Church History

Enlightenment Era: Reason and Revival

(RVS Notes)

Enlightenment Era:
Reason and Revival

"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)

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Enlightenment Era:
Reason and Revival

I. Overview and Historical Background

A. In General; Europe After the Reformation

§4-101. Generally—The Reformation and the religious conflict that resulted from it worked a number of major long-term changes in Christianity: (1) the emergence of multiple churches; (2) a shift in emphasis from practice to doctrine; (3) a greater stress on individual spirituality and self-consciousness; and (4) a growing secularism and a waning concern for religion itself. The following sections will consider the impact of each of these changes.

§4-102. Emergence of multiple churches—An inclusive late medieval Christendom gave way to divergent Christian churches distinguished by different beliefs, practices, and membership. The late medieval church was not a uniform, homogeneous whole. However, the disagreements among early modern Christians differ in seriousness from the disagreements among later groups.

Multiple attempts to reform the one Christian church led to the formation of multiple, mutually exclusive churches. Virtually all early modern Christians believed that only one body of Christian faithful should exist. Nevertheless, their earnest religious convictions brought about multiple churches – an outcome that none of the participants sought or approved.

§4-103. Shift from practice to doctrine; doctrinal pluralism—

***Shift in emphasis from practice to doctrine*—**During the Reformation, the average person in the pew experienced a shift from Christianity as primarily something one practiced to Christianity as fundamentally a body of doctrines one believed. Even in Roman Catholicism, mere implicit faith (fides qua of the Late Middle Ages) became less acceptable after the Council of Trent. Doctrinal disputes between Catholics and Protestants, between Protestant sects, and even among members of the same sect contributed to the increased emphasis on the importance of right doctrine in the Christian life.

The foundational beliefs that these Christian groups shared is essential to understanding the nature and intensity of the divisions between them. Protestants, Catholics, and Anabaptists all believed that the Bible was the Word of God, that God disposed of events according to His will in providence, that people would be rewarded with eternal salvation or punished with eternal damnation, and that only through God's definitive self-revelation and incarnation in Jesus Christ was salvation possible. Salvation comes from following Jesus Christ and adhering to his teachings.

The explosiveness of the divisions was in the backdrop of all these agreements. The differences, nuanced as they were, supercharged the divisions because they were controversies concerning disputes about God's truth with eternal ramifications. These disagreements were volatile because

they incorporated conflicting beliefs within a common set of convictions. Truth was understood as all of a piece and the very shared-ness of so many basic convictions supercharged the debates about distinctions.

***Doctrinal disagreement led to doctrinal pluralism*—**For the mindset of the Reformation, this implied doctrinal relativism and might lead to questioning the value of doctrine itself. Both were totally unacceptable ideas. Virtually all early modern Christians were doctrinal absolutists across the board because God's truth was neither doubtful nor negotiable (in major or minor points). The clash of commitments about God's teachings that might contribute to the eventual erosion of their significance, or to their relativizing by secular mindsets, was the last thing that any devout early modern Christian would have wanted.

§4-104. Emphasis on individual spirituality—Finally, there was an increased emphasis on individual spirituality. This is a direct harbinger of the modern stress on an individual's relationship with God as distinct from one's place in the community of the faithful.

§4-105. Effects of religious conflict

***Religious intolerance contributed to the rise of a secular political order*—**The continuing doctrinal controversy and recurring religious wars helped to make non-religious principles the only reliable basis for the stable organizing of society. The unwillingness of Christians to compromise on religion contributed to Christianity's eventual marginalization in influencing public affairs. Resulting modern ideas concerning the freedom of religion for individuals, and religion's elimination as a basis for ordering society's collective life, would have been deplored as intolerable by the majority of Christians of whatever stripe in the Reformation era.

***The uncompromising prioritization of religious concerns above all else helped to undermine concern for religion*—**The religious conflicts of the Reformation era made Christianity vulnerable to attack from secular ideologies in subsequent centuries. The behavior and doctrinal vehemence of the various Christian groups in the Reformation era damaged their respective causes and contributed to the long-term secularization of Western society.

B. Spirit of an "Enlightened" Age

§4-111. Generally

***Religion wanes*—**The Enlightenment or the Age of Reason was highlighted by the denial or downplaying of supernatural religion. Respect for science and human reason functionally replaced the Christian faith as the cornerstone of Western culture for many people. Questions of dogma seemed unimportant and behavior seemed all important. Christians grew less dogmatic and more focused on evangelical experience.

***Tolerance*—**The age reviled religious bigotry and glorified the virtue of tolerance. The memories of Reformation conflicts were close and that age had proved that the combination of faith and power is a potent brew. Evangelical Christianity spread rapidly by the power of preaching

without state compulsion and many Christians came to think that state support was not essential for Christian survival or desirable for its well-being.

***Reason and faith*—**The Middle Ages and the Reformation were centuries of faith where reason served faith. Theology was the queen of the sciences and philosophy was its handmaiden. God's revelation or the sacred tradition that had grown up around it came first not people's reasoning. Human purpose was understood in terms of preparing for eternity and living here in that backdrop. The new enlightened age rejected that. Reason was set in place of faith. People's primary concern was happiness and fulfillment in this life, not preparation for the next. Reason was to lead the way not faith, increasingly seen as mere myth and superstition.

§4-112. Influence of the Renaissance—The origins of this "enlightened" spirit can be traced to various sources. First was the influence of the Renaissance and the optimistic humanism it spawned. Most Renaissance humanists would not think of denying the Christian faith. Erasmus of Rotterdam (1467-1536) epitomized their attitude. His most famous work, *Praise of Folly*, ridiculed monasticism and scholasticism and promoted enlightened common sense, but did not denigrate the faith itself. Erasmus and other Renaissance humanists had a falling out with Luther due to their divergent views of human nature. Luther believed that human will was totally enslaved and unable to love and serve God apart from God's grace. Erasmus saw this as dangerous religious doctrine that undermined human moral responsibility. Luther and the Reformers focused on original sin and humankind's fallenness while the Renaissance had a positive estimate of human nature and of the universe itself.

§4-113. Wars of religion—Another root of the Enlightenment was the wars of religion from 1523 to 1648. Europe pulled back appalled at the slaughter and mayhem done in the name of faith. Common decency cried out against the power of fanatical clerics and religious devotees that provided cover for the horrible things done in the name of religion. A desire for tolerance and for finding common ground between sects grew and spread across the continent.

§4-114. Scientific revolution—The Scientific revolution was a third root of the Enlightenment. Scientific discoveries of the day filled people with a sense of the orderliness of creation and spawned the belief in something aptly described as the world machine. The sudden discovery of many mysteries of the universe magnified the role of human reason and led many to dismiss medieval beliefs as superstition. With that dismissal came the questioning of human fallenness. People are reasonable creatures who need to exercise common sense and to trust their own reasoning powers not to plead to a distant deity for grace.

§4-115. Intellectual trends—Two trends arose. One attempted to harmonize faith and reason. Christianity was presented as a reasonable faith: some truths come by reason (existence of God) and others by the witness of Scripture (resurrection of Christ). The second approach was hostile. Especially in France, confidence in reason soared and all appeals to revealed Scripture were dismissed as myth and superstitious nonsense.

C. Aftermath of the Peace of Westphalia

§4-121. Generally—In 1648, the Peace of Westphalia brought the 30 Years' War to an end and established the basic religio-political configuration of modern Europe which lasted until the 19th century. The treaty made minor territorial adjustments. Sweden gained territory along the Baltic, France gained lands in the Rhineland, the Netherlands received its independence, and the German princes were granted increased authority in their respective territories. The power of the Holy Roman emperor was virtually destroyed, and Germany became a collection of hundreds of small states and cities ruled by petty sovereigns. The Treaty canceled the Edict of Restitution of 1629, reinstated the terms of the Peace of Augsburg in 1555 with the additional provision that included Calvinism in the legal mix. In religious matters, princes as well as subjects would be free to follow their own religion, if they were Catholics, Lutherans, or Reformed. Once again, the Anabaptists (still considered subversive) were excluded.

The Peace of Westphalia established a precedent for the cessation of hostilities by means of diplomatic congresses. A system of political order in central Europe developed based on the concept of co-existing sovereign states. Aggression by any of these states against another was held in check by a balance of power. A norm was established against interference in another state's domestic affairs. As European power and influence grew around the world, these principles became embedded in international law and integral to prevailing concepts of world order.

§4-122. Seventeenth century—This century was the age of absolutism. Kings aggressively asserted their divine right to rule autocratically. The century encompassed the Baroque period culturally, the Dutch Golden Age commercially, the French Grand Siecle politically, and the onset of the Scientific Revolution. In this period, northern Europe joined Spain and Portugal in the quest for American colonies, leading to imperialistic exploitation as well as bouts of economic disruption and inflation in Europe itself.

France dominated continental politics. Louis XIV subjugated the French nobility, transforming the Palace of Versailles from a hunting lodge to a gilded prison for the increasingly foppish aristocracy. Securing domestic peace, he launched a full-scale attempt at continental hegemony. Holland and England led the opposition that successfully caused Louis to fall short of his grand aims. Meanwhile, England strove against the currents of absolutism and succeeded in establishing a limited monarchy with the king being the symbolic head of state but with Parliament emerging as the dominant force in government. At the end of the century, the Ottoman threat again rose up, reaching the gates of Vienna in 1683, but receded and started a long decline.

The Scientific Revolution thrusted Europe into a busy century of discovery and material progress. Early modern Europeans grew flush with confidence in science's ability to understand natural processes and to control them. They, suddenly by historical standards, were introduced to

electricity, the telescope and microscope, calculus, laws of motion and gravitation, air pressure, and calculating machines to name just a few of the century's discoveries.

§4-123. Eighteenth century—During this century, the Enlightenment culminated in the American and French revolutions. At first, many of the absolute monarchies of Europe embraced Enlightenment ideals, but with the excesses and terror of the French Revolution they began to fear losing their power and formed coalitions in opposition to these ideals. The Ottoman Empire prospered early in the century and then began its long waning in power and influence. The 18th century also marked the collapse of Poland-Lithuania as an independent state. It was divided up between Prussia, Austria, and Russia.

European colonization of the Americas and other parts of the world intensified in this century. Great Britain emerged as the dominant world power with the defeat of France in America in the French and Indian War (1756-1763) and with the conquest of India. The American Revolution followed, leading to the formation of the United States of America. This century also saw the dawn of the Industrial Revolution, beginning with the production of an efficient steam engine. That revolution would radically change the makeup of European society and its milieu.

II. European Intellectual Setting

A. General Trends

§4-131. Generally—Two influences captivated the interest of Europe during this period: (1) the discovery of the natural world and (2) the discovery of the powers of the mind. There was a new interest in technology and a new philosophical interest that paid little attention to the debates and dictates of the theologians. Reason was setting out on its own course unfettered by the theological restraints dictated by revelation. A distinctive feature of the emerging ethos was the inclination to doubt any proposition from the religious past and to reject the assumption that there is any special privilege for a particular type of religious truth. The world had "come of age" and no longer needed its supernaturalist shackles.

The prevailing opinion was one of buoyant optimism concerning human achievement and potential. The thinkers of the day retained the ethical ideas of Greek philosophy and the Christian tradition but jettisoned many essential Christian beliefs (faith as essential for salvation, human depravity, an emphasis on self-denial as the avenue to moral improvement). They asserted the essential goodness of human beings and of human desires and looked for a world without conflict in which the common good was advanced. They looked to reason and science to create such a world.

B. Scientific Revolution

§4-132. Generally—The term "science" is a most imprecise word, and in the era of the Renaissance and the Reformation it simply meant knowledge. The era that followed the Reformation has been labeled the "Scientific Revolution," a term which describes the discoveries that upset theologically centered views of truth and the scientific method of experimentation and observation that appeared to yield empirical truth that all could agree upon. In modern parlance, "Scientific Revolution" conveys the thought of a rational mode of inquiry waging ideological battle with irrational religion (i.e. Christianity).

However, scientific inquiry back then lacked the ideological metallic tone of modern discourse. Sir Isaac Newton wrote as much about the book of Revelation and End Times as he did about the book of nature which revealed the theory of gravity. Newton sought to recover lost rationality, which encompassed religion. Likewise, Francis Bacon inspired natural philosophers with his writings. Bacon set his project of extending human knowledge in a theological context. He presented what he was doing as an instance of humankind's dominion over creation lost in Adam's fall, a restoration of the image of God in humanity. Natural philosophy had more room to maneuver amid the complexities and divisions of the Protestant world that it did in the old Church.

§4-133. Copernicus and Galileo—The Renaissance witnessed not only the flowering of the arts but also of technical achievement. Nicholas Copernicus (1473-1543), utilizing the innovative technology, challenged church dogma when he posited that the earth and the other planets of our solar system revolve around the sun. Theological, cultural, and social beliefs supporting the geocentric theory were considered at risk.

Galileo Galilei (1564-1642) was devoted to the observation of the universe and firmly believed that the book of nature is written in mathematical language. He thought that there was no source of knowledge other than experience and thus experience was the source of true philosophy. But experience must be reduced to mathematics to be true knowledge. Qualitative language does not describe the world adequately. Only that which can be expressed in quantitative terms yields proper understanding. He proposed a strictly empirical and mathematical method for observing the universe.

A devout man, he undertook research to show that his ideas and the Copernican system were in accord with the Bible. In 1616, the Copernican theory was condemned and Galileo was ordered to stop teaching. However, he broke his silence in 1632 with an incisive attack on the geocentric theory and spent the rest of his life in prison. The entire affair established that the scientific method was a threat to the orthodoxy of the time. The idea of God's creation as an impenetrable mystery had been challenged.

§4-134. Bacon—Francis Bacon (1561-1626) and Isaac Newton (1642-1727) followed the path laid out by Copernicus and Galileo. Bacon went beyond Galileo. He understood science as both a means to comprehend the universe and to control it. You observe the principles that rule natural phenomena to control that phenomena by utilizing the principles. Mere experience is insufficient, for one must observe phenomena in a certain order. Through experimentation it is

possible to discover the forms that underlie and control the phenomena. The main obstacles in this quest are "idols." There are four kinds of these:

- Idols of the tribe – the tendency to jump from particulars to general conclusions;
- Idols of the cave – temperament of people making them prone to see things in a particular way;
- Idols of the marketplace – language used for communication imposes itself on the mind and usurps the place of reality;
- Idols of the theater – these relate to earlier philosophical systems and their erroneous and fallacious arguments.

The set of idols that Bacon most vigorously attacked was the last one, those resulting from received opinions. Why should older opinions necessarily be better? Why should not the opinions developed later be regarded as more mature than those developed in an earlier age? If all the false knowledge of antiquity could be exposed and left behind, humanity could march forward confidently toward the *New Atlantis*, a mythological island that Bacon conceived as a society benefiting from, and totally devoted to, the discovery of the principles that rule nature. Bacon's criticism of received knowledge, shared by the intellectuals of his age, led to the seeking of new means of inquiry and replacing ancient documents as a valued source of knowledge. This attitude had a noticeable effect on biblical studies.

§4-135. Newton—Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727) formulated the laws of gravity and motion and demonstrated that gravity is the fundamental force that orders the universe. He brought the world of nature under a precise mechanical interpretation. His celebrated principle was: "Every particle of matter in the universe attracts every other particle with a force varying inversely as the square of the distance between them and directly proportional to the product of their masses." This principle of gravity led people to conclude that every event in nature is governed by universal laws which can be formulated as precisely as mathematical principles. The discovery of these laws is the chief business of science and the duty of humankind is to allow them to operate unhindered. The medieval conception of a universe guided by benevolent purpose was replaced with the conception of the world as a procession of events as automatic as the ticking of a watch. Newton's work did not rule out the idea of God, but it did seem to deny Him His power to guide the stars and command the sun to stand still. Others went further developing great confidence in science's ability to explain the natural world and concluding that revelation was superfluous or at least inferior to knowledge accessible by the scientific method.

C. Continental Rationalism

§4-141. Generally—Rationalism is the idea that reason is the primary route to knowledge. It has deep roots going back to Greek philosophy and emphasizes sense perception and logical reflection on that perception. It reached its apex in the 18th and 19th centuries and was characterized by its confidence in the powers of reason in unpacking the mysteries of this world.

It emphatically believed that accurate observation of the world and its operations could and would lead to true and encompassing knowledge. People were convinced that the natural world was a system of mathematical relations and that true knowledge was a reduction of all phenomena to their quantitative expression. During the Enlightenment or Age of Reason, many people believed that behind the natural world was a rational mind and did not mind thinking of it as the Christian God, even if not the God of the scholastic theologians.

§4-142. Descartes—What Bacon started in seeking a new means of inquiry in the field of natural phenomena, Descartes (1596-1650) assumed in the field of metaphysics. Descartes received a traditional scholastic education under the Jesuits before enlisting in the military (at the beginning of the Thirty Years War) to gain a wider experience of the world. He met a medical doctor in the Netherlands whose studies and experiments in science and mathematics Descartes found fascinating. He had a defining experience (akin to Augustine's in a garden in Milan and Wesley's at Aldersgate chapel) with respect to his philosophical outlook in November 1619.

***Method*—**Descartes was an unswerving advocate of rationalism in philosophy. He scorned tradition and the ordinary experiences of people and based his thought on mathematical deduction. He compared his philosophical method with geometry, a discipline that accepts only undeniable axioms and rationally proved corollaries. He sought to start with simple, self-evident truths and reason from these to particular conclusions. The philosophical method Descartes proposed consisted of four points:

- To accept as true only that clearly proven to be so;
- To analyze and divide each problem uncovered to be able to solve the problems in various parts;
- To order one's thoughts from the simplest to the most complex;
- To make certain that everything is so enumerated and listed so that nothing is omitted.

***Principle of doubt*—**This Cartesian method (Descartes' name in Latin was Cartesius) begins with the principle of doubt of all knowledge derived from the senses combined with the absolute certainty of purely rational knowledge. Given the premise of universal doubt, the quest for truth begins with the mind itself. When the mind resolves to doubt all things, there is one thing it cannot doubt, its own act of doubting. It is obvious that to doubt, the mind must exist. Thus, Descartes' first principle: "*cogito ergo sum*" (I think therefore I am).

***God's existence*—**Next, Descartes moves to a proof of the existence of God. He has an idea of God in his mind and asks what the origin of that idea could be. He discovers within his mind the idea of an infinite and perfect being. He must explain its existence somehow, but the only way in which the idea of a perfect being could have been placed in his mind is by such a being. His finite mind could not have conceived of such an idea, clearly greater than itself. The mind could not have manufactured this perfect idea by a conglomerate of distinct notions for God is

indivisible and cannot be so explained. Thus, from the truth of his own existence (I think therefore I am), Descartes thought he had arrived at a logically necessary God.

***Mind and body*—**Descartes' principle of *cogito ergo sum* served to prove the existence of himself as a thinking being *(res cogitans).* But what about his body? Here Descartes employed God as a kind of cosmic glue to put human beings back together. Descartes reasoned that we are certain of the existence of God and that it was inconceivable that God would induce us to believe in the existence of our own bodies and of the world if such a belief was a falsehood. The dominate characteristics that Descartes associated with the body and the entirety of the physical world was motion and extension and he refers to it as *res extensa*. He contended that the entire mass of physical substances were continually moving in series of whirlpools or vortices. Mind is not a form of matter but is implanted in people's bodies by God. Along with this dualism of mind and matter, Descartes believed in innate ideas. He thought that self-evident truths have no relation to sensory experience but are inherent in the mind itself.

***Reason over revelation*—**The ecclesiastical authorities looked askance upon Descartes despite his piety and sincere religious conviction. He was advocating a system in which the final authority was reason, not revelation. One can only believe in the value of historic revelation after the rational process proves that things and events in the physical world can be trusted. Thus, while Descartes believed that he was actually demonstrating the rationality of the Christian faith, many saw in the very proof of that rationality the implication that revelation was no longer to be trusted.

§4-143. After Descartes—Cartesian doubt seemed to be nothing more than crass skepticism and many declared that Cartesianism would necessarily lead to heresy. Descartes moved from his native France to reside in Sweden at the invitation of the Swedish queen largely because of this growing opposition to his thought. After Descartes, philosophers tended to attempt to build entire systems based on reason alone and theologians often found themselves facing the alternative of either building on the foundations of rationalism or claiming that reason by itself was not a valid instrument for knowledge of eternal verities.

While some feared Descartes' doubt, others embraced it. Those that did probed the relationship between spirit and matter. Descartes had posited a thinking thing (*res cogitans*) and a thing that occupies space (*res extensa*) but had not explained how the two related. Various thinkers offered three solutions:

- Occasionalism;
- Monism;
- Pre-established harmony.

§4-144. Malebranche and occasionalism—Descartes implied that the soul (*res cogitans*) communicated with the body (*res extensa*) but never clarified how that happened. Occasionalism held that the body and soul do not communicate directly, but by divine intervention. God moves

the body on the occasion when the soul decides and He moves the soul on the occasion of the body's feelings and needs.

The Frenchman, Malebranche (1638-1715), championed this approach. His foundational belief that God is the efficient cause of all things had to do with the question of the communication of substances. The soul may seem to make the body perform an action, but in fact God, in view of the soul's desire, causes the body to act accordingly. Considering the intermediary role in all things, how can we explain what are natural laws? The answer is that God is not capricious. He established an order that will normally direct the divine action upon a being *on the occasion* of another being's action. The manner of God's operation in this system of thought gave it its name – occasionalism., However, occasionalism was not generally accepted. It seemed to ascribe responsibility to God for all human decisions and events.

