanese population. Traditional Shintoism fit better with the culture, particularly with the growth of Japanese nationalism.

§5-537. Korea.—Korea has played the unhappy role of being a bone of contention between her more powerful neighbors. China, Japan, and Russia sought either to dominate the peninsula or to prevent it from falling into the hands of other rivals. The Japanese learned their lessons in coercion from the West quickly and well. By 1876, Japan forced Korea to sign a commercial treaty. Other treaties with the United States (1882), Britain (1883), and Russia (1884) quickly followed. This opened the Korean peninsula to Protestant missionaries (the Methodists and Presbyterians first came in 1884) with astonishing results.

In 1894, Japan decisively defeated China and Japan in a war for control of Korea. The Japanese Russia then defeated Russia decisively in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905. That led to Japan annexing Korea in 1910, resulting in numerous difficulties for Christian missionaries.

Despite the difficulties, the Protestant church prospered. Among the reasons for such growth were the insistence on early self-support among Korean churches, the encouragement of each Korean Christian to actively seek to win his or her neighbors, the active recruitment of Korean ministers and missionaries supported by Korean churches, and that Korean churches built in Korean style and only as Koreans could pay for them. Lay Bible classes taught and trained the Korean laity believers in the principles of the faith and in its propagation. Korea today has more Christians per capita than any other Asian nation (with the arguable exception of the Philippines).

§5-538. Philippines.—Spain conquered and colonized the Philippines, opening missionary opportunities for Roman Catholicism. The acquiescent Philippine character converted and conformed to the Roman Catholic model. Hopes for Philippine independence were fostered by examples from Latin America. Philippine independence was declared in 1896. However, because of the Spanish-American War of 1898, Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States and independence remained a dream until 1946.

The Roman Church had sided with Spain during the struggle against Spanish colonialism. The political circumstances led to the establishment of the Filipino Independent Church, which was significantly influenced by Protestant principles. That influence increased during the period of the American occupation. There was an influx of American missionaries who focused their ministries chiefly among the nominally Roman Catholic elements.

Faced with a secession church, an influx of Protestant missionaries, and no longer a church actively promoted by a Catholic national government, Rome took drastic measures in altering its Filipino policies. Filipino priests were promoted, native priests received better training, Spanish bishops and friars returned to Spain, and American priests were sent to counter Protestant missionaries. Existing Roman Catholic schools altered their curricula to meet the new situation

and new schools were opened. The Catholic Church was reinvigorated as the Protestant church grew.

§5-539. Indonesia.—Known then as the East Indies, these islands were home to many faiths. Hinduism and Buddhism had once been dominant, but when Islam arrived, it became the faith of the majority of the inhabitants. Roman Catholicism was introduced by the Portuguese in the 16th century but became marginalized by the early 19th century. In the 17th century, the Dutch brought Protestantism and under Dutch auspices, a state church of the Reformed faith had arisen and grown chiefly in the smaller islands. The Dutch East India Company had overseen the colonial enterprise through the 18th century and had resisted missionary efforts to the natives.

In the 19th century, the Dutch expanded their rule over the East Indies. With that expansion missionary activity increased, mostly by Dutch Protestants. The bad for business mantra of the East India Company was replaced by energized efforts to reach the native population. The main gains were among the animists. However, numbers only told a part of the story. Numerous languages were documented in written form, and the inception of Christian literature occurred in these various languages. Hundreds of schools were founded or reopened. Medical care was given. The status of women improved. Native churches were growing and were increasingly led by indigenous leaders.

Christians in the Netherlands roundly criticized corrupt government and commercial exploitation of natives. Abraham Kuyper and his political allies pressured the Dutch Government to take action on these issues. The earlier exploitation known as the “culture” system was replaced by what was called the “ethical policy”.

In conjunction with these efforts, the English adventurer, James Brooke, his son Sir Charles Anthony Brooke, and his grandson Sir Charles Vyner Brooke (rajahs of Sarawak on Borneo) invited missionaries into their territory and encouraged provision of improved education and medical services. The result of these various initiatives was a significant increase of Christians in Indonesia by the end of the 19th century.

§5-540. South Seas.—In the 19th century, Christianity became the dominant religion in the south Pacific. This was chiefly through the emergence of two new nations, Australia and New Zealand, by immigration from the British Isles, and in success in holding immigrants to their hereditary faith.

The explorations of these areas by James Cook were what initially caught the attention of William Carey. Australia and New Zealand were colonized by the British, who established in them churches like those in Britain. The native populations, tribes in primitive stages of culture with animistic religions, were decimated by the diseases brought by European immigrants. The Christian church was vocal in protesting these abuses and the exploitation of the native peoples. After 1870, the smaller islands of Polynesia and Micronesia were also colonized in Europe’s mad rush for colonies. By the end of the 19th century, these islands were populated by Christian churches.