§4-145. Spinoza and monism—Monism (from the Greek *monos*, meaning "one") held that body and soul were one substance. Thought and extension were two attributes of a single unified substance. Likewise, God and the physical world were different aspects of a single substance that made up the universe. Orthodoxy recoiled at this inherent pantheism, seeing the belief in a God who exists apart and independent of the world, as essential and foundational.

Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677) championed this line of thought. Spinoza was a man of mystical leanings. Born in Amsterdam to Portuguese Jewish parents who had fled the Inquisition, Spinoza's thinking was informed by the idea of a supreme and only God long after he had been expelled from the synagogue for heterodoxy. Spinoza was self-taught amid a host of opportunities in Amsterdam, including contact with the mathematician and natural philosopher, Rene Descartes. He agreed with Descartes that the best method for attaining true knowledge was by mathematics. However, he disagreed with Descartes on the latter's distinction between *res cogitans* and *res extensa*. He thought that soul and body were not two different substances, but two attributes of the same substance and thus the name -- *monism*.

Spinoza published two very influential treatises. The *Tractatus Theologico Politicus* (1670), demanded that the Bible be treated critically as any other text. He was particularly skeptical of miracles and wrote to promote human freedom. The *Ethics* (1677) pictures God as undifferentiated from the forces of nature or the state of the universe. God is neither good or evil, unconstrained by any moral system which human beings might recognize or create.

Rational pantheism—For Spinoza, all reality was but a single divine substance. His philosophy was a rationalistic expression of pantheism. God is the one substance of reality, the one nature of all things. He or it appears as creative nature in what we usually call "God" and as created nature in the world. The goal in human life should be to understand this pervasive reality and attune oneself to it. All passions should subside and one should be reconciled to one's present condition and reality. That condition and reality are predetermined. Freedom is just an illusion due to our partial perspective of reality. Our destiny consists in returning to the One, as a drop of water

returns to the ocean.

***Ethics*—**Spinoza was extremely interested in ethical questions. He sought to discover whether there was any perfect good which would bring lasting happiness to those who attained it. He sought to prove that this perfect good consists of the "love of God," that is in the worship of the order and harmony of nature. If people would realize that the universe is beautiful machine that cannot be interrupted for the their benefit, they would gain the serenity of mind long sought by the philosophers. We must see that the order of nature is unfalteringly fixed, for we cannot change our fate. We gain contentment and true freedom by realizing that we are not free.

§4-146. Leibnitz and pre-established harmony

Pre-established harmony which held that the universe was made up of innumerable substances (called monads) that do not relate to each other per se but operate as God intended from which operation harmony results. Monads have no windows, meaning they could not communicate with each other. From the very beginning, God had created monads so they would act in seeming interdependence. The human body and soul do not communicate between each other. Rather, they work together in the pre-established harmony set by God, a kind of cosmic clock maker. The implication was clear—God foreordained all things, both good and evil, and that there was no such thing as human freedom.

Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz (1646-1716) was the leading exponent of this line of thought. Leibnitz was a man of great learning and one who discovered the mathematical principles of integral calculus. His theological work was much less significant than his philosophy and was focused on the reunion of Catholics and Protestants on the basis of a "common sense theology" so characteristic of rationalism. In his philosophy, he sought to avoid what he saw as the problems of both Spinoza and Descartes.

He found Spinoza's idea that everything, including the world, happened as a necessary consequence of the divine nature and the pantheism that resulted from that idea to be unacceptable. Leibnitz distinguished between "truths of reason" and "truths of fact." A "truth of reason" is a necessary truth, for the predicate is contained in the subject [e.g. the angles of a triangle add up to 180 degrees]. A "truth of fact" is a contingent truth, its contrary is quite thinkable. So "truths of reason" belong to the field of logic whereas "truths of fact" belong to the field of reality. The actual order of the world is not a necessary order and the reason for the existence of the world in its particularity is not a necessary reason. God could have logically made another world altogether or no world at all. However, there is a sufficient reason for the existence of the world which is that God willed to make the best of all possible worlds and this is it. The relationship between God and the world, while being rational, is not necessary.

Likewise, Leibnitz objected to Cartesian dualism, that soul and body are separate substances. He denied that there were two different substances and that there is any communication

between the soul and the body. For Leibnitz, all that exists is spiritual. Matter is no more than a conglomerate of individual substances, each of which is spiritual. Leibnitz called these substances monads and saw them as complete and self-contained. God is a monad, differing from other monads in that he is the only one whose existence is a necessary truth in that God has a universal perspective over the entire universe. These monads are windowless – that is to say, they cannot communicate with or be influenced by each other. The issue raised by the perceived need for "communication of the substances" is the observation of a pre-established harmony. This theory of pre-established harmony affirms that God is like a perfect clockmaker, whose creation is such that each part keeps perfect pace with the other, even though there is no real connection between them. Given his theory of monads, the human soul has no windows to the outside world and therefore all ideas are innate. The mind learns nothing through experience for it cannot have any experience outside of itself. Leibnitz is the culmination of the rationalist trend to discover true knowledge to be within the mind itself (in innate ideas) rather than in the world of sense experience. He brought the rationalist approach to an impasse. Humans beings were locked up in their minds with no way out.

§4-147. Mind-body conundrum—The central theme of the rationalism that began with Descartes is that the mind and its ideas are the primary reality. Descartes believed that the sensory world and the body do exist and uses our idea of God as a connector between the two. Those who came after him had problems explaining how soul and body communicated. Malebranche saw God as the occasional cause of all communication (in his terminology, motion). Spinoza denied two substances and said that mind and body are two attributes of a single all-encompassing substance. Leibnitz simply denied that there was any communication between the two substances (monads have no windows). What appears to us as an impression of the outer world on the mind is no more than an unfolding of what was already in us. Strictly speaking, there is no knowledge, for knowledge implies a connection/communication between the known and the unknown.

D. British Empiricism

§4-151. Generally—British philosophical developments took a different path than the one on the continent. These developments took the name Empiricism from the Greek word for experience. While rationalists built their systems on a foundational belief in self-evident truths and innate ideas, the empiricists argued that human experience forms the basic raw material of our knowledge. We measure the truth of statements by testing them against our experience. The plethora of natural discoveries in what we call the scientific revolution informed this ongoing philosophical discussion. On one hand, they suggested that the structures of reality corresponded to the structures of the mind and inspired the rationalist thinkers. On the other hand, these discoveries also showed that careful observation of natural phenomena served to correct many misconceptions otherwise accepted as true.

§4-152. Hobbes—Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) was one of the early critics of continental rationalists. He agreed with a mechanical conception of the universe but denied there were innate ideas. He thought that the origin of all knowledge was in sense perception. He rejected the

dualism of Descartes and the pantheism of Spinoza and contended that nothing exists except matter. Mind is simply motion in the brain or a subtle form of matter. His initial premise was that perception by the senses requires a change in motion. The laws of motion are inertia, causation, and conservation of matter. On these laws Hobbes built his naturalistic system, attempting to derive all reality from naturally perceived knowledge. The universal impulse of self-preservation grounds the entirety of ethics and political theory.

For Hobbes, God is unrelated to true knowledge. If what the theologians say of God is true, that He is immutable, there is no way we can know God. We only know by our senses what we can perceive as a change in motion. Therefore, God's changelessness makes it is impossible to know him. Although the content varied, this naturalistic and rationalistic attitude would characterize much of 18th century thinking.

Hobbes was a thorough-going materialist. He denied anything spiritual in the universe. The universe and everything in it (including man) could be explained mechanically. All that people do are determined by their appetites or aversions which are either inherited or acquired by experience. He denied any absolute standards of good and evil, combining his materialism and mechanism with a thorough-going philosophy of hedonism.

§4-153. Locke—John Locke (1632-1704), who published his seminal essay *Essay on Human Understanding* in 1690, was the leading figure of British empiricism. Locke maintained that all human knowledge originates from sense perception. Hobbes was the first to assert this theory, but Locke developed this idea in systematic form. He countered the rationalist idea of innate principles with his contrasting hypothesis of the human mind as a blank slate. There is no idea of God or of right and wrong. Not until a person has experiences, perceiving the external world with his or her senses, is anything registered in the mind. However, these simple ideas must be processed and integrated. Reason has the power to coordinate and organize these sense impressions and to build a body of truth. Both sensation and reason are indispensable to knowledge. All knowledge was either based on outer experience (derived from the senses) or inner experience (derived from the functioning of our minds). True knowledge was based on one or more of three levels of experience: (1) our own selves; (2) our senses; or (3) God. The mind populates its capacities from impressions outside of itself. Another level of knowledge is probability, which is repeated experience that allows us to surmise constants in our existence.

Knowledge beyond reason—Locke also reflected on the limits of reason. There are impressions that are discerned to be true based on sensation and reflection. However, there are impressions that are above reason and those that are inconsistent with reason. Faith is the assent to knowledge derived from revelation rather than reason. Rational judgment must be used to measure the degree of probability to attach to articles of faith. Locke vigorously opposed religious intolerance, thinking that it confused the various degrees of probable judgments of faith with the certainty of empirical reason.

Christianity as reasonable religion—In the field of theology, this premise of ridding ourselves

of innate ideas, would help restore Christianity to its original reasonable simplicity and do away with the endless and futile speculations of theological scholasticism whether in Catholic or Protestant garb. In 1695, Locke published *The Reasonableness of Christianity*, in which he claimed Christianity was the most reasonable of faiths. The core of the Christian faith was the existence of God and the Messiahship of Jesus Christ. To Locke's mind, Christianity was the clear expression of truths and laws which others could have known by their natural faculties. Locke believed that Christianity, once divested of all its scholastic baggage, can proven to be the most rational religion. Christianity consists in belief in Christ as Messiah who has been sent to reveal God and God's will for us. Locke saw England and Europe convulsed with theological controversies and conflicts that caused enormous harm over what seemed to him to be inscrutable matters. He saw the task of showing the futility of theological inquiry beyond certain limits and to define the essence of Christianity in simple terms as a most important task in reconciling his own nation and the nations of the European continent.

Following Locke—Others built on Locke's insights. George Berkeley (1685-1753) was one, following in Locke's empirical footsteps. In his *Essay Towards a New Theory of Vision* (1709) and *Principles of Human Knowledge* (1710), He argued that both primary qualities (e.g. motion, extension) and secondary qualities (taste, color) of objects were transferred to the object by the perceiving subject rather than being qualities of the thing perceived.

§4-154. Hume—David Hume (1711-1776) took Locke's empiricism as a starting point and concluded that the scope of true knowledge was much more limited than either the rationalists or the empiricists claimed. He thought that the mind was a mere bundle of impressions derived from the senses and tied together by habits of association. Impressions and associations of those impressions are all there is in what we call knowledge. Since every idea in the mind is nothing but a sense impression and its bundling, it follows that many things could not be affirmed by merely observing sense data. Humans can know nothing of final causes, the nature of substance, or the origin of the universe. Cause and effect, the nature of substances, and similar observations relate to a series of associated phenomena linked in our minds and are not direct observation of sense data per se. No one had ever seen or experienced cause and effect. Likewise, what we call substance is really our perception of a series of attributes—form, color, weight, flavor, smell, etc. that we associate with a substance. We cannot be sure of any of the conclusions of reason except those which can be verified by actual experience. By denying the competence of reason, Hume not only put himself outside the main intellectual trends of the Enlightenment, but helped augur its waning. It also torpedoed the Enlightenment's rational religious preference. Deism's proof of God's existence – someone must have caused this world -- was undercut.

A number of people thought Hume's argument was flawed. Among them was James Reid, who argued for the value of self-evident knowledge or common-sense realism. There were givens in processing the situations around us. Hume could not and did not live according to his own skepticism. This common-sense realism would provide the philosophical backdrop for the Princeton theology in America in the next era of this course.

Hume played a role in the empirical tradition that Leibnitz played in the rationalist tradition. They brought their respective traditions to an impasse. With respect to empiricism, if it is true that we cannot experience either substance or causality, then thought is impossible. For without such substance and causality, a strictly empirical epistemology is an inadequate explanation of human cognition and knowledge.

E. Enlightenment Milieu

§4-161. Generally—The Enlightenment gets its name from an essay Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) wrote in 1784. He asked and answered what Enlightenment thinkers saw as the key question. "What is Enlightenment? Enlightenment is mankind's exit from its self-incurred immaturity."

The term "Enlightenment" sometimes refers to rationalism and its effects and sometimes more narrowly to the emergence in 18th century France to a constellation of naturalist, empiricist, and liberal ideas that led to the French Revolution. Beginning in England around 1680, the Enlightenment quickly spread to most countries in northern Europe. However, the Enlightenment's supreme manifestation was in France in the 18th century.

The watchword for the Enlightenment was dare to know. Dare to trust your own reason. The key concepts of the movement included:

- Autonomy of human reason and experience in all areas of truth and action. All knowledge has its roots in sense perception, but the impression of our senses is only the raw material of truth which is refined in the crucible of reason. Human reason rather than any external authority is the basis of knowledge. This meant religious autonomy—freedom from any external authority to inform us of what is true about God.
- Continuity—Distinctions between the supernatural and the natural, theology and science, Christianity and other religions are removed.
- Dynamic process—The whole, and each of its parts, is in continuous process of change and growth. There was a confidence in progress to perfection. No truth is once for all given. All things and truth is in process.
- The universe is a machine governed by inflexible laws which humans cannot override. Nature is uniform and not subject to miracles or any form of divine intervention.
- The simplest and most natural structure of society is the best. The life of the "noble savage" is preferable to that of civilized man with its worn-out conventions only serving to perpetuate the tyranny of priests and rulers.

§4-162. Philosophes—The French Church was an unstable mixture of those who advocated a stricter Counter-Reformational control of society, fitfully backed by coercion by the monarchy, and other groups, such as the Jansenists, who campaigned for purity and austerity in everyday life. Reaction to this came in the name of greater freedom in society and in private life. Attacks

on the Church establishment came from different directions and soon skepticism and antagonism for the Church grew vehement.

This battle had its self-appointed generals, a group of primarily literary figures who all knew each other. History knows them as the philosophes. These philosophes were interested in discovering what was essential and inherent in human beings, a kind of universal truth in human society parallel to that achieved by Newton in the physical sciences. They shunned rationalist speculation and concentrated on the social and political implications of this common-sense rationalism. They wanted to create a human society where there was equality for all before the law. They desired to eliminate the privileges of the aristocracy and what they saw as the usurpations of the priests.

The philosophes approach to revelation was simply to set it aside. The parts of the Bible that agreed with reason were unnecessary and the parts that did not, myths, miracles, and claims of supernatural and priestly authority, were deemed untrue. Typically, they were Deists rather than atheists. They believed in a Supreme Being but held that that being did not interfere with the world machine, the rational outworking of the creation order. God was a watchmaker God. He got things started and let it run as designed. Christianity was a plot by the priestly caste designed to subject others to their powers. It was a scheme to exploit the ignorant. Against the backdrop of the extreme partisan carnage of the wars of religion, this rang true. If pure doctrine sanctioned a hateful, bloody carnage for more than a century, than Christianity was not a holy and sacred faith, but a wicked institution (what Voltaire sneeringly called the "infamous thing"). Truth, they said, would root out the imposter. But their truth ruled out Christian doctrine at the outset of the argument. Whenever orthodoxy reasoned from basic premises, it was dismissed as superstition. Arguments drawn from biblical revelation or authority were simply not "reasonable."

Two of the philosophes, Voltaire and Rousseau, were to achieve the secular equivalent of sainthood in revolutionary France.

§4-163. Voltaire—The most famous of the philosophes was Francois Marie Arouet, known by his pen name, Voltaire. He was the Erasmus of his age, the master of calculated useful relationships, especially with monarchs. He was a lifelong campaigner against the Church. If the philosophy of Locke and the mechanical universe of Newton had banished mystery from the human universe, Voltaire saw Catholicism as a self-interested conspirator attempting to perpetuate that mystery. Voltaire despised what he saw as the Church's capacity to interfere with the minds of intelligent people. In his mind, religion could and should be left with the rabble. The effect of his attacks on religion was to deny any meaningful place for God in human affairs. *Candide (1759)* was a representative work. In it, Voltaire exposed the supposed hypocrisy of Christianity, the stupidity of arbitrary (e.g. aristocratic) authority, and the horrors of war. He rejected a theocratic God in favor of the watchmaker god of the Deists. He popularized Newtonian physics (promoting the notion of the world machine), fought for personal liberty and the freedom of press and speech, and spread the cult of reason. He was a relentless critic of established churches, the quintessential mocker, aiming not at rebuking particular dogmas but at the very foundations of Christian faith itself.

His numerous writings consistently asserted the doctrine that the world is governed by natural laws and that reason and concrete experience are the only dependable guides for humans to follow. He was a proponent of reason as common sense, an advocate of religious toleration, and the enemy of everything he saw as fanaticism. He thought that the history of humankind was the history of a progressive understanding of ourselves and our institutions, particularly in safeguarding human rights. Thus, he saw monarchy as not intended for the sovereign, but for his subjects, whose rights must be respected and defended.

His utopia was El Dorado, which he placed somewhere in South America cut off from the "regimented assassins of Europe". There, with no priests, lawsuits, and prisons, the inhabitants dwelt together without malice or greed, worshipping God in accordance with the dictates of reason and solving their problems by logic and science. He was the champion of individual liberty and regarded all restrictions on the liberty of speech and opinion as barbarous.

§4-164. Rousseau—Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) was famous for his *Social Contract (1762)* in which he claimed that government ought to be based on popular sovereignty. He went further and aptly illustrated the philosophes' tendency to mythic idealism. He thought that the Enlightenment notions of progress in fact worked a reversal. He thought the natural state was the ideal and that humans corrupted things and had increasingly fallen into what he described as artificiality. A return to the original order was the solution. The noble savage was the mythical ideal. In religion, "natural" religion was the target to shoot for which doctrinal dogmatism and religious institutions had corrupted.

Having exiled God from human consciousness, or consigned him to the cold, impersonal corner of the uninterested initiator, the Enlightenment world could appear to be cold, distant, and empty place. Rousseau tried to remedy this by devising a natural religion. It was curiously based on the Christian gospels without the interference of dogma and based on a highly optimistic view of human nature. The idea of original sin was scorned, and if there had been a fall of humanity, it was only a wrong turn. The force of indwelling love and the right ordering of human affairs would undo the mistakes of the past.

When the chance came to change the world in 1789, many looked to a future where love would dissolve traditional corruption and the limitations on human potential. Events proved far different. The lovely and unrealistic view turned into a bloody nightmare. Rousseau's concept of the General Will became the ticket for the imposition of a totalitarian makeover of French society.

Rousseau's own personal life suggested the shortcomings of this love ethic. He was something of a misfit wallowing in the mire of his emotions. He failed in nearly every occupation he undertook. He preached lofty ideas of educational reform but abandoned his own children to a foundling asylum. He quarreled with everybody, even sadly exploiting the hospitality and friendship of David Hume on a visit to Britain. He seemed to revel in morbid disclosures.

He was something of a black sheep even among his Enlightenment kin. He maintained that to worship reason as an infallible guide to conduct and truth was to lean on a broken reed. He once said that "the thinking man is a depraved animal". Reason had its uses but was not the whole answer. He thought that it was safer to rely on feelings, to follow our instincts and emotions in the vital problems of life.

Despite his contempt for reason, in other ways Rousseau advanced the viewpoint of the Enlightenment. He was the most forthright advocate of the "noble savage". He shared the Enlightenment's impatience with every sort of restriction on individual liberty. He was much more concerned with the liberty and equality of the masses than any of his contemporaries. He regarded the origin of private property as the primary source of human misery. His influence was far-reaching:

- He was the first writer who upheld conclusions dictated by emotion and sentiment and is commonly regarded as the father of romanticism.
- His slogan "back to nature" became the platform for a veritable cult dedicated to the pursuit of the simple life.
- His dogmas of equality and popular sovereignty became the rallying cries of revolutionaries and of more moderate opponents of the French regime.
- His philosophy provided inspiration for the modern ideal of majority rule.

§4-165. Diderot and Encyclopedie—The flagship publication of the Enlightenment was the *Encyclopedie* edited by Denis Diderot (1713-1784). Diderot rejected Christianity but hoped to bring to Enlightenment philosophy the warmth and hope of his Catholic youth. His signature achievement was the editorship of the *Encyclopedie,* a vast compendium of knowledge celebrating human potential and achievement that was something of an intellectual monument of the philosophes. It heralded the supremacy of the new science, championed tolerance, denounced organized religion as superstition, and expounded the merits of Deism. It professed respect for the "religion of Jesus" while excoriating Christianity for its social failures. The religious articles were written in a way that made them look ridiculous. The compendium used a system of cross-references to link subjects. Even here (and perhaps especially here) the anti-religious bias was obvious. Under the topic entry on "Cannibals" was a simple instruction to "see Eucharist".

§4-166. Other philosophes of note

Montesquieu—Another philosophe, Baron de Montesquieu (1689-1755)**,** sought to apply the principles of common sense reason to the theory of government. He concluded that a republic was the most sensible form of governance but warned of the necessity of a separation of powers in government. He believed that power corrupted. It should be apportioned between legislative, executive, and judicial branches to avoid its abuse. These ideas were popularized on the continent decades before either the American or French Revolutions and deeply influenced James Madison, the "father of the American Constitution".

***Lessing*—**The Enlightenment was less important in Germany. The most recognizable German Enlightenment thinker before Immanuel Kant was Gotthold Lessing (1729-1781). He was a rigorously rationalist. His famous quote "the necessary truths of reason can never be proven by the accidents of history" expressed his mindset quite succinctly. He was an untiring advocate of tolerance, holding a deep conviction that no one religion had a monopoly on truth. He did not think that nobility of character had any particular relation to theological creeds. He thought that the development of the world's great religions was only a step in the spiritual evolution of humankind.

§4-167. Key attacks on Christianity—The Enlightenment made a number of key attacks on Christianity:

- Biblical history is false until proven true. The Enlightenment launched the higher criticism of the Bible.
- The scientist, not the Bible, tells us of the origin, function, and purpose of the universe.
- The supernatural dimension is ruled out of court. Miracles would have to be repeatable to be proven and therefore cannot be. Basically, miracles are relegated to myth because they mess up the deistic idea of a first cause which removes himself/herself/itself from creation leaving human beings essentially autonomous.
- Authority of the Bible is rejected. It is an external authority to human reason and therefore ruled out. The Enlightenment extolled tolerance (except for Christianity) and understood dogmatism (i.e. Christianity) as a vice.
- There is no such thing as original sin. Humans are not inherently depraved but driven to acts of cruelty and meanness by scheming priests and warmongering despots. Depravity attaches to society, not to individuals. The perfectibility of human nature, and therefore of human society, would be realized if humans were permitted to follow the guidance of reason and their own instincts. Thus, original sin and depravity are replaced by ideas of human freedom, nobility, and perfectibility.
- All finality is replaced by process. Claims of biblical authority are not only contrary to reason and therefore off-base but are static and not process-oriented as well.

Religion of the Enlightenment was Deism. Deism is a rationalistic religion. Deists accepted a certain body of religious knowledge that was acquired solely by reason, not by revelation or Church teaching. God's function is reduced to that of the First Cause. He is understood as a cosmic watch-winder. Wind it up and the clock proceeds autonomously. The watch-maker does not intervene. While Deists believed in a Supreme Being, the obligations of worship, and of ethical conduct, they denied any direct intervention of God in nature. Thus they denied miracles, the Incarnation, the authority and supernatural derivation of God's Word, the Atonement, and any supernaturally redemptive act in history.

§4-168. Christian response to radical Enlightenment—The Roman Catholic response to the radical Enlightenment was censorship and denial. They did not engage, or even become familiar with, the primary issues the scoffers raised. In England, the response was different. Several wrote

effectively against Deism, the dogma of the world machine, and the contemptuous dismissal of all organized religion, none more so than Joseph Butler. His method of engaging the Deists is often described as rational supernaturalism. See §4-199 for a fuller description of his methodology.

§4-169. Governmental theory—For Enlightenment thinkers, sovereignty resides in a nation, not in those who govern. Those who govern do so with the consent of the governed. Enlightenment thinkers appealed to a social contract between the governing groups and the governed to guarantee basic freedoms and to institute civil society. Natural law was understood as the basis for human rights, rights endowed by the Creator, not by a government. They emphasized the separation of powers in governmental structures and prioritized the activity of the legislative branch as the one most responsive to the people. Enlightenment understanding held that the people retained the right to rebel against the unjust exercise of authority.

The Enlightenment had great influence on the founding fathers. Jefferson was something of an apostle of the Enlightenment in America. The Enlightenment was all the rage of intellectual circles in America in the 1780s and 1790s. It had significant influence in framing our founding documents. Jefferson was the primary author of the Declaration of Independence and Madison the primary author of the Constitution. The Enlightenment continues to have influence in our day, especially in the ideas of autonomy, continuity, and process.

F. Kantian Synthesis

§4-171. Generally—The thought of Immanuel Kant was the culmination of the Age of Reason, and the precursor to the progressive era that followed. He agreed with Hume that experience can never know causality and substance. He broadened the elements of knowledge that could not be accounted for by experience. He published the results of his research and thought in *Critique of Pure Reason (1781) and Critique of Practical Reason (1788)*.

In his *Critique of Pure Reason*, Kant proposed an alternative to both Cartesian rationalism and Hume's skepticism. He did not think there was any such thing as innate ideas, but there were fundamental structures of the mind that frames the data the senses provide us. That is, we have a built-in set of metadata that enables us to structure our reality. The structures of cognition, according to Kant, are twelve divided into four groups: (1) quantity (unity, plurality, totality); (2) quality (reality, negation, limitation); (3) relation (substance, cause, community); and (4) modality (possibility, existence, necessity). These categories are not something we perceive through the senses but are mental constructs we use to organize sense perception. It is only after the mind organizes sense data that we have what we call "experience".

Thus, experience consists in the synthetic connection of phenomena (perceptions) in consciousness, so far as the connection is necessary. Experience is the result of the process by which the mind orders the data of perception. In a very real sense, we cannot know the thing in itself. We do not know things as they are, but as our minds are able to grasp them. There is no

such thing as purely objective knowledge.

There are vital "Ideas" which are beyond the possibility of experience and therefore beyond any traditional proof derived from reasoning. Kant identified these as God, freedom, and immortality. These realities are not accessible to reason but are reached by individual conscience and seek to regulate our affairs according to their dictates. Kant was positing a new kind of faith. The way he articulated this was "I had to deny knowledge … to make room for faith".

In his *Critique of Practical Reason*, Kant argues that although pure reason cannot prove God, soul, etc., there is practical reason, having to do with moral living. The foundational principle of this practical reason is to act in such a manner that the rule of your life could be made a universal rule. This practical reason knows that God exists and that He judges all action, that the soul and its freedom is the occasion for moral action, and that there is life after death as a means of rewarding good and punishing evil.

God for Kant is the ultimate reality to which the individual returns, hoping to meet this reality in immortality. He was an optimist whose optimism was not dimmed by the horrors of the French Revolution. He had high hopes for a generation of enlightened monarchs, people like Frederick II of Prussia, Catherine the Great of Russia, and Joseph II of Austria. However, even while these monarchs courted Enlightenment approval, their real governing motive was self-interest. They sought to increase their own power and territory for which large standing armies were necessary. One only has to consider the way Prussia, Austria, and Russia carved up Poland-Lithuania in the 18th century to realize the truth of this governing self-interest.

§4-172. Impact on theology—The effect of Kant's thought was to reduce still further the place that historical Christian faith and its institutions have in the arena of Western culture. Many areas of Christian theology are affected by his view of reality, that is that many theological concepts arise from the categories of the mind and not from direct sensory experience. The existence of God, the reality of the soul, eternality, and a host of traditional Christian beliefs fall into this area. There is no way to rationally prove the existence of God or of the soul or any number of other Christian beliefs. This does not mean that there is no God, soul, or eternity, but that reason cannot know them. For such ideas, reason can do no better than antinomies – both their affirmation and negation seem to be equally rational. That is because these things have no empirical data and therefore there can be no knowledge in a strict sense of the word. Religion does not convey knowledge. Its function is that of assisting the moral life.

Kant's impact on theological discussion was profound. It dealt a death blow to the idea that it was possible to speak in purely rational and objective terms of God and many other theological subjects. Others will come later and dispute the universality and immutability of Kant's categories of the mind and argue that psychology, culture, and language all help shape those categories. His work also set the plate for the post-modern critique of the modern insistence on objectivity and universality as signs of true knowledge.

§4-173. Religion reduced to ethics—Kant's analysis reduced religion to ethics. His inquiry into what we can know led him to consider how we should act. He distinguished hypothetical imperatives from what he called the categorical imperative. Hypothetical imperatives were principles not binding on all. Kant thought there was a universally binding command—"Act as if the maxim of your action were to become through your will a universal law of nature". The categorical imperative confronts us with the transcendent—the innate obligation we feel towards others comes from God. This moral obligation points to religious belief for which Kant preserved a place separate from reason. He was relentlessly critical of the attitude that placed reason at the service of faith. He believed the God could neither be proved nor disproved by speculative reason.

While ethical religion is in a sense rational, its tenets cannot be demonstrated by reason. The grounds for affirming such things lie not in pure reason but in practical reason. Kant argued that certain non-empirical tenets must be regarded as true because they form the foundation for the moral life. On this basis, it is practically reasonable to affirm God's existence and right to judge moral actions, the soul's immortality as an occasion for retribution, and the freedom of the self as a responsible moral agent. Kant summarizes his notion of true religion as "to consist not in knowing or considering of what God does or has done for our salvation but in what we do to become worthy of it".

§4-174. After Kant—Kant spelled the end of the shallow rationalism of the 18th century. By claiming that the mind cannot pierce beyond the sense experience of a thing (phenomenon) to the thing in itself (noumenon), Kant brought into question all language about substance, God, the soul, freedom, and a veritable host of theological and philosophical concepts. With respect to the existence of God, the immortality of the soul, and moral freedom, the mind can rationally reach two sets of contradictory conclusions. This is because the mind is attempting to grapple with questions beyond its grasp in these areas. After Kant, thinkers take different faith paths:

- To ground religion on a faculty of the mind other than pure reason. This was Kant's course in his discussion of religion in the context of practical reason and specifically in ethics. Albert Ritschl and his school will follow this path.
- To return to revelation to ground religion. Reason is an inadequate judge of the most essential questions of life. This becomes a question of the will. Reason is not the arbiter of belief or disbelief, the will is. Soren Kierkegaard will follow this path in the 19th century and Karl Barth in the 20th century. The upshot is that the nature of revelation is no longer determined by God alone. The recipients of revelation shape it in that revelation will always be God speaking in human terms. The Godhead itself (the noumenon) cannot be known. God can only be known in revelation (phenomena).
- To agree with Kant that the mind plays an active role in knowledge, but to extend this by asserting that rationality is the very nature of things. The universe and its history behave like a vast cosmic mind. This is the route followed by Hegel and German idealism.

III. European Religious Setting

A. General Trends

§4-181. Generally—The 18th century was a period of ongoing intellectual crisis for Christianity. The religious wars of the 17th century made religious zeal look fanatical and dangerous. Established State churches, their State paid ministers, and the enforcement of the authority of unyielding dogma were seen as intolerant. They resulted in a persecuting mindset and served as a trigger for religious warfare and bloodshed. The conflicting diversity of various Christian groups made Christian doctrine seem far less certain than the rising modern sciences. Theology, which had been the most prestigious of the medieval university disciplines, seemed arcane, consisting of obscure dogmas and incomprehensible mysteries without rational basis. Modern Newtonian physics presented a view of nature which left no room for divine intervention.

Another striking feature of Christian Europe in the 18th century was the withering of autonomous Church government in the face of increasing State authority. The model of Christendom, with dynamic spheres of State and Church, was ever more tilted toward the de facto power of the State.

§4-182. Upheavals stir new thought and doubt—Behind this tale of doubt were the imperiled and highly articulate communities, the Jews and the Huguenots, producing radical spirits contributing to the reassessment of religion.

Sephardic diaspora Judaism—The 1490s brought the greatest single disaster for the Jewish people since the destruction of Jerusalem in 70: their official expulsion from the Iberian peninsula and the beginning of the Sephardic diaspora. For the Jews of that era, the danger was least in Eastern Europe. Poland-Lithuania proved to be a common destination. There was a flourishing of Jewish society, whose language Yiddish, effectively a dialect of German, marked its closeness to the German elites of eastern European urban communities. Likewise, Amsterdam became a common destination. In the Netherlands, the Sephardic Jews painstakingly reconstructed their ancient belief with new devotion. They met a variety of Christians, Libertines, Arminians, and Socinians who were ready to do the same thing. Baruch Spinoza (see §4-145), son of a Portuguese-Jewish merchant in Amsterdam, was at the center of this fusion of ideas.

***Huguenots*—**The Huguenots began as part of the international reformed Protestant bloc, who, like the Jews, embraced high hopes for the apocalypse and divine consummation of history only to have these hopes dashed against the political realities of the 17th century. With the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV in 1685, the Huguenots joined the Jews in a continent-wide exile. They were the first Protestants to return to Erasmus' project of biblical textual criticism.

Pierre Bayle, son of a Huguenot pastor in exile in the Netherlands, openly suggested the impermissible: that morality in Christian societies seemed as prone to fashion and local custom

as in those of any other faith. This was a radical attack on the assumption that Christian ethics were necessarily the product of Christian doctrine.

The voices were rising challenging the ancient wisdom of religion and suggesting that the Bible was not what it was cracked up to be. The Quakers, relying as they did on the inner light, were inclined to demonstrate divine authority by this subjective means and not by the authority of the Bible. In 1680, the Treatise of the Three Imposters was published in the Netherlands. The three imposters were Moses, Jesus, and Muhammed and the work levelled its guns at all three Semitic faiths, proclaiming that there were "no such things in nature as either God or Devil or Soul or Heaven or Hell."

§4-183. Repudiation and rejection of faith—Various movements within the broad intellectual trend called "the Enlightenment" were critical of orthodox Christianity. For the first time, atheism and the explicit rejection of religion became cultural forces Christian theologians had to reckon with. Anti-trinitarianism and other forms of Unitarianism spread, the leading edge of a widespread rejection of orthodox Christian dogma.

Enlightenment thinkers like Voltaire adapted Protestant criticisms of papist superstitions and priest craft into criticisms of Christianity itself. Established orthodoxy was seen as oppressive, whereas the experiential forms of Christianity, indebted to Pietism and revivalism, were regarded as fanatical and enthusiastic. The authority of religious tradition, including both theology and Scripture, came to be regarded with deep suspicion as a form of irrationality.

Enlightenment thinkers used the distinction between natural and revealed religion to understand the diversity of religions. "Revealed religion" meant any religion based on a purported revelation from God, such as Judaism based on the Torah, Christianity based on the Bible, and Islam based on the Koran. "Natural religion" meant religious beliefs that were based on reason, which is universal and common to all humanity.

§4-184. Protestants struggle to survive—The late 17th century was a period of crisis for Protestants in Europe. The Catholic Hapsburgs systematically dismantled a century of Protestant gains in central Europe and the Catholics continued to advance in Poland-Lithuania, undoing Protestant work. France under Louis XIV (1643-1715) emerged as the dominant power in Europe with an aggressively Catholic agenda. Charles II and James II of England served as pawns in Louis' plans. The Duke of Savoy was his murderous ally against the Protestant minority in that duchy.

§4-185. Developments in France

***Erosion of Huguenot rights*—**In France, Huguenot privileges were gradually reduced from 1629 until the final revocation of Nantes in 1685. Richelieu died in 1642, and Cardinal Mazzini (1602-1661) followed him as the power behind the throne during the minority of Louis XIV (1642-

1715). Louis XIV took control of the kingdom in 1661 and progressively restricted Huguenot activities and privileges in the 1660s and 1670s. He also determined to stamp out any vestige of French Protestantism by promoting what he called reunion (e.g. forced conversion of Protestants to Catholicism). Huguenots and Catholics developed sharper confessional identities and associated with each other less and less. In 1684, Huguenots were among the leaders of a revolt against Louis and this occasioned the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis in 1685. He made it illegal to be a Protestant in France.

Protestants began secretly emigrating in droves, more than 200,000 left France. This mass exodus, largely consisting of artisans and merchants, represented a great economic loss to France. The ongoing effects of this economic disruption has been suggested as one of the causes leading to the French Revolution a century later.

Church of the desert—After 1685, officially there were no more Protestants in France. However, many people continued to practice their faith and managed to worship in secret. This underground church, the so-called "church of the desert," continued through the king's reign despite the diligent efforts of the king's agents to stamp it out.

Apocalyptic wing (camisards)—A siege mentality griped the Huguenots and heightened their sense of being the elect and of their need to be willing to suffer and die for the faith. As often happens when people are viciously persecuted, a radical eschatological wing developed, claiming that the end of the world is at hand. Pierre Jurieu ld this group, publishing a study of Revelation claiming that its prophecies were being currently fulfilled and predicting final victory in 1689. This prophetic spirit turned to armed rebellion which kept an army of 25,000 occupied for almost two decades. The rebels came to be known as camisards. With the army's inability to suppress this guerrilla revolt in conventional ways, it resorted to razing areas where the camisards operated. This only fueled the rebellion and filled the camisards' ranks with homeless reinforcements. The rebellion finally ended in 1709 when the last camisard leaaders were captured and executed.

Reformed in France & Antione Court—Other Protestants refused to trust apocalyptic visions and advocated a return to the reformed tradition with worship centered on the clear and careful exposition of Scripture. Antione Court (1684-1767) was the outstanding leader of this group. In 1715 (the year Louis XIV died), he organized the first synod of the French Reformed Church. Court urged his followers to obey the civil authorities in all matters, except when contrary to the Word of God. A French seminary was founded in Lausanne, Switzerland in 1726 and Court himself moved there in 1729 and became the mentor to a whole generation of clandestine French preachers. French Protestantism was firmly re-rooted by the time Court died in 1767. Twenty years later, Louis XVI, great grandson of the Sun-King, decreed religious tolerance. The "church of the desert" had survived.

Intolerance produced vehement critics—This French policy of intolerance produced a profound distrust of dogma and dogmatism. Some, like Voltaire, defended the Protestant cause, not for any

religious sympathy, but because he thought intolerance immoral and absurd. During the years of persecution and resistance, of horror and glory, not only did the Catholic kings of France gravely weaken their country economically, but they also help forge an opposition who would later espouse the ideals of the French Revolution. Even absolutist France reenacted a policy of toleration in 1787, shortly before the unleashing of the French Revolution.

§4-186. – Foreign wars—Louis XIV sought continental hegemony throughout his reign and was continually engaged in wars in Europe. He conquered Alsace and turned that Lutheran province into a Catholic one. However, Louis overreached in 1672, conducting a series of campaigns against the Netherlands, earning temporary victory and the lasting enmity of Prince Willem, ancestor of William of Orange who led the Dutch revolt against the Spanish. This Willem made it his life's work to humble French power and aggression. He eventually gained the throne of England in 1688 as the victor of the Glorious Revolution and began the reign of William (III) and Mary (II) and worked tirelessly to halt the advance of Louis' designs in Europe. William III died in 1702, but English resistance to French designs continued, culminating in the decisive victories over the French (Blenheim in 1704 and others) won by John Churchill, Winston Churchill's ancestor.

§4-187. Developments in the British Isles—The foppish Charles II (1660-1685) declared himself a Catholic on his deathbed. His brother and successor, James II (1685-1688), wanted to go further than merely acknowledging his Catholic faith. He reinstituted Catholic practices and sought the support of dissidents by decreeing religious tolerance. As long as his Protestant daughters were heirs to the throne, the English tolerated this. However, when he had a son with his second, Catholic wife, the die was cast. Notable English families invited Prince Willem of the Netherlands (wife of James' daughter Mary) to launch a campaign. James fled and the throne was declared vacant and extended to Willem and Mary as William III and Mary II. John Locke supplied a rationale for this arrangement in looking to the Bible as the basis for his theory of government as a social contract, justifying the scheme of rights and duties worked out in the English monarchy. Locke's language of rights and social contract would eventually be used to undermine the idea of a sacred monarchy altogether. William and Mary adopted a policy of tolerance to all those who would subscribe to the 39 Articles and swear loyalty to the crown. This naturally excluded religious groups like Catholics and Unitarians.

While the days of the grand vision of the Puritan synthesis were over, the Puritan ideal lingered on and deeply influenced England. Two of their great writers, John Bunyan and John Milton, are some of the most read English authors. Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* and Milton's *Paradise Lost* are classics of this age. While the new evangelicals were reacting against the Puritan synthesis, their fervor was still kindled. The British Isles and their colonies were scenes of tremendous religious vitality in this age as seen in the Evangelical Awakening in England and the Great Awakening in America.

§4-188. Developments in central Europe—In the 16th century, it looked like Bohemia and

Hungary were going to be swept fully into Protestantism (with the Germans in the two regions continuing to adhere to Lutheranism). However, the reverses of the 17th century left Protestantism in a distinct minority.

In Hungary and Transylvania, Protestantism prospered for a time. Most of the area was occupied by the Ottoman Turks for a good portion of the 16th and 17th centuries and their policies tended to favor Protestants over Roman Catholics because they were less likely to support attempts by the Catholic rulers in the orbit of the Holy Roman Empire to win back the lands taken by the Turks. In locales controlled by the Hapsburgs, their weakened political position in the area forced them to be more tolerant. King Sigismund, seeing that religious division weakened the nation, decided "that is enough theology" and allowed four forms of Christianity to have equal standing in the nation: Catholicism, Lutheranism, Reformed, and Unitarianism. While both the Ottomans and the Hapsburgs took measures to prevent the spread of unwanted teachings by means of the printing press, Protestant books nevertheless proliferated and the number of works in the vernacular increased greatly.

Bohemian Slavs and the Hungarian Magyars tended to embrace the Reformed faith. In Transylvania (the extreme eastern fringe of Hungary), there arose a significant Reformed community among the Magyars. Various Christian groups existed side-by-side. The upper classes remained Roman Catholic, the peasants Orthodox, and middle class and urbanites Reformed.