Settlement of Australia began in the late 18th century by the involuntary transportation of convicts from the British Isles. Hardly an auspicious start! However, as the 19th century progressed large numbers of free settlers poured into the land. Christianity confronted the

challenge of holding colonists and their descendants to their historic faith absent all the ecclesiastical props and structure of the homeland. The growth of cities with large labor constituencies tended to encourage drift from the faith. Materialism and the intellectual movements undermining faith in the 19th century were also very present threats. Nevertheless, Australian Christianity was successful in weaving itself into the sinew of the new nation. Most of the immigrants were from the British Isles with the dominant groups being Presbyterians, Methodists, and Anglicans. A vigorous Christianity emerged which shaped the ideals, morals, and education of the new nation.

In the early 19th century, New Zealand was inhabited by native Polynesians. Caucasian immigration did not begin in earnest until the 1840s and mostly from the British Isles. The initial missionaries to the natives were Anglican and Methodist in persuasion and Christianity spread quite rapidly, through the efforts of members of the Church Missionary Society. That Society sought to prevent Caucasian immigration because it believed it would lead to the exploitation of the native population, quite correctly as things turned out.

Caucasian settlement was driven by religious purposes and a desire for material gain. Some leaders sought earnest Christian immigrants, not out of interest in the faith, but to attract colonists of what they deemed a “high” type. Nevertheless, a considerable number of the Caucasian settlers ended up populating the Anglican, Presbyterian, and Methodist churches that sprang up throughout New Zealand.

C. Africa

What follows is a brief description of the spread of Christianity in Africa.

§5-541. In general.—Muslims dominated North Africa for centuries. Beyond that area were the barren lands of the Sahara. Beyond those barren lands were tropical areas deemed unhealthy by Europeans. For centuries, Europeans saw Africa merely as an obstacle to reaching the riches of the East. In the 19th century, this attitude changed drastically.

By 1914, the region of Sub-Saharan Africa was extensively covered by Christian missions, driven by imperial ambitions, adventure and curiosity, and the objective of spreading the Christian faith. Missionaries reduced languages to writing, translated and distributed the Bible, founded hundreds of schools, fought the retreating remnants of slavery, and formed and promoted Christian communities.

§5-542. Early colonialism.—Colonization in Africa started gradually in the first half of the century and rapidly increased in the second half. Africa south of the Sahara contained the largest population of primitive cultures to be found anywhere in the world. The organization was tribal, the vast majority of the people were illiterate, most of the spoken languages had never been given written form, and the religious practice was chiefly animism. The 19th century witnessed the exploration of this vast region by Europeans, its partition by European powers, and the beginning of a drastic change in patterns of life among the natives.

Many missionaries made their way to Africa as the industrialized nations of Europe began to take a greater interest in the continent. There were explorers like David Livingstone (1813-

1873), who arrived in Africa in 1841. His journeys through Africa and his reports on them made him famous. His reports inspired people to carry the gospel throughout the world. He himself was a traveler with the gospel as his cause. He loved the Africans, dealt with them tactfully and selflessly, and won their confidence. A keen observer, he made voluminous records of what he saw. His journals abound with passages of almost mystical devotion. He expressed profound concern about the severe impact of the central African slave trade, referring to it as "an open sore of the world".

Henry Stanley was a newspaper correspondent sent to find Livingstone, with whom the outside world had lost touch. Stanley was immensely impressed by this unique traveler-missionary. After Livingstone's death, Stanley assumed the unfinished task of exploration. In 1874, he led an expedition to Uganda, taught the principles of the Christian faith to the leader of a native people, and translated part of the Bible for them. The leader professed Christ and Stanley publicized this event and called for missionaries to follow up what he had begun.

Others translated the Scriptures into African languages. Still others were political activists (e.g. John Philip (1771-1851)) who were as concerned with the rights of the Africans as with saving their souls. As the European colonial powers penetrated the interior of Africa later in the century, Christianity followed.

§5-543. Race for empire; effects.—In the 1880s and 1890s, Europeans divided Africa by arrangement between themselves. At a conference in Berlin in 1884-1885 they agreed upon general principles for that division. Great Britain, France, Portugal, and Germany received the major shares. By 1900, there were missions and newly established churches everywhere on the continent. The leadership and cultural dominance of the Europeans was evident in their missionary work throughout the 19th century. In general, Catholic missions were most successful in Catholic colonies (French, Portuguese, Belgian, and Italian) while Protestants gained most adherents in British and German colonies.