After 1648, there was a three-way conflict between the Hapsburgs, the Ottomans, and the Hungarian nationalists. As Ottoman power waned late in the 17th and into the 18th centuries, the Hapsburgs grew increasing aggressive in enforcing Catholic conformity in these lands. The Peace of Karlowitz in 1699 gave Hungary to the Hapsburgs, control that they maintained until 1918. Once in charge, the Hapsburgs showed themselves to be staunch Catholics here as elsewhere and imposed strong measures against the Protestants.

Poland—The Reformation penetrated deeply into Poland. There was a time when it seemed the Protestantism would sweep the country and put that land firmly in the Reformation camp. Initially, the Poles were dissatisfied with the wealth and corruption of the Roman Catholic Church. Lutherans, Anabaptist, Reformed, and Bohemian Brethren all flourished for a time in that land. The Polish government was far more religiously tolerant than most in Europe. Throughout the 16th and 17th centuries, both Protestantism and Socinian Unitarianism grew in Poland. However, as Poland was threatened by both Germany in the west and Russia in the east, Polish national identity grew resistant to German Lutheranism and Russian Orthodoxy and the Poles returned to Catholicism. The adamant divisions among different Protestant groups, a Catholic monarchy, and the missionary zeal of the Jesuits turned the tide and brought the downfall of Protestantism in Poland. Poland became such a staunchly Catholic country that the early appeal of the Reformation in that land seems like a fairy tale.

§4-189. Structure of overview—For purposes of the reminder of our overview in this division, we will structure our discussion of the religious setting of the age into three separate approaches: (1) rationalist; (2) spiritualist; and (3) pietist.

B. Rationalist Approach

1. Confessionalization

§4-191. Generally—Confessionalization is the process by which distinct yet parallel Christian traditions and identities, Catholic, Lutheran, and Calvinist, were created and strengthened in the various principalities that made up central Europe in the 16th to the 18th century. The political patchwork that was the Holy Roman Empire facilitated this confessional pluralism, in contrast to what transpired in the monarchial states of Spain, France, and England. The process was also at work in other areas of Europe where there was no strong central authority or where the central authority lacked the will or had the good sense not to enforce religious conformity.

Confessionalization institutionalized hardness. State dominance of churches and the hardening of confessional religious divisions became reality. The result was that Lutheran, Catholic, and Calvinist pastors could only work openly if the regional rulers permitted them to do so. The divisions between Lutherans, Calvinists, and Catholics continued to harden over time.

§4-192. Unintended consequences of confessionalization—This provides a vivid snapshot of one of the realities emerging from the Reformation era and shaping religious practice in this era. During the Reformation, the average person in the pew experienced a shift from Christianity as primarily something one practiced to Christianity as fundamentally a body of doctrines one believed. Doctrinal disputes between Catholics and Protestants, between Protestant sects, and even among members of the same sect, contributed to the increased emphasis on the importance of right doctrine in the Christian life.

The confessionalism that followed the Reformers had the unintended consequence of reducing a robust faith into a mental exercise. The faith was less a submission to, and embrace of, the wondrous mercy of God revealed in Christ as it was a formal assent to doctrinal truths set forth by the scholars. Membership in the designated state church, faithful attendance at services, and dutiful reception of the sacraments were the essential marks of good Christians. A vibrant faith and a robust personal attachment to Jesus Christ just did not seem to be on the radar screen.

As this cold orthodoxy developed across Europe, it engendered a variety of responses: (1) an unbelieving rationalism that questioned the intellectual foundations of orthodoxy; (2) a spiritualist reaction against dogma that sought individual and inner experiences with God; and (3) a pietism that sought a vital Christian faith not reducible to the disputations of scholastic theologians and the speculations of philosophers.

2. Deism

§4-196. Generally—Between 1640 and 1700, there opened a divide between educated elites, taking a more skeptical stance towards the Bible, and the rest of Protestantism. Rather than adhering to the biblical idea of a God intimately involved with his creation and providentially intervening in it, the deists posited the idea of a God who created the world and set up natural laws governing it understandable to human reason, but who afterward left it to run its course.

Deism was a common alternative to rationalists wanting to go beyond the narrow, quibbling orthodoxy of the day. Deists saw Christian orthodoxy as naïve and repressive and wanted to substitute natural religion and morality for traditional faith based on divine revelation. They attempted to reduce religion to its most basic, universally held, and reasonable elements.

§4-197. Themes and attitudes of Deism—Lord Herbert of Cherbury (1583-1648) has been credited as the originator of Deism. Others of this age who expressed deistic sympathies including Voltaire, Diderot, and Rousseau in France, and Paine, Franklin, Jefferson in America. Its fundamental tenets were:

- There is one God who created the universe and ordained the natural laws that control it.
- God does not intervene in the affairs of humans. He is not a capricious deity acting on His whims.
- Prayer, sacraments, and rituals are useless mumbo jumbo. God cannot be wheedled into setting aside natural laws for the benefit of particular people.
- People have freedom to choose between good and evil. Rewards and punishments in life hereafter are determined solely by an individual's conduct on earth.

Cherbury rejected the idea of special revelation and attempted to show that all religions had five common elements:

- Existence of God;
- Obligation of worship;
- Ethical behavior;
- Need to repent of sin;
- Afterlife of reward or punishment.

The central theme of Deism was the reasonableness of natural religion. Deists regarded reason and natural religion as the norm by which to judge revealed religions, including Christianity. They had no place for the supernatural, miracles, or divine intervention in nature. There was no place for mystery, incomprehensible dogma that goes beyond natural reason (the kind of reason one finds in natural science), or clerics claiming ecclesiastical authority. There was no need for rituals, sacraments, or objects of superstitious awe.

Deists saw themselves as fighting on two fronts: opposing what it considered the easy skepticism of those abandoning all faith and the narrow dogmatism that had taken hold of most branches of

Christianity. It saw whatever was valuable in Christianity to coincide with what they called "natural religion."

§4-198. Attitude towards Christianity—Early Deists regarded Christianity as a republication of the universal truths of natural religion, with non-essential additions which could and should be discarded. Later Deists often regarded revealed religion, and Christianity in particular, as a corruption of natural religion and based on the authority of priests and other charlatans. However, even the later Deists admired Jesus, presenting him as a teacher of natural religion whose message was distorted by the apostles. In as much as Christianity agrees with natural religion, it is true and reasonable. When it attempts to add an element of special revelation it lapses into superstition. The purpose of the gospel is not to bring objective redemption but simply to show that there is a universal natural law that is the basis and content of religion and free humanity from superstition.

This purported reasonable religion was in fact a selection of those traditional Christian doctrines that the Deists found most congenial. They attempted to prove God's existence by the order of causation and the God whose existence they deemed proved was much akin to the Christian God of orthodoxy. Likewise, they believed the soul to be immortal and that they could prove an afterlife of reward or punishment.

§4-199. Orthodox response—Joseph Butler (1692-1752) offered the most cogent response from the point of view of orthodoxy. In his *Analogy of Religion,* he did not try to prove the existence of God nor did he assail the use of reason. He accepted it as people's "natural light." He agreed with certain elements that Deists espoused, such as their arguments for God's existence, the immortality of the soul, and reward or punishment in an afterlife. What he did was to point out that reason could not offer a complete system of knowledge. Our ordinary lives are filled with obscurity and it is pretense to assert otherwise. Nature is not a realm where reason is supreme. There is perplexity at every turn. If we find our limits to understanding in numerous places in nature, should we be surprised to find limits to understanding difficulties in religion?

He thought the deists erred in rejecting the data of revelation. He did not attempt to prove that revelation was essentially reasonable. He granted that there were difficulties in the idea of a special revelation. There were also difficulties in the view that the universe is a coherent and orderly system. One must be guided by probabilities. Indeed, all life is guided by probabilities.

Guided by this principle, Butler went on to show that there were elements of Christianity that the Deists either rejected or ignored that went to the heart of true Christianity. His method of engaging the Deists is often described as rational supernaturalism. Reason forces us to posit the supernatural, specifically, the doctrines of creation and redemption and the reality of miracles. William Paley (1743-1805) was a leading exponent of rational supernaturalism, popularizing the argument that the complexity of creation argues for an

intelligent Creator.

§4-200. Critique from unlikely source—However, the most severe blow to the Deism came from the philosopher David Hume (1711-1776). In his *Inquiry Concerning Human Understanding*, Hume agreed with the empirical tradition, to which many Deists adhered, that nothing can be known that has not been previously experienced. The mind is a clean slate. However, there are things we take for granted that we really do not know from existence – e.g. we do not know causality or substance.

What we experience is a certain correlation between events or things. We really do not "see" causation. Causality is a useful category for daily living, but it is neither an empirical reality nor a rational certainty. Substance is also a reality that we have never experienced per se but take for granted in the practical concerns of life. What is true of outward substances is also true of the mind. We have never perceived our own minds. What we have perceived are operations that we ascribe to a substance called "mind." The upshot of Hume's analysis is that he showed the impossibility of a purely empirical epistemology and showed the rational difficulties inherent in Deism. He showed that their cosmological argument for God's existence was based on the idea of causality which Hume thought he had shown to be a convenient fiction. As for arguments for the immortality of the soul, they were based on the idea of the soul as an immaterial substance, which lost their power when the very idea of substance was brought into question.

C. Spiritualist Approach

§4-201. Generally—The dogmatism of the age also spawned a spiritualist reaction. Endless debates about dogma and intolerance among Christians are among the reasons some sought refuge in a purely spiritual religion. The Spiritualist movement of the 17th and 18th centuries attracted cultured intellectuals who had little use for narrow-minded dogmatism and others with little education who sought self-expression. Other than the Quakers, the spiritualists had little lasting impact on the church and society. Their interests were individualistic and otherworldly and their lack of institutional focus and attention to the larger concerns of community meant that these movements failed to generate the structure that would give them ongoing traction. The mantle of protest against cold rationalism and intolerant dogmatism that reduced Christianity to a set of cognitive propositions fell to the Pietists.

Three representatives provide an overview of this spiritualist approach: (1) Jakob Boehme; (2) George Fox and the Quakers; and (3) Emanuel Swedensborg.

§4-202. Boehme—Born to pious Lutherans, Jakob Boehme (1575-1624) began having visions in his mid-teens, while apprenticing as a cobbler. He became a wandering cobbler and began cultivating the inner life and came to believe that it was his destiny to understand the mysteries of the universe. He thought that debates over points of doctrine were a waste of time and began exploring the inner life through his visions. He recorded these in *Brilliant Dawn* in 1612.

Ordered to cease writing, he complied for a while but started up again, publishing the devotional *Way of Christ* in 1623. He was banished by his hometown and his writings were evaluated by a group of theologians at the court of the elector of Saxony who judged them to be incomprehensible. His views were a hodge-podge of traditional Christian belief, magic, alchemy, and occultism. His style was "edge" writing. He loved the daring, unexplained, and inconsistently used metaphor.

Boehme believed God to be the indefinable basic matter of the universe, neither good nor bad, but containing the seeds of good and bad. Human beings can free themselves from evil by transcending their sinful character by union with Christ. Boehme's writings were unfocused and wandering but his religious direction was discernible:

- He reacted against the cold dogmatism of orthodoxy;
- He reacted against empty liturgy;
- He called for freedom of the spirit and a direct experience of God;
- He claimed direct individual revelation from God;
- Interestingly, his followers quickly embroiled themselves in controversy – the trait they claimed to so despise among orthodox believers.

Boehme lived in the previous period we studied but made little impact in the age of the Reformation and scholastic Protestantism. He garnered more admirers and followers in this age. Interestingly, having protested the divisions among Protestants, Boehme's followers clashed repeatedly with the Quaker followers of a fellow spiritualist, George Fox.

§4-203. Fox and the Quakers—George Fox (1624-1691) was born in a small English village in the year of Boehme's death. He was also a cobbler's apprentice. He quit his profession and wandered, attending all sorts of religious meetings and gatherings, seeking illumination. He challenged traditional Christianity and all its trappings—church institutional structures, buildings, professional staff, hymnody, liturgy, sacraments, sermons, creeds, etc. He saw them as human impediments to the freedom of the spirit.

***Inner light*—**He placed great emphasis on the "inner light." There is a seed in us that is the true way to seek and find God. He believed that the doctrine of total depravity denied the love of God. The inner light is in everyone, thus pagans as well as Christians can be saved. The inner light is not a list of moral principles nor was it the "natural reason" of the Deists. It is the capacity of every human being to recognize and accept the presence of God.

His followers were seen as enthusiasts and were called Quakers because they frequently trembled in religious gatherings. Margaret Fell, a noble woman who later became Fox's wife, became a follower of Fox around 1652, and generously funded the movement. The Foxes and other Quakers were frequently imprisoned. Through the years the meeting practices of the "Friends," as they call themselves, evolved. Meetings were unstructured and took place in silence. These periods of silence were interrupted by anyone (rich or poor, male or female,

gentry or common) who felt "led" by the Spirit to speak or pray aloud. There was no liturgy, sacraments, creeds, or professional celebrants.

Characteristics of the Quakers included:

- Simplicity of lifestyle.
- Pacifism.
- Egalitarian and democratic in sentiment -- both in societal structures and in their smaller group meetings.
- Focus on the "inner light," a very subjective guidance. Fox was convinced that God spoke to people and guided them in life's decisions.
- Religious tolerance.
- Committed to civil disobedience. When their beliefs crossed the law, they disobeyed the law. However, they willingly paid the penalty for such disobedience.
- Frequently championed civil rights causes.

***Community emphasis*—**Unlike other spiritualist groups, the Friends' emphasis on the freedom of the spirit (frequently leading to individual eccentricity in other groups) was tempered by an equally strong emphasis on community and the duty to love one another. Fox was concerned that his understanding of the inner light could lead to an atomistic individualism and therefore emphasized community love and concern for one another among the Quakers and for the larger community (the world) as well.

***Persecution*—**He and his followers met with scorn and violence. In 1664, Charles II of England banned unlicensed religious assemblies. The Friends decided that meeting in secret would be dishonest and continued to meet although unlicensed. They were brutally persecuted. Fox travelled abroad, to Ireland in 1669, the West Indies and North America in 1671-1672, and Holland in 1677. He won converts in these far-flung areas before his death. The most famous of Fox's followers was William Penn (1644-1718), founder of the Pennsylvania colony (see §4-312).

Of the spiritualist movements, only Fox and the Quakers had lasting effects. This may have been due to their emphasis on community and their concern for social issues that bore on people's welfare. The other spiritualists faded away or failed to gain a substantial following or make a substantial impact on the church, largely because their interests were excessive individualistic and other-worldly.

§4-204. Swedensborg—While Boehme and Fox were of humble birth, Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772) was born to an aristocratic Swedish family. He received the best education available in the day and he focused on scientific studies rather than religious teachings in his early years. He became convinced of a spiritual reality that lay behind the physical universe and gave that universe its structure. He claimed to have perceived spiritual truths and to see the physical world as a reflection of divine attributes. He claimed that all that exists reflects the attributes of God,

the visible world corresponds to the invisible one. Scripture reflects truth that can only be seen by those who have entered the spiritual world.

Swedensborg spoke of his spiritual perception in terms of the Second Coming of Christ. He was convinced that his own writings inaugurated a new era for the world and for religion. These were not well received, and he never had many followers. He did not feel called to found a new church but rather to call the existing church to a new understanding of its nature and message. However, his followers instituted the Church of the New Jerusalem in 1784, twelve years after he died. Later a Swedenborg society was formed which was still in existence at the beginning of the 21st century.

D. Pietist Approach

§4-211. Generally—A recurring theme in Christendom in this day was to place greater emphasis on the practicalities of Christian life and less on the formal structures of theology or church order. Characteristics of the Pietists included:

- Experiential character—they were people of the heart.
- Biblical focus—they were people of the book.
- Perfectionist bent—they were serious about holy living and the accountability attendant to it.
- Reforming interest—they were concerned about and opposed to the coldness and sterility of established Church patterns.

Their focus on these themes garnered them the label "pietists." Pietism was a movement amicably critical of orthodoxy that sought to remain within the established Protestant traditions. Although Philip Jacob Spener is credited with being the father of Pietism, the story begins with Johann Arndt (1555-1621), a follower of Philip Melancthon, and the publication of *True Christianity* (1606). In *True Christianity*, he focused on the atonement's effect within the heart of the believer rather than on its legal dimensions. For Arndt, the point of Christianity was union with Christ resulting in transformed living. *True Christianity* was written to help people meditate and consciously place themselves before God. The book's popularity reflected the deep hunger in Europe for the kind of emphases that Pietism would offer.

At stake in what became a controversy between Pietism and traditional orthodoxy was whether the Christian faith should simply be an adherence to accepted doctrines that served to sanction a common morality or whether Christ by His Spirit was calling believers to a different sort of life altogether. Pietism was an uncomfortable challenge to a comfortable church which was very certain that it was entirely right on almost everything. Intellectually, it was a response to the dogmatism of the theologians and the rationalism of the philosophers. Pietism saw greater value in personal devotion and religious experience. The movement's heartbeat lay in devoted, practical service, which had ample opportunities in this age. With the extensive closure of monasteries and nunneries across Protestant Europe, devotional life devolved to the parishes.

With the closure of religious houses, confraternities, and guilds, a host of Christian ministries responsible for charitable works of various kinds, itinerant preaching, and contemplative opportunities disappeared. The Reformation had not successfully replaced these, and Pietism rose to the challenge. Under this label, we will consider the German pietistic movement led by Spener and Francke as well as the movements headed by Zinzendorf and Wesley.

§4-212. Personal devotion and experience—Pietism was a movement in response to the dogmatism of the theologians and the rationalism of the philosophers. It sought a living faith as the heart of Christianity. The confessionalism that had followed the Reformers had the unintended consequence of reducing a robust faith to a mental exercise. The faith was reduced to a formal assent to doctrinal truths set forth by the scholars. Membership in the designated state church, faithful attendance at services, and dutiful reception of the sacraments marked "good" Christians. A vibrant faith and a robust personal attachment to Jesus Christ was not emphasized.

§4-213. Reaction to Protestant scholasticism—Pietism is in large part a reaction against the aridity of Protestant scholasticism. Protestant scholasticism was a university-based discipline—in 17th century terms, a science designed to give a system of proofs of Protestant doctrine. Scholastic sermons were not proclamations of the Gospel meant to change people's lives, but proofs of Protestant doctrine. One of their key complaints was that ministers were careerists, trained at universities to receive prestigious pastorates, not by building up the flock in faith, but by demonstrated skill in scholastic reasoning. A key affirmation of the movement was that true theology was more a matter of devotion than argumentation.

§4-214. Practical preaching and pastoral care

***Practical concern*—**Pietism shifted concern from theological controversy to the care of souls. It made preaching and pastoral visitation central concerns. It enriched Christian music. It understood the importance of a spiritual laity for a revived church. The movement's dominant theme was regeneration. In this sense, it was the fountain of all modern revival. Evangelicals inherited two important traits from Pietism: (1) emotion that played so large apart in Pietist religion that reason was endangered; (2) the acceptance of the role of the institutional church. It made no frontal assault on the church but shifted what was essential to the new birth and a robust spiritual life, from the traditional state church to intimate fellowship groups or voluntary associations of believers.

***Education*—**Pietism focused on education from its earliest days. Both the Lutheran and Reformed branches of the Reformation had channeled its early bursts of activity into educational forms which trained its clergy in their respective theological emphases. The forms which shaped the curriculum looked remarkably similar to those which had shaped medieval scholasticism. Pietism did its best to recapture the initial devotion and excitement of the Protestant movement with an orderly presentation of God's truth, but with an accent on its practical import rather than its theoretical reach.

§4-215. Pietism in an age of enlightenment and religious awakening—The Awakening on both sides of the Atlantic had many pietistic features, including practical piety, the breakdown of clergy/laity distinctions, and a focus on the heart as well as the head. It is interesting to compare Pietism with the Enlightenment. Similarities include that they both attacked Protestant orthodoxy, asserted individual rights and interests, and emphasized practical action over theory. They also had significant differences. Pietism's subjectivity was controlled by Christian belief structured by biblical instruction. The Enlightenment threw off all external authority, trusting in reason alone.

§4-216. Kierkegaard on Pietism—The Danish philosopher Soren Kierkegaard's reflections on Pietism are worth noting. He noted that Pietism could be "petty and pusillanimous renunciation in things that do not matter," but that, at its best, it was close to the heart of truest Christianity:

> Yes, indeed, pietism (properly understood, not simply in the sense of abstaining from dancing and such externals, no, in the sense of witnessing for the truth and suffering for it, together with the understanding that suffering in this world belongs to being a Christian, and that a shrewd and secular conformity with this world is unchristian) – yes, indeed, pietism is the one and only consequence of Christianity." (*Kierkegaard, Journals and Papers, Vol. 3, 524*.)

1. German Pietism

§4-221. Spener—Jacob Philip Spener (1635-1705) is often credited with being the father of Pietism. He was born into an aristocratic family with deep Lutheran convictions. He had a top-drawer education at the University of Strasbourg, earning a doctorate, but saw little connection between the faith of his home and the theology taught in the universities. On a stay in Switzerland, he met a former Jesuit turned Calvinist, Jean de Labadie (1610-1674), who insisted that the inspiration of the Holy Spirit was necessary for the proper understanding of Scripture. Spener was impressed with the vitality of faith demonstrated in the Labadist movement and determined that he would attempt to awaken a similar fervor in the Lutheran church. On his return to Germany, he became a pastor, first at Strasbourg and then at Frankfurt.

***Colleges of piety*—**Spener was not content to preach and administer the sacraments. He began founding "colleges of piety" among the laity. In 1675, he published *Pia Desideria* (Pious Wishes) in which he outlined a program for the development of piety. Spener presented six pious wishes for Christian devotion in his day:

- A clearer and deeper understanding of Scripture through devout study in small groups.
- The laity to rediscover the priesthood of the believer. This was to focus on small group ministry.
- To see the nature of Christianity in the total experience of faith and not contained in doctrinal formulations.
- That controversies would be conducted in the spirit of charity.

- That pastoral training would go beyond cold logic and orthodoxy and would include a profound immersion in devotional literature and practice.
- A new pulpit emphasis on teaching and feeding the laity rather than on disputing fine theological points.

He emphasized a personal faith, called for preaching that urged believers to obedience rather than showcasing the preacher's knowledge, and advocated putting aside polemical and academic issues in favor of fostering true devotion. He wanted to complete the Reformation which he saw interrupted by doctrinal debates and the wars of religion. He thought that cells of devout believers should be formed in each congregation to cultivate a more rigorous and warmer Christian life. Spener had organizational and networking abilities, directing the gathering of these groups and making strategic alliances with sympathetic rulers and nobility.

Spener was also concerned at the growth of European cities and the strain these population centers placed on parish clergy. Mobilizing serious and energetic laity and treating them as genuine partners in the ministry, could help ease the load. He returned to the doctrine of the priesthood of the believer and suggested that there should be less emphasis on the differences between the laity and the clergy. For the laity, this meant a more intensive life of study and devotion focused on small groups. For the clergy, this meant that candidates should be probed for evidence and growth of a personal faith.

In 1686, Spener was appointed as court chaplain to the Elector of Saxony. In 1692, he accepted an invitation from the elector of Brandenburg to move to Berlin. He encountered fierce opposition, but nevertheless was able to elevate the Pietist academy at Halle to the level of a university. He persuaded the future king of Prussia to appoint August Hermann Francke as a professor at the University of Halle. Francke soon rose to the leadership of the Pietist movement, even though Spener continued to write and preach until he died in 1705.

Spener did not deviate from Lutheran doctrine but he did tend to discount the fine points of doctrine. He was calling for something more than correct doctrine and an outwardly moral life. His interest in the sanctification of the believer and the obvious influence of Jean Labadie led people to accuse him of being a closet Calvinist and even of heresy. He held apocalyptic views that asserted that the prophecies of the book of Revelation were being fulfilled before their very eyes. For this he was mocked and criticized.

§4-222. Francke—Spener's ablest follower was August Hermann Francke (1663-1727), also from a well-to-do German Lutheran family with a fine education. Francke avoided apocalyptic excesses and insisted on joy in the Christian life, that a Christian life should be a song of praise to God. He was a professor at Halle and paid more attention to the relationship between Pietism and traditional Lutheran theology than did Spener.

The initial stages of Pietism placed great emphasis on a living, personal faith and Francke lead the way in this regard. Francke's own conversion experience freed him from both the fear of hell and atheism, towards which he claimed the cold Protestant scholasticism of his youth was leading him. Francke contended that it is not enough to say, "I am baptized. I am a Christian." Instead, he advocated turning into one's heart to find piety. However, while there was an emphasis on a living, personal faith, at least initially, it did not focus on the need for a single conversion story.

Thousands of Germans joined the "colleges of piety," regardless of the theologians' warning of enthusiastic excesses. The Pietist emphasis on individuals' relationship with God and seemed to bypass the church entirely. This tendency to set aside the church and its ministrations was one of the reasons Pietists got into hot water with the ecclesiastical authorities. Another area of distinction is the Pietist emphasis on missions which magisterial Protestant groups were completely ignoring.

***Halle as Pietist center*—**Francke created at the University of Halle, a complex of orphanages, medical clinics, colleges for the training of both the nobility and the poor, a teacher training college, complete with a printing operation, a library, and a museum to demonstrate the wonders of God's creation. He yearned to create a setting where everyone, whatever their position in life, could be educated sufficiently to read and understand God's Word and could take rightful pride in at least one special skill. He set a precedent for the Protestant world for institutions created by private initiative akin to the kind the Jesuits had created in the Catholic orbit a century before. The work of Halle extended throughout northern Europe as Francke's graduates populated governmental services and clerical ministries. Francke himself maintained a vast correspondence of like-minded colleagues and associates (by some estimates about one thousand of them).

***Protestant missions*—**One of the most significant contributions of Pietism to the story of Christianity was that it was the incubator of Protestant missions. The 16th century reformers, engaged as they were in a struggle for the survival of Protestantism, paid little attention to the non-Christian world. In 1707, the king of Denmark, an admirer of Pietism, decided to send missionaries to his colonies in India. He asked Francke to send him two of his most promising disciples to undertake the task. Soon, Halle became a center for training missionaries. In Denmark, a school of missions was founded and supplied missionaries to Iceland and Greenland.

§4-223. Other leaders and emphases—William Ames (1576-1633) was educated in England and ministered in Holland. He published *Morrow of Theology* in 1623 which bears a deep affinity to the pietistic agenda a half century before Spener's *Pia Desideria*. Pietism also made inroads among the German Reformed. F.A. Lampe (1683-1729) wrote many hymns, sermons,

and books that spread Pietism among Reformed churches in Germany. The Great Awakening in America is an indication of the degree to which Pietism made inroads among the Reformed.

End Times—Pietistic activity included a new expectation of the End Times, marked by the conversion of Jews. Contemporary Judaism, during the era of the Sephardic diaspora, had entertained much speculation about the return of Messiah and Pietism tied into that and focused on eastern Europe where many Jews had fled.

***Worship*—**Pietism also inspired a burst of hymnody, but of a much more "down home" variety than the increasingly elaborate Lutheran liturgy. Pietists preferred informal and emotional worship, which led them to abandon the use of Latin in the Lutheran Mass and jettison much of the traditional Lutheran liturgy.

2. Zinzendorf and the Moravians

§4-226. Generally—The later phase of this era of Pietism was influenced by Count von Zinzendorf (1700-1760), an ardent believer who thought that the mark of true Christianity was a simple, childlike faith in the blood of Jesus. Zinzendorf was raised by a devout grandmother who was an admirer of the Halle Pietists. Zinzendorf was Spener's godson and studied under Francke at Halle. He later studied law at Wittenberg, married, and entered the civil service at Dresden.

However, his heart was in ministry. In 1722, Zinzendorf offered refuge on his lands in Saxony to a group of Bohemian Brethren fleeing persecution. The group became known as Moravians and established a community centered at the village of Herrnhut (meaning "the Lord's watch") on Zinzendorf's estate. Zinzendorf resigned his positions and joined the group in 1727 and soon became its leader and guiding spirit.

§4-227. Characteristics and emphases

***Quasi-monastic*—**Zinzendorf was an authoritarian and highly organized man and the new congregation at Herrnhut was highly structured and centered on worship. It was akin to a rigorous Protestant monastic order. The Moravian communities worshipped as frequently as monks—seven times a day—and their worship was full of song. The Count strongly valued a cheerful disposition. He quarreled with Francke largely because the Count thought Francke made the Christian life too much like a grim struggle.

***Heart religion*—**The Moravians came to be known for their emotional heart religion. Zinzendorf was an orthodox Lutheran, accepting the Augsburg Confession, but always insisted on the primacy of devotional and moral living over adherence to theological formulations. The Moravians sought an assiduous contemplation of Christ that led believers to complete trust in the Lord for the forgiveness of sins as well as for the whole of life. The emotional focus, however, was not the experience of conversion but the wounds of Christ. Unlike other forms of Pietism, Moravian heart religion was not a turn to inner experience but a turn to the flesh of Christ.

Perhaps the most characteristic piece of Moravian theology was a liturgy to the wounds of Christ on the cross. Especially characteristic is the devotion to the "side-hole," where Jesus was pierced near the heart.

***Missions*—**Zinzendorf's impulses were strongly mission-oriented and the Moravians became the first large scale Protestant missionary force in history. Exiles themselves, the Moravians threw themselves into another exile to communicate the good news that had invigorated their own lives. Francke had set the precedent in 1707 when he encouraged one of his former students to travel to India to undertake a mission to the Hindus on behalf of the Danish king. The missions movement among the Moravians began in 1732 and gathered momentum over the next couple of decades. They sent missionaries to Greenland, Georgia in America, African Guinea, to the Hottentots in South America, South American Guiana, Ceylon, and Algeria, among other places. Unlike other Western missions, the first Moravian missionaries were ordinary lay people who attempted to earn their living by their craft skills while living among the people they sought to reach. Zinzendorf himself joined his followers on an extraordinary series of worldwide journeys. In a period of twenty years, this one community sent out more Protestant missionaries than had been previously sent by all the Protestant churches since the Reformation began two centuries earlier. Their interest in missions resulted in spreading their faith to various parts of the world, giving them significance as a group all out of proportion to their numbers. The Moravians never had a large membership and were not able to sustain the fantastic efforts in foreign missions, but their early example was a driving vision for the great missionary awakening of Protestant missions in the 19th century. In addition to this was their significant impact on John Wesley and, through him, on the entire Methodist tradition.

3. Wesley and Methodism

§4-231. Wesley's background and conversion—John Wesley (1703-1791) was one of nineteen children of an Anglican priest and a mother who was the daughter of an Anglican priest. His mother, Susannah, was particularly careful in the religious and moral instruction of her children. Saved from a parsonage fire when five years old, his mother thought of her son as "a brand plucked from the burning" and that God had special plans for him. He was educated at Oxford and distinguished himself both in his studies and his piety. He helped start a group others mocked as the "Holy Club" and as "Methodists" because of their methodical ways.

***Colonial chaplain*—**Wesley was invited to serve the Lord as a chaplain in a new colony (Georgia) formed by General James Oglethorpe. The entire episode proved to be a fiasco. Wesley did not connect with the Indians or the white colonists. His rigid high church ways, his prohibition of fine dresses and jewelry in church, and his learned, idealistic zeal fell flat in a colony of former debtors starting again from scratch. Reflecting on his experience, Wesley wrote "I went to America to convert the Indians, but oh, who will convert me?"

***Conversion*—**On the return trip to England, the ship nearly floundered in a storm and Wesley was shaken by the level of his personal fear in contrast to the calm exhibited by a group of Moravians. Back in England, he contacted the Moravians. He had a dramatic conversion experience at Aldersgate Church in London while listening to a reading of Luther's preface to the book of Romans. He described it in the following way:

> About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation, and an assurance was given me, that he had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death.

§4-232. Early ministry

***Open-air preaching*—**Wesley visited the Moravians at Herrnhut, but decided not to become one. Moravian spirituality did not suit his temperament or his concern to be involved in the social concerns of the day. He caught up again with George Whitefield (1714-1770), a member of the Holy Club at Oxford, who had become a famous preacher. Wesley went to Bristol to help Whitefield and began to preach in the open fields. Wesley saw incredible responses and the effect on him was remarkable. Until Bristol, he was filled with anxiety, insecurity, and futility. After Bristol, he was a firebrand preacher, intent on preaching the gospel wherever people were willing to listen. In his own words: "I look upon all the world as my parish; I judge it my bounden duty, to declare unto all who are willing to hear, the glad tidings of salvation."

He travelled and preached relentlessly. At one point he estimated that he travelled 4,500 miles per year. The crowds were not always friendly, especially in the early years of his itinerating. He was assaulted and beaten. But he became fearless and developed a strange personal magnetism with which he often awed turbulent crowds. Over time, the violence subsided.

***Spearhead of Awakening*—**Wesley and Whitefield jointly spearheaded the initial stages of the Great Awakening. Over time, Wesley came to vigorously oppose Calvin's doctrine of predestination. He thought the belief made God an arbitrary devil. He insisted that God provided the way of salvation to all people and that people had enough freedom of will to choose or refuse divine grace. He was interested in awakening and building the faith of the masses in the Church of England, the way Pietism touched German Lutheranism.

***Spilt with Whitefield*—**This disagreement over predestination brought Wesley's friendship with Whitefield to the breaking point. Whitefield emphasized God's sovereignty and felt that Wesley's Arminianism dulled the all-important sense of sin. It made people complacent by surrendering the vital concept of an almighty God. They agreed to differ in mutual respect, but the controversy did lead to two camps in Methodism, Arminian societies following Wesley and Calvinist societies following Whitefield. Whitefield went on to organize the Calvinist Methodist Church, strongest in Wales, and to have a significant role in the Great Awakening in America.

§4-233. Wesley as organizer and Methodist movement

***Methodist organization*—**Whitefield was not an administrator; Wesley was. The Methodist converts attended the Anglican parish churches but found the center of their Christian experience in the Methodist societies where they confessed their sins to each other, submitted to discipline, prayed for each other, studied, and sang. John's brother Charles wrote over 7,000 hymns and gospel songs for the Methodist movement. John Wesley organized and his brother Charles musically inspired the culture of the chapel, an all-embracing society which was safe and wholesome for ordered family living.

Wesley's organization originally centered on the societies. As the movement grew, the societies divided into smaller groups of twelve called "classes." They were used for testimonies, prayer, spiritual encouragement, and to encourage financial support for the movement. Wesley employed laypeople from the classes as preachers and personal assistants. By 1744, The Methodist movement started meeting at an Annual Conference, a gathering to shape the policy and direction of the movement (always as Wesley decided and approved during his lifetime). By 1748, while still a part of the Anglican Church, the Methodist movement was really a church within a church.

***Tension with Anglicanism*—**Wesley steadfastly refused to separate from the Anglican Church for over forty years. This was the case even though the Anglican Church saw the Methodist movement as an indication of their own shortcomings. They viewed the Methodists open air preaching, emphasis on lay ministry, and small group meetings in homes with suspicion. Legal problems developed because, under English law, while non-Anglican worship and buildings were allowed, they had to be registered. The Anglican Church would not recognize Methodist structure and that put Wesley to the choice of having his groups be registered. The decision to do so led eventually to the formation of the Methodist Church. In addition, the needs of the Methodists in America forced Wesley in the direction of forming a new denomination. The Anglican bishop of London ignored his appeals for ordained leadership, so he took matters into his own hands and appointed Thomas Coke as superintendent of the American Methodists and two lay preachers, Richard Whatcost and Thomas Vasey, for the American ministry. The Methodists Church in America became a new denomination at a meeting in Baltimore in 1784.

Wesley died in London in 1791. He kept preaching to the end of his days. When he died he left 80,000 followers in England and 40,000 in America. His impact went far beyond the Methodist Church and movement. He helped renew the religious life of England and her American colonies, elevated the concern for the welfare of the poor, stimulated missions overseas, and provided an example of social concern that would influence evangelicals in the 19th and 20th centuries.

§4-234. Keys to Methodist growth and success—Methodism's success was due in part to the way it pragmatically responded to new needs of people. In England, those needs arose out of the

Industrial Revolution. The rapid urbanization of England in the early 19th century made the Anglican parish structure, rooted in a rural setting, obsolete. Methodism ministered to the urban masses that Anglicanism ignored or ill-served.

In America, those needs arose from the westward movement and the reality of the American frontier. In these settings, traditional ecclesiastical approaches and concerns missed the mark. Methodism, with its emphasis on a personal faith, practical devotion and piety, community engagement and interaction, found a ready audience on the frontier that Anglicanism neglected. Methodism also adapted to minister effectively to a rough and less educated audience. Wesley sent Francis Asbury to the colonies and to spearhead the move westward and he utilized lay preachers very effectively. Few Anglican ministers were even willing to go the frontier and, if they did, quickly found that they were painfully out of place. The Methodists in America organized their own church, the Methodist Episcopal Church, long before their English counterparts broke with the Church of England. The lack of Anglican priests caused this action.

§4-235. Wesley's theology—Wesley was a faithful Anglican who always affirmed the Thirty-Nine Articles and commended the *Book of Common Prayer* to his followers. Two points of his theology are noteworthy: (1) his ecclesiology and (2) his ideas of the Christian life and the process of salvation. On the second point, he reacted against the doctrine of predestination and three of its corollaries—whether election is absolute or conditional, whether grace is irresistible, and the perseverance of the saints. He could not accept unconditional election because it necessarily implied unconditional reprobation which he thought contrary to the witness of Scripture regarding the nature of God. He did not accept irresistible grace, except in rare cases. The reason for unbelief was in resistance to grace. To avoid the label of Pelagianism, he developed the idea of prevenient grace, a grace given to all. All people are capable, not in themselves but through the working of grace, of accepting the further grace of believing.

His idea of sanctification was also controversial. He believed that sanctification was a process, a pilgrimage every believer must set out on. The goal is entire sanctification or Christian perfection. By this, Wesley did not mean a Christian no longer sins or no longer needs the grace and sustenance that comes from God. It means that a Christian no longer willfully breaks the law of God. His view of Christian assurance was also controversial. Having rejected unconditional election, he also rejected the perseverance of the saints. He did believe in the witness of the Spirit, that the Spirit testifies to the human spirit that we are forgiven and adopted as children of God. However, this witness of the Spirit did not guarantee that the person who had assurance would remain forever steadfast in faith.

4. Evangelical Awakening in Europe

§4-241. Generally—We will reserve discussion of the Great Awakening for its impact on the American colonies prior to the Revolutionary War. However, the Enlightenment or Age of Reason witnessed a dramatic spiritual awakening in Western Christianity in numerous areas – in

Germany by the rise of Pietism, in England by the preaching of the Methodists, and in North America by the Great Awakening. The 1730s in America, Scotland, Wales, and England witnessed a sudden concern to preach the gospel to the unconverted. The ministries of Jonathan Edwards in Massachusetts, Ralph Erskine in Scotland, Howell Harris in Wales, and George Whitefield and John Wesley in England yielded significant numbers of converts.

§4-242. Evangelistic focus—The basic beliefs of the evangelicals could be found in Puritanism: the sinfulness of people, the atoning death of Christ, the unmerited grace of God, the salvation of the sincere believer. However, Puritanism focused on building a holy commonwealth while evangelicals, although not as detached in politics as the Pietists were, focused on converting the lost. They were less concerned about reforming the church and society as they were in preaching the gospel to all.

§4-243. Revival in British Isles—The early 18th century in England was in many ways an unlikely period for revival. England had her fill of holy causes, the zeal of the Puritans, and of religious fervor. The order of the day was moderation in everything. A movement in the Anglican Church called latitudinarianism led by John Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury, reflected the spirit of the age. They stressed proper behavior. People should be generous, kind, humane, tolerant, and avoid bigotry and all fanaticism.

However, conditions of the Industrial Revolution caused a significant movement from the rural areas to the cities. This movement produced large masses of unchurched people to whom the formal life and unemotional worship of traditional Anglicanism seemed to have little to say. Many transplanted people working in industrial sweatshops, living in urban slums, separated from familiar surroundings, caught in grinding economic situations were open to the gospel and to an energizing, transforming, and deeply personal faith. Many found new life in groups akin to Spener's *collegia pietatis*, whether Methodist classes or other units of spiritual nurture and care. The British evangelicals (Methodists included) began a long process of remolding British social attitudes away from extroverted consumerism to an effort to help people exercise self-discipline in the daily lives which would be self-policing. They were the driving force behind the social reforms that William Wilberforce and others spearheaded in Great Britain in the early 19th century.

E. Roman Catholicism

1. Tridentine Catholicism and Centralization

§4-251. Generally—The Roman Catholic Church emerged from the Reformation as a highly centralized body. The two issues that dominated the Church concerns from the 17th to the 19th centuries were (1) the nature and scope of papal authority and (2) how the church ought to respond to new secular trends in the world. The skinny on these two is that the Pope's authority

grew immensely and the Church consistently asserted the value of traditional views over against the modern trend.

§4-252. Early modern transformation—Trent played a central role in the early modern transformation of Roman Catholicism. The Papacy sought to improve the moral tone of the papal court, resident cardinals, and other upper echelons of the Church. In addition, they made Rome the architectural, spiritual, and cultural capital of Europe in the early modern age. Popes created committees of cardinals to address particular needs in the Church. The popes also took a more active role in fulfilling their responsibilities as pastors of the universal church and as shepherds of shepherds.

Rome became a major pilgrimage destination for Catholics in this era. The catacombs were discovered and served as tangible reminders of Rome's heroic Christian past. However, the popes faced greater conflicts with Catholic rulers regarding issues of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Even the zealous Catholic rulers were very concerned that ecclesiastical measures would not infringe on royal prerogatives in their native land. Thus, post-Tridentine popes were dependent on secular rulers to a large extent in implementing Tridentine decrees and reforms. This was particularly true in France. That country's tradition of "Gallican liberties" and the long unrest of the French religious wars, left the nation wary about Trent's decrees or other ecclesiastical directives.

§4-253. Clerical reform—Over time, Catholic clergy became better educated, more morally upright, and more diligent in performing their duties in accordance with the Tridentine decrees. Trent wisely placed considerable authority in the bishops in implementing conciliar decrees. A model post-Tridentine bishop was Carlo Borromeo of Milan (died 1584) who was active to the point of stirring up the normally placid local Catholic laity. After Trent, it became clear that the success of reform depended on the initiative and character of the individual bishops.