§5-544. South Africa.—We will pick two areas to illustrate the spread of Christianity, both in its dynamic and in the issues with which it had to contend. The first of these is South Africa. In the southern extremity of the African continent arose the Union of South Africa. Great Britain occupied and annexed South Africa after the Napoleonic wars. The Union of South Africa eventually became a self-governing dominion within the British Empire with a complex ethnic picture. There were multiple and intense cleavages and frictions along racial and national lines.

The Caucasians were the governing, but minority group, divided between the Boers and the British. The Boers or Afrikaners were of mixed Dutch and French Huguenot ancestry who had tense relations with the governing British. A bitter war, the Boer War of 1899-1902, would result from these tensions. The British, the Pyrrhic victors of that war, gave the region dominion status in 1909-1910 in an attempt to heal the wounds of the conflict. Nevertheless, the two groups remained distinct in language, denominational persuasion, and customs. The native African population consisted of three groups: the Bushmen, Hottentots, and Bantus, each with distinct characteristics and migratory histories.

Most of the Dutch settlers were of the Dutch Reformed Church. At this time, that group experienced a strong pietistic, evangelical awakening, led by Andrew Murray. Murray was a missionary pastor who answered a plea for clergy by the British governor, due to the dearth of

Dutch ministers in the region. He had two sons, John and Andrew Jr., both thoroughly trained in the Reformed tradition in Scotland before they returned to South Africa. John became a prominent in the leading theological seminary and Andrew Jr. (1828-1917) went on to be an influential pastor and the widely read author of devotional books with a worldwide audience.

In the British contingent, there were Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist elements. The Anglicans were most prominent due to the early and influential ministry of Bishop Robert Grey, who ministered near Cape Town from 1847 to 1872. He was in sympathy with the Anglo-Catholic tendencies of the Oxford Movement back in England. He traveled widely over his huge diocese, built churches, recruited and trained ministers, and promoted missions everywhere he went.

Christianity spread rapidly among the Africans themselves. Estimates place the number of African Christians at the end of this era at thirty of the population. John Philip was an influential leader. He championed the African cause, fought slavery, sought treaties with native chiefs to prevent the wars on the frontier of Caucasian settlements, and worked to have native states established which would exclude all Caucasians, except missionaries. He strongly opposed exploitation of the Africans by Europeans. Dutch Reformed also claimed a considerable number of converts as well, led in that impetus by Andrew Murray Jr.. However, the Dutch tended to treat the Africans in a much more paternalistic fashion. Late in the century, American missionaries joined the work mostly through the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

§5-545. Uganda.—Our second illustrative area is Uganda. Stirred by the efforts of David Livingstone, an important center of Christianity arose in Uganda, amid the highlands of equatorial Africa. Stanley led the initial efforts and then issued a clarion call for earnest missionaries to follow up those efforts. The Church Missionary Society responded in 1877 followed by the White Fathers in 1879. Both groups (Anglican and Roman Catholic) had striking success. In 1894, when Uganda became a British protectorate, Rome assigned a portion of that country to a new English Catholic order, the Mill Hill Fathers. Each church developed an extensive system of schools and worked to recruit and train indigenous clergy.

VIII. Conclusion; The Guns of August

§5-551. In general; progressive optimism and Christian response.—The “Progressive” Century was one of change and expansion. It was an optimistic age of industrial and scientific advances which coincided with an explosion of European colonialism. European culture reigned supreme around the globe. Liberals accommodated themselves to culture and appeared to many as compromising the historic Christian message and reducing the Christian faith to a social action plan. Conservative churches aimed to strike a balance between proclaiming the gospel and implementing social reforms, but their progress in several areas was gradual.

§5-552. Christians and the secular modern age.—What were Christians to make of the modern age? Should they accommodate the message to its dictates? Liberals argued that such accommodation was necessary to make it possible for a person to be an intelligent modern and a serious Christian. Conservatives rejected liberal cultural accommodation. They believed in the authority of the Scripture in faith and practice but also thought that belief could go together with

serious theological scholarship that wrestled intelligently with the claims of the modern world. Many supporters of this view were optimistic about the era. That optimism was to crash hard on the shoals of World War I.

§5-553. Guns of August.—World War I began in August 1914 and burst the bubble of optimism. More than ten million people died, and the civilized West reduced to a ghastly brutality totally at variance to the “white man’s burden” to civilize the rest of humanity. Who was going to civilize the civilizer? While the Allied victory could be seen as a victory for liberal democracy, it was a Pyrrhic one. Communism became rooted in Russia. Fascist regimes arose in Italy (1922) and Germany (1933). Within two decades of the war to end all wars, the world plunged into World War II which resulted in the deaths of thirty to fifty million people and a level of destruction that made the carnage of the first war look modest in comparison.

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