Diocesan seminaries mandated by Trent eventually insured a better educated and morally improved corps of parish priests. Trent's answer to anticlericalism was to train better priests. It did not change the ideals or demands of the priesthood as conceived by the Church historically. Post-Tridentine priests were more theologically literate, preached more frequently, were better at providing spiritual guidance, and administered the sacraments more faithfully than their medieval predecessors. In addition, celibacy was enforced more rigorously than in medieval times. The establishment of seminaries and the ecclesiastical changes associated with seminary training were implemented sooner in Spain and Italy than elsewhere in Europe.

§4-254. Jesuits as drivers of reform; reaction—The period between the late 16th century and the early 18th century was a time when Catholic religious orders flourished. The most important of these was the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits) founded by Ignatius Loyola and approved by the Pope in 1540. The order continued to grow in numbers and influence into the mid-17th century. By 1650, the Jesuits were teaching an estimated 150,000 students in 550 educational institutions. In addition, the Jesuits played a significant role in Catholic missions both in rural Europe, Asia, and South America.

***Reaction*—**Tridentine reforms of the clergy were meant for the spiritual benefit of the laity. Those reforms met with enthusiastic devotion in some quarters and with inertia and resentment in others. The post-Tridentine effort to foster a better educated, more self-conscious Catholic laity is evidence of the Catholic hierarchy's discomfort with the medieval category of implicit faith or fides qua. Many catechisms were produced after Trent and religious publications in all genres proliferated in Catholic Europe. The laity was expected to be more spiritually introspective. Trent's developments in this area complemented rather than replaced traditional Catholic piety and devotion.

However, these developments received mixed responses and had varying levels of success. Efforts to create conscientious Catholics were better received in European cities than in the countryside. This was true for Protestants as well. In rural areas, the laity resented clerical intrusions on traditional ways. The unintended consequence of post-Tridentine instruction and exhortation was the creation of a two-tiered Catholic laity of the devout and the lackadaisical.

2. Gallicanism

§4-256. Generally; Gallicans vs. ultramontes—In the 17 century the French church showed signs of life—monasteries were being rebuilt, church music was resounding in numerous venues, and the liturgical high Mass was again in vogue. However, the Church was divided. One side cherished its historic liberties, questioned papal authority, and sought to set limits on it. The other desired to cement its commitment to Rome and the Counter-Reformation. Those resisting the ecclesiastical centralizing tendencies of the Council of Trent came to be known as Gallicans. Those who opposed the Gallicans and defended the authority of the pope were called ultramontanes (beyond the mountains) for they looked over the Alps to Rome for their ecclesiastical direction.

§4-257. Background to issue of Gallican liberties—During the Papacy's residence at Avignon (1309-1378), popes had made concessions to the French crown. Many of the leaders of the conciliar movement of the 15th century had been French. In 1516, Leo X had signed a concordat with Francis I, giving the French kings extensive powers over the church in France. These were simply called "Gallican liberties."

In 1580, Henry III published a series of ordinances on ecclesiastical discipline that were taken from the decrees of Trent. Pope Gregory XIII thought that this was an unwarranted usurpation of ecclesiastical power, claiming that the French should simply implement the decrees. When Henry III was assassinated (by a Catholic), the Pope attempted to intervene and declare who was and who was not eligible for the crown. That misstep further strengthened the Gallican position. When former Protestant Henry IV ("Paris is worth a Mass") eventually succeeded to the throne, he agreed to sign and promulgate Trent's decrees in exchange for his restoration to communion with Rome. However, this met with staunch opposition and was never allowed by the French Parliament. The French viewed the ecclesiastical centralization tendencies of the Council of Trent as the result of an Italian council that were not even initially promulgated in France. When

Henry IV was assassinated by an ultramontanes Jesuit, a strong Gallican reaction ensued. It was not until 1615, that French clergy adopted the Trent decrees on their own authority and not on that of king or pope.

The foremost Gallican leaders opposing Papal power were Guy Coquille (1525-1603), Pierre Pithou (1539-1596), Edmond Richer (1559-1631) and Saint-Cyran (1581-1634) (e.g. Jean Duvergier de Hauranne). The 17th and 18th centuries marked the high point of Gallicanism, but during those centuries the movement fractured into two. One part was a genuine attempt on the part of the French bishops and clergy to defend the authority and autonomy of the national church while the other part represented the desire of the king and his court to extend their authority over the church that manipulated Gallican sentiments. By the middle of the reign of Louis XIV (1643-1715), it was clear that the king was using Gallicanism to bend the church to his will, especially in matters of finances and ecclesiastical appointments.

§4-258. Febronianism and Josephism—Two other movements were connected with Gallicanism: Febronianism and Josephism. Febronianism derived its name from Justin Febronius (aka Johann Nikolaus von Hontheim (1701-1790)). In 1763, he wrote a treatise on the Roman pontiff's legitimate authority. In essence, Febronianism was the German counterpart to Gallicanism.

Joseph II of Austria thought in this vein, earning the movement the moniker Josephism. He sought reform in his domain but rejected the Tridentine decrees as intolerant and obscurantist. He took over the education of the clergy, closed monasteries he deemed too traditional, founded new churches, and continued reform along independent lines. Predictably, Rome condemned them both (in 1764, and 1794, respectively).

§4-259. Impact of French Revolution and Napoleon—The French Revolution spelled the end of Gallicanism. The 19th century saw the ultramontanes gain the upper hand aided by Napoleon's attempt to dominate the French church and bully the papacy. This contributed to the authoritarian results of Vatican I (1869-1870), the declaration of the infallibility of the pope when he speaks ex cathedra on issues relating to the faith and morals of the church and the pope's direct jurisdiction over the entire church not only in faith and morals but also in discipline and administration. This strengthened the pope's hand in relating to the college of cardinals and to the bishops of the church.

3. Theologies of Grace and Catholic Mysticism

a. Catholic Theologies of Grace

§4-261. Generally—The first great doctrinal response to Reformation Protestantism by Roman Catholicism came in the Council of Trent, which met (with interruptions) from 1545 to 1563. In its doctrine of justification, the Council taught that the righteousness of God is infused by grace

and inherent in human beings, not merely imputed to them. The Thomist concept of grace as a habit or quality of soul is in the background here but not explicitly mentioned. Justification is the transition from being in Adam to being in Christ, from the state of sin to the state of grace. It occurs with the cooperation of our free will, prepared by the prevenient help of grace but not by grace alone. It results in the righteousness of God becoming inherent in us in the form of the infused gifts of faith, hope, and charity and not just faith alone.

This inherent righteousness, infused by the Holy Spirit, is the basis for merit. Christ's merits are the meritorious cause of justification, but not the essence of our righteousness. In Protestant terms, Trent makes sanctification part of justification, while Protestant theology insists on keeping them distinct. Moreover, unlike imputed righteousness, this inherent righteousness grows as we do good works and grow in love. By means of this righteousness, in cooperation with the grace of God, we hope that God will reward our good works with the gift of eternal life.

Trent conceives of faith quite differently than Protestantism. True Christian faith may exist without charity, and thus without grace or righteousness, which means it is possible for believers to be damned. Faith does not require or even allow for the certainty that one's sins are forgiven and that one is in a state of grace or justification. Faith does not include the certainty that we will persevere to the end and be saved, or the certainty that we are elect and predestined for salvation. Faith may include the certainty that Christian doctrine and God's word are true, but the lack of certainty in these other areas does not amount to doubting the word or promises of God.

§4-262. Baius and human incapacity—After the Council of Trent, Catholicism began the process of sorting out its own doctrine of grace on its own terms, apart from Protestantism. The teachings of Michael Baius, a Catholic professor at Louvain, were condemned in 1567 because they resembled a Lutheran doctrine of sin and grace. For Catholic orthodoxy stemming from Aquinas, the original righteousness lost by original sin was a supernatural gift, so that losing it did not destroy the integrity of human nature. For Baius, original righteousness belonged to human nature, so that the loss of it meant human nature lost something essential and was no longer capable of anything morally good. Baius's teaching on the incapacity of human nature echoes themes from Luther.

§4-263. Jansenist controversy

Appeals to cheap grace—In the decades following the Council of Trent, there was a reaction against the convenient casuistic reasoning (right and wrong for the Christian conscience) of the Jesuits. The Jesuits were the teachers and confessors of the wealthy and the powerful who, in the words of one author, "deadened the thunder of Sinai for the well-heeled." They made so many allowances for sinful human nature, that people protested "cheap grace", forgiveness without contrition or change.

A new Augustinianism arose in the French Church in the thought of Cornelius Jansen (1585-1638) in the posthumously published Augustinus (1640). Jansen had adopted Augustine's view of sin while teaching at the University of Louvain. He became convinced that the best way to meet the Calvinist challenge to the church was to reemphasize the doctrines promoted by Augustine and establish a rigorous moral code for the clergy to combat the easier-going ways of the Jesuits. He emphasized the doctrine of election and taught that people could never earn salvation by good works. Only God's grace available through Christ's death could save people.

Jansen conducted a campaign against the Jesuits as a professor at Louvain and while serving as the Bishop of Ypres. He thought that the Jesuits had made too much of casuistic reasoning and too little of a trusting faith in God's grace. His followers clashed bitterly with Jesuit theologians who attempted their own finessing of Augustine's thought to defend their ideas of human free will. Despite the Pope's condemnation of Jansenism in 1641, Jansenist theology became the rallying point for those who had grievances against the Jesuits and their aggressive tactics through the years.

***Port Royal*—**Disputes about Jansenism became a struggle for the soul of French Catholicism. Jansenism was championed in Paris by the highly respected Cistercian nunnery at Port Royal. The abbess, Jacqueline Arnauld, and her brother Antoine, a professor at the Sarbonne, became leaders of the movement. The Jesuits counterattacked, calling Jansenism Calvinism in Catholic garb. In 1653, the pope condemned five propositions allegedly taken from *Augustinus*. Jansenist struggle with the Jesuits became embroiled in the politics of the French court. Louis XIV's mistress eventually caused to king to side with the papists and Jesuits, but the debate did not end until the destruction of Port Royal by royal decree in 1710.

§4-264. Pascal—Blaise Pascal (1623-1662) assumed the challenge of defending Jansenism. Pascal was a mathematician and inventor as well as an insightful theological thinker. He invented a calculating machine to help his father, an overburdened tax collector. He also discovered the basic principles of atmospheric and hydraulic pressures. Jansenist physicians, treating his father after an accident where he dislocated his hip, succeeded in winning Blaise to their way of thinking. After the death of his father, Blaise's sister entered the Port Royal convent. Blaise's inheritance made him a man of means and a pursuer of a life of ease of which he soon tired. Pascal joined the Port Royal community and became an articulate advocate of Jansenism. His *Provincial Letters* exposed Jesuit practices accommodating the rich and the powerful. Predictably, the Pope condemned the letters, and the French church read them all the more enthusiastically.

Pascal died suddenly at age 39 and friends posthumously published his most famous work, the *Pensees*. In it, Pascal cuts to the heart of human moral problems as he mercilessly describes the human dilemma without God. People caught in an ambiguous universe, are themselves the greatest mystery. He exclaims: "What a Chimera is man! What a novelty, a monster, a chaos, a contradiction, a prodigy! The glory and refuse of the universe. What shall unravel this

confusion." Reason has its virtues but is no sure guide. If we would trust reason alone, we will doubt everything except pain and death. But our hearts tell us that it cannot be true that life and the universe have no discernible meaning. The heart has its reasons that reason does not know. Pascal saw the human condition so deeply and so clearly, that this work has been a guide for others for centuries.

The Catholic Church's opposition and Louis XIV's demand for conformity forced Jansenism out of France. However, its articulation by Pascal and others had a wider influence.

§4-265. Continuing debates and compromise—Debates continued with Catholic circles as to the relationship between grace and free will. The Congregatio de Auxilis debates between Dominicans (Thomists) and the Jesuits (Molinists) were the most prominent of these. The Jesuits were strong advocates of free will, but the Dominicans had a more pessimistic, Augustinian attitude towards the power of the will. The Jesuits, like the Arminians, believed the choice to be saved is ultimately up to us. They believed that God's grace is infallibly efficacious but can be resisted by the will. Their chief theologian in the debate, Luis de Molina, argued that grace is only effective after the human will consents to it.

People can therefore succeed in resisting grace, but God does not offer grace to those who would successfully resist it. This means God has a special middle knowledge or contra-factual knowledge of what might happen but does not. He knows who would resist grace if he offered it to them.

The Dominicans were loyal to the theology of Thomas Aquinas and whose theology followed Augustine's ideas of operative grace and predestination. Grace that moves the will this way is not irresistible (as Calvinists say) but is efficacious in itself, that is, not dependent on the will to become effective. The Dominicans, like the Calvinists, believed that it was ultimately up to God who was saved or not. Grace that is efficacious in itself infallibly moves the will to act, but does not take away or overcome its power to resist. Grace is effective in moving the will before the will consents, so that it is grace which brings about the consent. This act of grace moving the will before it consents is called "physical promotion." As a result, for the Dominicans the decisive factor in who gets saved is not the human will but divine grace.

After nearly ten years of debate and the attempted resolution by two popes, the decision was made not to decide between the two sides. The upshot was that both sides represented theological opinions that were legitimate for Catholics to hold. Both sides were forbidden to call the other side heretical, and further debate was forbidden.

b. Catholic Mystical Theology

§4-266. Generally—In modern Catholicism, mystical theology means supernatural prayer

directed beyond the intellectual capacities of the soul toward a union with God in love. Key concepts in this theology include the prayer of quiet, prayer of union, spiritual marriage, and the dark night of the soul. These concepts were applied to the devotional life of the laity in 17th century France by Francis de Sales. It is the Catholic correspondent to the Spiritualist approach among Protestants examined in §§4-201 to 4-204. In this era, the boundaries of mystical theology were set by Rome's condemnation of Quietism and semi-Quietism, with the consequence that Catholic mystics were forbidden to reject the active virtues or the desire for happiness.

Catholic mystical theology is concerned with the higher stages of the supernatural life, states of the soul in which it is supernaturally elevated beyond its own powers or faculties. It is called mystical theology, not mysticism, because it belongs to a tradition of reflection derived from the *Mystical Theology* by Pseudo-Dionysius (St. Denys as he was known in the West). He called his treatise *Mystical Theology* because it concerned what is unknown and essentially hidden from us.

§4-267. Key concepts of mystical theology—The most important representatives of Catholic mystical theology are the Spanish mystics of the 16th century, Theresa of Avila and John of the Cross. Theresa provides the classic form and vocabulary for mystical theology. In Theresa's mystical theology, the consciousness of God comes to us by grace, not through our own effort. The inward finding of God is not an act of understanding or intellectual vision but a prayer of love.

She describes the soul as an inner space, an interior castle, which one must enter to find God. The essence of prayer is desire for God. The lower stages of spiritual life consist of mental prayer. The soul begins with meditation, which involves the work and thought of intellect. Through recollection, withdrawing its faculties within itself, the soul comes to the prayer of the quiet, the first stage of supernatural or infused contemplation. The soul proceeds to sleep of the faculties and then to a suspended state of the faculties as it enters the prayer of union. Beyond these levels of prayer, Theresa describes extraordinary raptures or ecstasies. A key feature of these experiences is that they center around Christ in his humanity. In her most famous experience, called the "transverberation," an angel pierces her heart with a golden spear that sets her heart afire with love for God.

§4-268. Dark night of the soul—The most famous concept of John of the Cross is the dark night of the soul. The dark night is the soul's loss of all that is not God, which is necessary for it to find God. The highest level of mystical theology is spiritual marriage. It is a permanent union in love, the closest thing to beatific vision that is possible in this life. The union is of two persons who remain distinct, not an absorption of one by the other. The soul's ultimate finding of God is a spiritual marriage, which John depicts as a mutual self-giving.

§4-269. Quietism—Both in Spain and in France, mystics went further than the Church could approve. Quietism advocated a total passivity before God. A believer was to be lost in God and any activism must be set aside. The soul must be lost in contemplation and must not consider anything else, even the neighbor. Once the pure passivity of inner contemplation was achieved, lower forms of prayer and meditation, as well as the pursuit of virtue, were useless. Quietism adopted Spanish themes, especially the concept of *dejamiento*, abandonment or letting go, which entered the Keswick movement through Madame Guyon, a semi-Quietist writer admired by Wesley and other evangelicals.

Madame Guyon—Quietism thrived in France where in was promoted by Madame Guyon, a widow, and her confessor, Father Lacombe. Guyon published *A Short and Simple Means of Prayer*, and won a following among the French aristocracy. Her close association with Lacombe was the subject of rumors which eventually resulted in both of their imprisonments. Guyon was freed and met Bishop Fenelon and won him over to Quietism.

Semi-Quietism is the label given to Francois Fenelon's theology of pure love. He develops a psychology of love as the desire for union with God. However, he raised new questions when he suggested that the higher forms of love involve a holy indifference to anything but God's will. "Pure love" for Fenelon, meant loving God without the selfish desire to find happiness in God. However, for both Augustine and Aquinas, the desire to find happiness in God as one's ultimate goal is not only necessary, but morally right and essential. Fenelon thought that the pursuit of the goal of ultimate fulfillment, the desire for the beatific vision of God, was selfish and condemnable.

Fenelon & Bousset—This led to a bitter controversy between Fenelon and Bousset, one of the greatest Catholic theologians of the day. While Bousett had the support of the king, Fenelon was a man of deep and respected piety. Eventually, the Pope, under great pressure from Louis XIV, declared that while Quietism as practiced by Fenelon was not inherently wrong, it could lead to error. Fenelon accepted the verdict with such humility that public opinion concluded that Bousett was an arrogant man who unnecessarily humiliated a worthy colleague. Fenelon withdrew to his pastoral duties, distributed his possessions to the poor, and continued to live a quiet and admirable life. He was probably the model for Victor Hugo's fictional character Monseigneur Myriel in *Les Miserables*.

4. Catholic Missions

§4-271. Generally—By the 18th century, Christian communities were on all five continents and Christianity was more widespread than it or any other religion had ever been. Its spread was attendant to a world-wide extension of European civilization. However, the faith was hampered by its connection with European expansion. The majority of European colonists were only nominally Christian and denied the faith by their conduct. The spread of vital Christianity was accomplished chiefly through minorities, sometimes very small minorities,

whose commitment spoke of the abounding vitality inherent in the gospel.

***Roman Catholic preponderance*—**This spread was primarily through Roman Catholics. This was due to several factors:

- The opening period of European expansion came through Spain and Portugal, both solidly Roman Catholic countries;
- The Catholic Counter-Reformation coincided with the explorations, conquests, commerce, and settlements of the Roman Catholic powers;
- The Roman Catholic monastic orders had both the tradition and wherewithal for spreading the faith, something not true of Protestantism. In addition, Rome established The Society for the Propagation of the Faith in 1622 which provided direction for this movement and established a missionary training college in 1627 to staff the movement.

§4-272. Central and South America—In Central and South America, Catholic missionary efforts accompanied colonization, especially by Spain. It encountered cultures Europeans judged to be less advanced than their own. Spanish missions in Mexico and South America followed the brutal trail of colonizers concerned with extracting wealth and subjugating native populations. This background harmed missionary efforts and resembled the imperial and forceful missionary methods used in Europe in the early Middle Ages.

***Gospel and culture*—**The issue of the intersection of gospel and culture was front and center again. How does the gospel relate to culture? The development of Catholicism in the Iberian Peninsula was influenced by the extended conflict between Spain and Portugal and the Moors. It instilled a crusader spirit in the Iberian experience and that carried over to the Americas. Where commerce was the goal (as it was with Portugal in the Far East), the missionary effort was much more culturally accommodating. Where conquest was the goal (as with Spain's colonization of the Americas) native cultures were obliterated in the name of Christ.

Spanish missions in the New World assumed an imperialistic tone. They favored the eradication of native culture, beliefs, and practices rather than an accommodation of these wherever possible. Disease devastated the native population of South America. In Mexico, perhaps as many as 90% of the population died of disease brought by the Europeans in the first half of the 16th century. Spanish and Portuguese settlers could not make a profit on their plantations without workers and the depleted core of natives could not meet their needs.

***Encomienda*—**Spain's policies toward the natives were ruthless. The policy of encomienda granted Spanish settlers the labor of natives who worked the silver mines and the plantations of the settlers in exchange for "protection" and "instruction" in the most holy faith. The settlers were to teach the natives about Christ and the natives were to compensate the settlers with labor. What resulted was something worse than slavery, because the settlers got labor for which they paid nothing and had no investment to protect at all. Scholastic Aristotelian arguments that the Indians were "natural slaves" justified this exploitation. The policy began with Spanish conquest in the 16th century and became fully entrenched in the era in which we are studying.

In addition, the Spanish felt duty bound to stop gross native practices like human sacrifice and overt idolatry. Wars against the natives were compared to Joshua's campaigns against the godless Canaanites. Slaughters were not only excused, they were commanded.

***Missionary efforts among the native Americans*—**Several Catholic missionaries defended the rights of native Indians against the depredations of European colonizers. Bartolomeo Las Casas in America and Francisco de Vitoria in Spain were harsh critics of Spanish atrocities and spoke of the Indians' human rights. Las Casas, a Spanish priest, participated in the encomienda system until deeply convicted of its evil. He became a campaigner for natives' rights and received the Holy Roman emperor's approval of his New Laws of the Indies, which limited settlers' power over the natives. Most American settlers ignored these laws, but Las Casas continued to fight to reduce cruelty to natives. While the Spanish crown repeatedly condemned abuses and enacted protective legislation, the distance between Spain and the New World inhibited effective enforcement.

***African slaves*—**To replace native labor lost by disease, Europeans began importing African slaves into the Americas. This practice was justified by the misuse of Scriptural texts. The text used was Genesis 9:25: "Cursed by Canaan! The lowest of slaves will he be to his brothers." The settlers connected the Africans with Canaan and his curse. The Jesuits made sacrifices on behalf of the native population in opposing an exploitative system. Pedro Claver is one example among many. He selflessly served native Americans in Colombia from 1622 until his death naked and alone in 1654.

***Superficial faith*—**The result was an imposed, shallow, superficial religion among native Americans. The stress on conferring baptism, the frequently subpar parish clergy, the persistence of native beliefs and practices at odds with Christian faith, the lack of any development of native clergy, all contributed to a superficial grasp of Catholicism by indigenous converts.

***Interior missions*—**Beginning in 1609, to avoid colonial interference and superficial Christianization in a European mold, the Jesuits began creating missionary settlements among Indians who had survived disease and de facto slavery in interior areas of Paraguay, Argentina, and Brazil. In 1628, plantation owners attacked the Jesuit missions and enslaved the natives. By 1640, the Jesuits armed the mission outposts to allow their defense. By 1731, almost 150,000 natives lived safely in these Jesuit missions.

Nevertheless, the plantation owners ended up winning. The Jesuits were the foot soldiers of Catholic Counter Reformation and had earned the enmity of European royal houses. In 1758, blame for an attempt to assassinate Joseph I of Portugal was laid at the order's doorstep. They were expelled from Portugal and its colonies and the crown confiscated the property of the order. In 1767, Spain and Naples soon followed suit, forcing the order to leave the New World altogether. By 1800, the mission outposts were gone, but they had survived the order itself. In 1769, the Bourbon kings approached the Pope demanding the dissolution of the order. Pope Clement XV did so in 1773.

§4-273. Far East—In India, Japan, and China, Catholic missionary efforts accompanied Portuguese trade among highly sophisticated indigenous cultures. That Portuguese came to trade

and not to conquer and colonize these areas, also affected the missionary activity. In Asia, the use of force to compel conversions was not an option. Traders were not prone to the atrocities that the Spanish conquistadores perpetuated in America. Catholic missionaries admired Asian cultures among whom they worked.

***India*—**While Goa became an important episcopal see, Catholic missions did not make headway in India.

In Japan, Catholicism enjoyed rapid growth in the late 16th century before it became severely persecuted and diminished in the 17th century. Francis Xavier, the most famous Catholic missionary of the era, brought Catholicism to Japan in 1549 and had significant success. From the 1550s to the 1580s, Catholic mission thrived as the missionaries pursued an accommodating stance to the culture. But beginning in 1580s, a dramatic reversal occurred, and the missionaries were expelled, Catholicism prohibited, and many Catholics persecuted and driven underground.

In China, Catholicism only enjoyed moderate success, through accommodating missionary strategies. However, these led to controversies between the Dominicans and the Jesuits that harmed ongoing missionary efforts. The founder of the Chinese mission, the Jesuit Matteo Ricci, permitted accommodation to certain Confucian customs to promote Christian conversion (e.g. ancestor worship). The Dominicans strongly condemned this and sparked the Chinese Rites controversy. The Pope ruled against Ricci's approach and in favor of the Dominicans. The Chinese emperor then insisted that all missionaries were required to have permits and only those agreeing to Ricci's accommodating approach would be considered. Effective Catholic missions came to a choice of either leaving China or disobeying Rome.

5. Resultant Mindset: Church Against the World

§4-276. Generally—The idea of Christendom, cherished and promoted by the Church in the Middle Ages was shattered during the Reformation, and obliterated during the Enlightenment. The struggle between church and state that grew out of this dream resulted in the complete triumph of the state. Interestingly, Catholic cardinals were often instrumental in completing this triumph. Wolsey in England, Richelieu, Mazarin, and Fleury in France, and Alberoni in Spain were avid promoters of their national interests and little attuned to the dictates of Rome when those went against the interests of the state.

The Roman Catholic Church's response to the inroads of secular power was to circle the wagons and centralize an increasingly marginalized Church around the Pope in Rome. As for its Enlightenment critics, the Church's response was censorship and denial. This response will characterize the Church in the following era as well and intensify throughout the 19th century. The Church failed to engage, or even become familiar with, the primary issues the scoffers raised.

IV. American Religious Setting

A. General Trends

§4-281. Generally

***Religious liberty as draw*—**Many Europeans came to the colonies drawn by the promise of a new start and by the attraction of religious liberty. The early Caucasian population of the American colonies was predominantly from the British Isles and overwhelmingly Protestant. Only Maryland was founded by Roman Catholics and the majority of the settlers of that colony were Protestant as well. Religious conviction and religious liberty was a primary concern in the foundation of many of the American colonies, particularly in New England and Pennsylvania. Separatists founded Plymouth Plantation. Puritans, seeking to escape Archbishop Laud, settled in Massachusetts Bay Colony and later in Connecticut. Between 1620 and 1642 alone, 25,000 Puritans migrated to New England. Roger Williams and dissenters banished from Massachusetts founded Providence and later united with other settlements to form the colony of Rhode Island. The state was founded on ideas of complete religious liberty and full civic democracy. William Penn, a leading Quaker, founded Pennsylvania as a "holy experiment" with the city of Philadelphia (city of brotherly love) as its capital. He operated under a charter which sought to lay the foundations of a society built on Christian principles and governed by Christian ideals. Later others came—Swedish Lutherans, French Huguenots, English Baptists, and Scottish Presbyterians.

§4-282. Influence of the Reformed tradition—Most of these groups were either from the Reformed tradition or profoundly influenced by it. Even the Quakers in Pennsylvania and the Baptists in Rhode Island were either rebelling against the Reformed tradition or had been cast forth from it. The New England churches held to the Westminster Confession of Faith and many were in the Presbyterian fold. Those moving from New England to other colonies organized themselves into Presbyterian churches wherever they went. The Reformed from England were reinforced by the Reformed from Holland, Germany, and by the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians.

§4-283. Economic and social reasons for emigration—However, the majority of subsequent immigrants to America came because of economic and social reasons, not religious ones. They were mostly from underprivileged classes, seeking to better their financial and social standing. Many were from countries where baptism, confirmation, and even church attendance were social conventions required by custom or law. Once in America and outside those social and legal constraints, the religious props disappeared. This reality explains the issues facing American denominations and congregations in subsequent eras.

§4-284. British vs. Spanish colonization—It is common to contrast the British colonization with the Spanish: the Spanish came for gold, the British for religious motives; the Spanish were cruel to the Indians, the British tried to live in peace with them; the Spanish brought the Inquisition, the British religious freedom; the Spanish were aristocrats who grew rich on Indian labor, the British worked the land.

The actual scenario is much more nuanced than that. The economic motives for British colonization were as strong as the Spanish. However, the land they settled did not have rich deposits of gold and the nomadic Indian tribes could evade becoming forced labor by fleeing into the wilderness. Commerce, rather than conquest, became the ticket with agriculture worked by indentured servants at first. As for religious freedom, that was true for Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, but not everywhere. Puritan New England could be as intolerant as any Spanish inquisitor. As for treatment of the Indians, the Spanish shamelessly exploited Indian labor. The British were on occasion guilty of exterminating Indians to seize their lands.

B. Colonial Religious Establishments and Situations

§4-291. Generally; influence of Christendom—The idea of Christendom held sway unchallenged for centuries in Western society. People were born and baptized in a Christian society where church and state found a working harmony for the good of all. The Church dispensed saving grace through her sacraments and teaching to prepare people for life to come. The state maintained Christian laws and political order for their earthly welfare.

The Reformation shattered traditional Christendom. What resulted were regional churches and denominations where strong princes perpetuated continuing alliance between church and state within their territories. These regional churches tended to swing between repression and relaxation. Some states maintained confessional orthodoxy (either Protestant in one of its forms or Catholic) by suppressing nonconformity and persecuting heresy (and at times labeling the former as the latter). Where conflicting doctrines could not suppressed, some form of inclusiveness allowed a Christian diversity as long as there was some liturgical continuum that prevailed. Nonconformity was not endorsed; however, it was permitted.

§4-292. American diversity—The settlement of America threw the churches into a new and different environment. Because of a wide diversity among the early colonists, established churches were not possible in the early colonies. While each wanted their view to be the established one, it soon became obvious that the only way for any group to have freedom of religion was to tolerate that freedom for other groups as well. Thus, the churches were compelled to the task of evangelizing and nurturing the faithful on their own, without state "help" or compulsion.

The chart below shows the extent of American religious diversity in the years leading up to the Revolution. As the chart demonstrates, pluralism in colonial America was very much a Christian pluralism. The numbers in the chart below are estimates of the number of congregations of the particular denominations.

Major Colonial Denominations

Denomination	***1660***	***1700***	***1740***	***1780***

Anglican	41	111	246	406
Baptist	4	33	96	457
Congregational	75	146	423	749
Dutch Reformed	13	26	78	127
German Reformed	0	0	51	201
Lutheran	4	7	95	240
Presbyterian	5	28	160	495
Roman Catholic	12	22	27	56

1. Northern Colonies

§4-301. Generally; Puritan New England—Plymouth Plantation, founded by a group of dissidents from the Netherlands in 1620, was the first of these Puritan settlements. They came on the ship, the Mayflower, intending to land in Virginia. They landed near Cape Cod in New England and founded a colony based on their Mayflower Compact. Shortly after this first settlement, a group of English Puritans who were not separatists organized the Massachusetts Bay Colony. The colony was established as a commonwealth, whose government lay in the hands of Puritan church members. John Winthrop was the first governor. Archbishop Laud's measures against the Puritans in England during the 1630s and 1640s caused thousands of Puritans to flee to the New World. They strengthened the Massachusetts Bay Colony and gave birth to the colonies of Connecticut and New Haven. As early as 1636, a college was established to train up clergy for the churches. It took the name Harvard from an early benefactor. The early foundation of what was to be Harvard University meant that the colony was never lacking in trained clergy, a situation unique among the American colonies.

These colonies remained neutral during the English Civil war in the 1640s and through the Cromwell's Protectorate in the 1650s, and devoted themselves to developing their own institutions in the New World. Thus, the Stuart restoration in 1660 did not result in as severe a blow to the Puritans in the colonies as it was for those in England.

§4-302. Puritan worldview—Key points of the Puritan worldview include:

Personal salvation entirely of God

- They were staunch Calvinists, emphasizing God's gracious initiative in salvation.
- They placed great emphasis on the process of conversion—a slow, often painful, process in Puritan practice.
- They focused on the plain preaching of the Word of God. These were edifying discourses (often quite long) based on the Scriptures and highlighting humanity's lost state.
- They spoke of salvation in terms of covenant—the covenant of grace. God promised life to those who exercised faith in Christ and graciously provided that faith, on the basis of Christ's sacrificial death, to the elect. This covenant of grace was based on the covenant

of redemption within the Godhead whereby the Father gave the elect to the Son, the Son gave Himself for the elect's atonement, and the Spirit made this atonement effective.

***Supreme authority of the Bible in all of life*—**The Puritans made as serious an attempt as ever has been made in the English-speaking world to establish the whole of their private and public life based on biblical instruction. Their "purity" concerns with the Anglicans related to their austere rigor. The Anglicans did not do what the Bible prohibited, but felt free to do whatever the Bible did not prohibit. The Puritans restricted their practice to only what the Bible commanded.

Church polity and demeanor should express the explicit teaching of Scripture. This brought them into controversy with the Church of England over governance and other issues. The Anglicans argued that the episcopacy was a tried and true way to govern the Church, did not violate any express command of Scripture, and was therefore an appropriate polity. The Puritans thought that this line of reasoning missed the point altogether. The Anglicans were neglecting to follow the positive teachings of Scripture which described a congregational form of governance.

***Solidarity of church and society*—**Most Puritans believed that a single, coordinated set of authorities should govern life in society. They sought to make all England and all New England Puritan.

- Interlocking covenants--Just as they thought of salvation in terms of covenant of grace, so too they conceived of society in terms of a social covenant. They believed that the basis for health in society was the promise God made to His covenant people as a whole. The redemptive and social covenants were interlocking. The covenant of grace qualified a person for church membership and a voting role (for male members) in the colony's public life. This public role fulfilled the social covenant, where freely elected rulers passed and enforced laws that honored God's Word.
- Non-separating congregationalism--Thus, the governance of the colony was based on a non-separating congregationalism. Ministers did not rule. However, Church and State went together in creating and maintaining a godly society.

§4-303. Dynamics of Puritan commonwealth—The Puritan commonwealth sought to knit the whole community together according to God's design. The covenant of grace incorporated people into God's community. However, a Christian people, if they are to enjoy the corporate blessings that only God can bestow, must walk in His ways and fulfill His commands in civil governance. God's will was to be embodied in "wholesome laws" drawn from Scripture or from nature and right reason. The test of such wholesome laws was whether it advanced the public good (i.e. fulfilled God's will in society). The Puritans were in the position of insisting that the civil covenant (those participating in the political governance) and the covenant of grace (those admitted to the Puritan churches) were overlapping. Thus, the privileges and responsibilities of

political participation were linked to the privileges and responsibilities of ecclesiastical participation.

The Puritans' "holy experiment" blended belief in the church of the truly converted with the idea of the Christian state where the political participants recognized and pursued the "public good" (i.e. fulfilling God's will for society). But how do you operate the "true church on earth" when only God knows who the real members are. As the zeal of New Englanders cooled, fewer people could offer public witness to the operation of grace in their souls that satisfied the Puritan idea of the conversion experience. That meant fewer people could participate in the political commonwealth at a time when the demands for and on that participation were increasing.

***Halfway Covenant*—**In 1662, in order to meet this problem, the Puritans adopted the Halfway Covenant. Under this arrangement, the "unawakened" could enjoy a partial membership in the churches, baptizing their children and participating in the ecclesiastical life enough (albeit not admitted to the communion table) to warrant participation in the civil covenant. In 1691, the new charter of the colonies (Massachusetts and Connecticut) based the right to vote on property rather than church membership and the holy experiment completely unraveled. In the end, two types of people were heirs to the Puritan heritage: (1) the children of the Great Awakening who focused on personal conversion; and (2) the "worldly" Puritans who continued the Puritan sense of a whole-orbed worldview even when they no longer felt the dread of living coram deo (before the face of God). For further discussion, see §4-322.

§4-304. Puritans at their best—The Puritans made as serious an attempt as ever has been made in the English-speaking world to establish the whole of their private and public life on biblical instruction.

- They burst the bonds of mere religiosity.
- They gave America the most comprehensively Christian social vision and society it has ever had.
- In some ways, Puritan New England was an idyllic community. They had a notable sense of mutual responsibility. The less fortunate members of the community were well cared for. They outlawed the greedy profiteering and ostentation self-promotion that so plagues modern society.
- Education was a Puritan emphasis. Puritan New England was an outpost of civilization in its day and was one of the best educated parts of the world. Harvard College was established just a few years after the Puritans arrived in Boston. Yale was established within decades.
- God's name and person widely reverenced and His will a central concern of private and public discourse.

§4-305. Puritans at their worst—The Puritan conception of themselves as God's chosen people and of their holy commonwealth as an "Israel in New England" led to an intolerance

typical of their day. In some instances, they became what they would have initially deplored—formal and externally sanctimonious, legalistic, proud, and exclusive. The following instances did not do the Puritans proud:

- Banishment of Anne Hutchison (see §4-307).
- Roger Williams episode (see §4-307).
- Quaker martyrs--The Quakers arrived in Massachusetts in 1657 determined to spread their message of freedom and guidance by the inner light. Their willful separation from the colony's secular life aroused fears among the Puritans concerned for the purity of civil polity. Discipline applied eventually resulted in four executions for missionary activities. Charles II forbade any additional executions and other colonies reacted critically.
- ***Salem witch trials*—**One of the most famous incidents involving the Puritan establishment was the Salem witch trials in 1692. Accusations of witchcraft based on the testimony of young girls led to hysteria resulting in the hanging of approximately twenty people. In addition, several others died in prison. Twenty years after the fact, Puritan authorities decided that the entire episode was a gross injustice and ordered indemnities to be paid to the victims. Cotton and Increase Mather, prominent Puritan clerics in Boston, played a role in these trials and were blamed for the Salem episode. This needs to be understood in the backdrop of supernaturalism of the 17th century. Five thousand witches were burned at the stake in Alsace during that century. In contrast, twenty died at Salem. In addition, this incident reflected the growing Puritan sense of being besieged. The shift in the colony's charter in 1691 led to a sense of a loss of control and the demise of the Puritan synthesis. Battles with the French and Indians on the frontier threatened Puritan security. Dissension within seemed to be leading to the undoing of the Puritan way of life.
- ***Treatment of Indians*—**Puritan interaction with the native Indians were exploitive. The Indians were characterized as Canaanites in the land and, combined with their own self-understanding as a Israel in New England, this mindset led to a rationale for most regrettable conduct. Roger Williams took them to task for their deplorable treatment of the native Americans.
- ***Missions*—**Puritan covenant theology inhibited the idea of mission. Believers in covenant theology felt that the natives should prove their status as part of God's elect by spontaneously showing an interest in the faith and imitating the beliefs of their Puritan neighbors. Some settlers did show an interest in Indian evangelization. Noteworthy among these were the efforts of John Eliot. He was convinced that the Indians were among the lost tribes of Israel and that their conversion would bring the fulfillment of ancient prophecies. Between 1646 and 1663, he produced the first Bible of any language in America in a dialect of the Algonquin language and composed a catechism. He had thousands of converts organized into prayer towns imitating English customs and located next to English cultivated lands. He taught them European agricultural methods,

> learned the Mohican language, and devised an alphabet for it. By 1675, relations had devolved to the point of inducing an Indian uprising, called King Philip's War. An Indian chieftain decided to put a stop to the outrages committed against Indian natives and end what he viewed as the progressive Puritan invasion of Indian lands. The Indian uprising failed and Eliot's work among the Indians wiped out. His villages were destroyed and many villagers either killed or transported to an overcrowded island in Boston Bay despite their posture of either siding with the settlers or refraining from any fighting.

§4-306. Puritan influence—Samuel Eliot Morison, a Harvard professor without any particular ties to, for sympathies for, the Puritans, wrote the following around 1930:

> It is not easy to describe these people truthfully, yet with meaning to moderns. For the men of learning and women of gentle nurture who led a few thousand plain folk to plant a new England on ungrateful soil were moved by purposes utterly foreign to present America. Their object was not to establish prosperity or prohibition, liberty or democracy, or indeed anything of currently recognized value. Their ideals were comprehended vaguely in the term puritanism, which nowadays has acquired various secondary and degenerate meanings… My attitude toward seventeenth century puritanism has passed through scorn and boredom to a warm interest and respect. The ways of the puritans are not my ways, and their faith is not my faith; nevertheless, they appear to me a courageous, humane, brave, and significant people.

The American democracy repudiated the Puritan synthesis, sometimes with a vengeance. The separation of Church and State became a cornerstone for American constitutionalism. The Puritan idea of the social covenant was disengaged from the redemptive covenant of grace and was influential and dovetailed nicely with Enlightenment thought concerning the social contract controlling the governance of people. Ideas derived from the Puritan background meshed with early political thought in the era of the Framers.

§4-307. Rhode Island and the Baptists

***Roger Williams*—**Puritan Massachusetts, self-consciously a protest against Charles I's church, itself experienced religious dissent. Roger Williams (1603-1683) was the key figure in expressing that dissent and in settling Rhode Island. The Puritans of Boston described Rhode Island as the "latrina of New England."

Williams was initially welcomed in 1631 and served as a minister of a congregation. He challenged the Puritan synthesis and culture in the taking of Indian lands without payment, the enforced religious conformity linking church and state, and the practice of infant baptism. Williams believed the civil authorities should only have authority to enforce laws conducive to

the functional ordering of society. He also charged that the land the Puritan colonies occupied belonged to the Indians and that the entire colonial enterprise was unjust.

Williams left Boston, relocated to Plymouth, and later moved to Salem. He became a pastor in Salem, attempted to have his church secede from the Puritan churches, and was expelled from Massachusetts. He fled to the wilderness and founded a colony on lands bought from the Indians. The colony was founded on the principle of religious freedom that asserted that rights of citizenship would not be forfeit because of religious opinions or practices and that there would be a clear separation between church and state. Williams' congregation in Providence became a Baptist congregation. In 1644, Williams received a charter recognizing the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.

However, Williams' own views became increasingly radical and eventually lead him to conclude that all churches were false and that the Scriptures were to be understood on purely spiritual terms. Meanwhile, the Baptists in Rhode Island got involved in their own theological controversies, fundamentally along the Calvinist-Arminian divide. That led them to divide between Particular (Calvinistic) Baptists and the General (Arminian) Baptists.

Anne Hutchison was a disciple of John Cotton who made extrapolations from the doctrine of election and denied the need for good works demonstrating personal renewal. She challenged the whole framework of Puritan piety established by covenant theology. She opposed the way the elect were forced to prove their devotion and she asserted her own authority by holding meetings and claiming special revelation of the Holy Spirit. In 1637, Hutchinson was expelled from Massachusetts and founded Portsmouth on an island near Providence. This community grew with an influx of Baptists, Quakers, and others who left the Puritan colonies. She and her family were slain by Indians in 1642.

In the chart on the eight colonial denominations in §4-292 above, note the sharp increase of Baptist congregations after the era of the great Awakening (1740). A significant number of these people came from Puritan backgrounds. There was a disintegration of Puritan solidarity in the mid-18th century. The radical members of the so-called "New Lights," people like Isaac Backus (1724-1806), overwhelmingly became Baptists.

2. Middle Colonies

§4-311. New York, New Jersey, and Delaware—These colonies did not initially serve as a religious refuge for any particular group. The shortage of clergy in all the colonies except Massachusetts undid any drive for established churches in colonial America. In addition, religious coercion discouraged settlement and was bad for the economic health of the struggling American colonial ventures. Toleration, the grudging concession granted by one body still in some position of strength soon turned to real liberty, a situation where all religious groups compete on an equal basis. New Jersey's history was muddled and complex, but generally, east

New Jersey followed a strict Puritanism as found in New England, and west New Jersey was more tolerant and followed a Quaker model.

What later became New York was initially colonized by the Dutch, whose East India Company established its headquarters in Manhattan. The Dutch Reformed Church came with the Company. The Dutch conquered a Swedish settlement on the Delaware River in 1655, before being conquered by the British in 1664. New Netherlands became New York, and the Church of England was planted there. New York subsequently experienced a bewildering diversity of settlers. Any idea of reproducing Europe's compartmentalization of peoples and discrete confessional churches was out of the question.

§4-312. Pennsylvania—William Penn (1644-1718), son of a British admiral and friendly with the royal heir the future King James II, used his connections to obtain a royal grant of a colony later named Pennsylvania. A searching young man, Penn became a Puritan, then a Huguenot (while living in France), and finally a Quaker. His father threw him out of the house for what he regarded as his son's fanatical convictions. Penn was imprisoned for his faith and released. Becoming an advocate for religious tolerance, he conceived of his "holy experiment." The inheritance from his father left him a creditor of the king. Charles II did not want to pay this claim in cash and agreed to give Penn a grant of land in America. In 1684, Penn formed a new colony where all would be free to worship as they chose, granting religious freedom and political participation for all monotheists in Pennsylvania.

Penn pursued a benignly compassionate policy towards native Americans and sought to practice a non-violent pacifism. He bought the land granted to him by the King from the Indians, believing that the Indians, not the crown, were the true owners. He hoped for such cordial relations with the natives that extensive defense arrangements would be unnecessary. Under Penn, relations with the Indians were excellent and peaceful settlement proved to be a reality for a time. Quakers throughout Europe and the colonies found their way to Pennsylvania, particularly to Philadelphia, the city of "fraternal love." However, the broad diversity of settlers undid Penn's original vision of a community run according to the ideals of the Quakers. By 1705, the Assembly disenfranchised Catholics, Jews, and unbelievers and soon relations with the native Americans began to unravel.

While the "holy experiment" fell far short of its lofty aspirations, Pennsylvania was one of the first colonies to embrace the religious pattern of the later United States of America—a pattern of religious denominations, none claiming exclusive legal status, but making up slices of the Protestant pie which added up to the Church. In addition, the Quakers championed civil rights causes. Prominent examples of this were Penn's treatment of the native Americans in Pennsylvania and the advocacy of John Woolman, a vehement critic of slavery who, in the 1770s, shamed the Quakers into freeing all the slaves they owned.

§4-313. Catholicism in Maryland—In 1632, Charles I deeded to Cecil Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, ten million acres around the Chesapeake Bay. The colony was named Maryland for Charles I's Catholic wife, Henrietta Maria. Lord Baltimore was Catholic and many Catholics in England yearned for a haven where they could live without the restrictions they endured in England. Realizing that declaring Maryland a Catholic colony would be politically unwise, Maryland was organized based on religious freedom. Of the first settlers, only about ten percent were Catholics who formed the landholding elite. Most of the settlers were Protestant who constantly attempted to take power away from the landed Catholic aristocracy.

Maryland and led the way in proclaiming itself as a colony dedicated to religious toleration, passing the Toleration Act in 1649. Francis Makemie (1658-1708) established the first Presbyterian congregation in Maryland in 1684. By 1800, the Presbyterians were the most influential denomination in the Middle Colonies (i.e. New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania). During Cromwell's Protectorate in the 1650s, the Protestants temporarily seized control of Maryland. Roman Catholics regained ascendancy after the restoration of Charles II but lost it again after the Glorious Revolution in England in 1688-1689. As a result of the overthrow of James II in that revolution, Anglicanism became the established church in Maryland in 1691, and the rights of Roman Catholics were restricted.

3. Southern Colonies

§4-316. Generally—Anglicanism held sway in the early development of the Southern colonies. Anglicanism was established in Virginia in 1624 and in the Carolinas and Georgia in the 18th century. Anglicanism, on both sides of the Atlantic, lacked the vision and vibrancy of Puritanism. However, there were some forward-thinking people, including:

- James Blair (1655-1743)—Founded William and Mary in 1693 and labored diligently in education for some 50 years.
- Thomas Bray (1656-1730)—Founded two Anglican societies of note, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) and the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign parts (PGK).

§4-317. Virginia—The first successful permanent colonization in Virginia began at Jamestown in the spring of 1607. The colony's main purpose was not religious, but economic. The stockholders of the Virginia Company, who financed the colony, hoped that agriculture and trade with the Indians, would turn a handsome profit. Initial Puritan influences promoted by the Virginia Company stockholders and some of the early settlers waned when James I placed the Virginia colony under his direct rule in 1624.

The Puritan Revolution in England had little impact on Virginia. The settlers were more interested in growing tobacco, their main cash crop, and in opening new lands for cultivation, than in the religious strife and contention that embroiled England. The Anglicanism that took

root in Virginia was not a zealous Puritanism, but an aristocratic version, suitable for gentry who appreciated a decent and edifying service based on the Prayer Book. The colony had the look and feel of the hierarchical countryside of Old England. The Anglicans did little to convert the slave population and their neglect of the lower-class whites led to an openness to more popular religious movements. The Quakers made converts even though severe measures were taken against them. Later in the 18th century, Methodism made significant strides, led by Francis Asbury and his circuit riding preachers.

Slavery was another blot on English-speaking Christian mission. The first records of slaves in Virginia date from 1619. It was ironic that the English on both sides of the Atlantic were speaking of their rights and liberties in the 1640s and 1650s, while slaves were being shipped to the colonies in increasing numbers. Protestant Christianity did not stem this tide in the north any more than Catholic Christianity did in the south. Slave numbers skyrocketed as the 17th century progressed. Anglican ministers accommodated the concerns of the settler masters in ministering to the slaves.

§4-318. Carolinas and Georgia

The Carolinas were similar to Virginia in their religious stratification. The upper classes remained Anglican, but many of the lower classes became Quakers or Baptists and were harassed by the Anglican establishment.

Georgia was founded with two purposes in mind: (1) to stop the Spanish from moving north from Florida and (2) to serve as an alternative to debtors' prisons. In the beginning of the 18th century, religious-minded people sought to better the lot of the disinherited. Debtor's prisons came under attack. A military hero, James Oglethorpe, championed a colony in America which could serve as an alternative to debtor's prisons and the king granted a colonial charter in 1732. Perhaps the most significant religious movement in early Georgia was the popular response to the preaching of George Whitefield. By the time of his death in 1770, he made a significant stamp on much of Georgia's religious life.

C. From Puritanism to Revivalism

§4-321. Generally—American revivalism began in the 18th century as a solution to the Puritan problem of how to meet the requirement of regenerate membership in the New England Congregationalist churches. Jonathan Edwards was the first great theorist of revival, arguing that true conversion created a new sense of the beauty of God in the soul, without which our natural ability to obey God was undermined by our moral inability and our unwillingness to obey. Methodist revivalism, based on the theology of John Wesley, took a more Arminian approach, where grace is an offer which gives us the power to make our own choice, so that it is ultimately up to us whether we are saved.

§4-322. Problem of Puritan church membership

***Puritan church membership*—**The original context of American revivalism was a problem the Puritans had about church membership. In the 17th century, New England Puritans (Congregationalists) began requiring a profession of faith as a condition of membership in the church. In contrast to the early 17th century English Congregationalists, this was not simply a confession of Christian faith, that is, demonstrating a knowledge of Christian doctrine. Rather, it was an account of the experience of the grace of Christ having worked in your life to produce conversion and true saving faith.

***Halfway Covenant*—**The requirement of profession inevitably caused problems because many baptized children of church members did not have a conversion experience. Church members had the right to have their infant children baptized. Baptism, however, did not secure church membership. When they grew up, these children had to be able to narrate a conversion experience before they could join the church. Frequently, they were unable to do so or at least unable to do so in a way that satisfied their elders.

The Puritans attempted to solve this problem by introducing the Halfway Covenant in 1662, which allowed baptized non-members to have their children baptized. This solved the problem of dwindling church membership as well as a political problem because the Congregational Church had become the established church in Connecticut and Massachusetts, where only church members had full citizenship. Solomon Stoddard, a Massachusetts minister, took the further step of allowing halfway members to partake of communion as a converting ordinance. Samuel Hopkins argued to the contrary, that when the unregenerate use the means of grace, such as the sacraments, Scripture, and prayer, they misuse and profane them, and thus become all the more abominable in God's sight.

§4-323. Old Lights and New Lights—The enthusiasm and priorities of revivalism created tensions. Those ministers described as "Old Lights" insisted on strict adherence to the Westminster Confession and discounted outbursts of "enthusiasm" while those described as "New Lights" emphasized the need for personal conversion and an actual experience of redeeming grace. The second group was strengthened by the Awakening and were accused of substituting emotion for study and devotion and of undermining the solemnity of worship. That most of those experiencing revival at this time were staunch Calvinists who emphasized scholarship was ignored.

The Presbyterian Church divided over the questions that separated the Old Lights and the New Lights. The New Lights sent missionaries South. Under the leadership of ***Samuel Davies***, new Presbyterian congregations took root in Virginia. The Baptists joined in the movement and

spread to Virginia and the Carolinas.

§4-324. Edwards and revival—Jonathan Edwards, who was Stoddard's grandson, rejected the Halfway Covenant and sought to spark revival instead. Revival, in this original sense, meant a period of months in which there was a special outpouring of grace resulting in conversions. Revival, for Edwards, was God's solution to the problem. Conversion could not be accomplished by human effort but solely by the grace of God.

Edwards combined academic rigor, staunch Calvinism, and a deep sense of the need for personal conversion. He insisted that we must worship God with the whole person, mind and emotion, and love God in simplicity. He championed the composition of hymns, rather than staying exclusively with the traditional Puritan practice of singing metrical psalms.

Jonathan Edwards articulated a Calvinist theology of conversion and revival. The high Calvinism of Puritans like Edwards left unregenerate sinners no recourse but to wait for God to convert them. Hence Puritan preachers did not exercise the option of preaching what Luther called Gospel, the promise of grace to sinners. The conversions in Edwards' church followed an experiential pattern that reflected Edwards' theology. The pattern begins with conviction or awakening, that is, a sense of anxiety and guilt produced by the preaching of the Law, which shows unregenerate sinners that they deserve damnation. The key turning point is when the sinners give up struggling against the Law and admit, in the depths of their heart, that God is right to condemn them. This admission is precisely the beginning of an unselfish faith which honors the truth and righteousness of God. Edwards' famous and terrifying sermon, "Sinners in the Hands of An Angry God", was designed to facilitate such awakening.

In 1734, there was an outbreak of revival in Edwards' church in Northampton, Massachusetts. Edwards recorded his reflections on the experience in *A Treatise Concerning Religious Affections* (1746). Wesley and others involved in the Great Awakening of 1740-1742 in New England read Edwards' book about the revival in his church.

§4-325. New England theology—Edwards had a profound influence on later New England theology, especially his concept of the human will. He argued against Arminian notions of the will's freedom to determine itself. Edwards' *On the Freedom of the Will* argued for determinism, contending that the will cannot determine itself and that the fallen will is unable to obey or believe in Christ.

Edwards argued that the will is always determined by its strongest motive. He makes a subtle but influential distinction between our natural ability to obey God and our moral inability. Natural ability means that nothing physical, inside us or outside us, prevents us from obeying God. Our natural ability means that sinners can be held responsible for their refusal to be converted. Moral inability means that we are always unwilling to obey, and cannot choose to

become willing, solely because we are unwilling to make such a choice. Later followers of Edwards, when promoting revival, often emphasized the concept of natural ability. Because the only thing preventing the conversion of sinners is their own unwillingness, they can be held responsible for their refusal to be converted.

§4-326. Methodist revivalism—Methodist revivalism competed with Edwards' ideas. Based on the Arminian theology of John Wesley, it could simply exhort people to believe. Theologically, a major appeal of Methodist theology was its Arminian revivalism. Methodist preachers had no Calvinist hesitation about making promises of grace to all and urging everyone to choose to accept them. Although they denied that anyone has the ability to believe Christ and obey him without grace, they taught that grace was equally available to everyone. The Methodist doctrine of prevenient grace (very different from Calvinist and Augustinian versions of this doctrine) meant that all who heard the Gospel were able, by grace, to choose faith in Christ and salvation. Hence the key Arminian conviction that it is ultimately up to us whether we are saved by our choice to accept Christ in faith.

The Methodist revival in England in the 1740s began about the same time as the Great Awakening in New England. Methodism became the fastest growing group in early 19th century America, in part because of their success as revivalists. Methodist revivalism also addressed the problem of nominal Christianity. Wesley tightly linked the concepts of justification and sanctification, teaching that by the grace of the Holy Spirit working in the hearts of believers, Christian perfection was possible.

D. Great Awakening

§4-331. Generally—No event marked colonial American Christianity more profoundly than the religious explosion we call the Great Awakening. The Great Awakening refers to the outbursts of religious revival in America between 1735-1743. It was not only a revival of Christian faith but also marked dramatic changes in the social organization, political allegiances, and communication strategies in the colonies.

Conditions in the colonies prompted religious answers similar to those of the Pietists in Europe. Pietism had considerable influence in the American colonies. Zinzendorf and the Moravians influenced Wesley and Methodism. Henry Muhlenberg, father of American Lutheranism, was sent as a missionary to German immigrants in America by the son of Herman Francke. Theodore Frelinghuysen grew up in Reformed pietistic circles in the Rhine region and introduced revival among his New Jersey Dutch constituency. Isaac Backus, a prominent American Baptist, was notably influenced by Pietism. Jonathan Edwards played to pietistic themes in his theology built around "a sense of the heart."

Many people were disaffected by the overly cognitive, ecclesiastically structured, and emotionally cold state of organized religion. There were various movements under the umbrella of the Great Awakening. Their common elements were an emphasis on personal conversion, a personal experience of God, private reading of Scripture, and a tendency to enthusiastic worship.

§4-332. Forerunners of the Awakening

Scottish holy fairs—Before Wesley's Methodist movement reached across the Atlantic, the Awakenings in America were purely Reformed, springing up among the Dutch and the Scots. Before the Scots began emigrating to America in the early 17th century, their first destination was Ireland, encouraged by James I to counter Irish Catholic militancy in northern Ireland. Anxious, rootless, and looking for identity in a strange land, they turned not to the Anglican parish system but to their own ministers of the Scottish kirk and to customs around "Holy Fairs". These fairs were large, open-air celebrations of the Eucharist preceded by extended periods of catechismal instruction and sermonizing. They were occasions of mass celebration and socializing within a framework of emotional worship. This was "revival," a shared experience of ecstatic renewal. When the Scots emigrated to America and set up their own churches, these "holy fairs" also proved useful and appropriate on the American frontier. By the 1720s, these churches and fairs were flourishing in the Middle Colonies.

Frelinghuysen—For twenty years (1720-1740), the Awakening appeared as a series of regional breezes. Some credit Theodore Frelinghuysen, a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, with initiating the revival. Frelinghuysen, arriving in New Jersey from a part of Germany near Holland, viewed the formality of the Dutch Reformed Church with a critical eye. He was influenced by German Pietism and English Puritan literature. His approach in the churches to which he ministered was to appeal for the need for personal conversion and renewal. This consistently led to tensions in the churches between revivalists and those desiring a more mellow expression of faith.

Tennants—Gilbert and William Tennant met Frelinghuysen and began promoting revival among Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. True to form, they too found themselves in tense situations. From 1739 on, William Tennant associated with a like-minded Calvinist colleague, George Whitefield, who was electrifying audiences in America by his dynamic open-air preaching that was very confronting. Tennant himself mellowed in his approach, particularly after a very abrasive meeting in 1741 with Count von Zinzendorf. That encounter serves as a significant symbol of a tension within modern evangelicalism between institutional loyalties and individual initiatives often exacerbated by very large egos among clerical rivals.

§4-333. Edwards' role—Jonathan Edwards began an emphasis on personal religious experience in Northampton, Massachusetts in 1734. Many began responding to his sermons with emotional outbursts accompanied by remarkable lifestyle changes and increased attention to devotional practices. In 1737, Edwards published "A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God in the Conversion of Many Hundred Souls in Northhampton" describing the revival in central Massachusetts. He became the theologian of the revival. He reworked Calvinist themes from the perspective of revival. His "sense of the heart" demanded integration of the head and the heart; doctrine with visible acts. His most famous sermon *"Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God"* was preached in 1741. In addition, Edwards and others were hospitable to George Whitefield and his itinerant ministry, while doing their best to deal with the emotional havoc those tours caused.

§4-334. Whitefield—George Whitefield (1714-1770) was the figure that caused these regional revival breezes to coalesce. It is estimated that in his 30-year itinerant ministry, Whitefield preached fifteen thousand sermons. In 1739, the father of modern mass evangelism preached throughout the colonies, in Georgia, the Carolinas, Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New York. He started in Pennsylvania and moved on to New England. His New England tour in the autumn was one of the most sensational events in American history. He preached to up to eight thousand people a day for over a month. His preaching resulted in numerous conversions accompanied by exuberant expressions of repentance and joy. Many pastors brought new zeal to their pulpit ministries which generated extraordinary responses.

Key aspects of the Awakening were powerful and very direct preaching, an emphasis on an "inward witness," and the need for personal conversion. By the time Whitefield had finished his preaching tours, it is estimated that he preached to eighty percent of the American colonists and thousands responded to his emotional pleas to accept Christ. While the Awakening petered out in the 1740s along the Atlantic coast, it continued until the 1750s in the frontier areas among the lower classes.

§4-335. Methodists and Baptists—While the awakening began initially with the Presbyterians and Congregationalists, the ultimate beneficiaries were the Methodists and the Baptists, especially on the frontier. The ranks of the Baptists and the Methodists swelled by the Awakenings. Two of the most influential strands of American Protestantism owe their prominence to the early Awakenings. The emphasis of the Awakening on personal conversion and devotion raised doubts about infant baptism, leading many Presbyterians and Congregationalists to become Baptists. Baptist and Methodist preachers took the fire of the Awakening to the frontier preaching to westerners and organizing their religious lives. It was especially influential among the Methodists and Baptists in the life of their churches and their understanding of their mission.

§4-336. Awakening and slavery—The Awakenings also enjoyed tremendous success among slaves and helped foster an African-American Christian culture which expressed itself in the fervency of extroverted evangelicalism rather than the cooler and more mellow tones of Anglicanism. The Awakenings' demand for personal choice gave dignity to people who had never been offered a choice in their lives. In addition, Methodism's insistence on complete personal transformation gave hope for dramatic change to the conditions of slavery. Moravian emphasis on cheerfulness was received well by a culture which knew better than Europeans how to celebrate. "Negro spirituals" were a byproduct, a fusion of the evangelical hymn tradition of the Awakenings with the celebratory African rhythms.

The results in the slave population were spectacular. By 1800, one-fifth of all American Methodists were slaves. They found little welcome in white churches, at best a segregated and marginal seat. From 1790 on African-American churches multiplied—the African Methodist Episcopal Union and Black Baptist Unions were founded. With black churches multiplying, there was a need for clergy and white clergy would not minister in the types of settings in which these churches operated. Suddenly there was respected profession open to African-Americans and it was difficult for white evangelicals to deny their obvious effectiveness in souls won for Christ and lives lived out faithfully in the most trying situations.

§4-337. Religious consequences—Religious effects were significant and immediately obvious. There were large numbers of new converts. There was a resurgence of Calvinism due to the influence of Edwards and Whitefield. The Awakening involved a revival of experiential piety. Educational institutions were founded in its wake: Princeton (1746), Brown (1764), Rutgers (1766), and Dartmouth (1769).

The Great Awakening helped shape the practice of American religion. It destroyed the territorialism that was the assumption back in Europe and was beginning to be assumed in America. Religious practice, like conversion, was a choice. Charismatic preachers, who lacked the scruples of Gilbert Tennant or Jonathan Edwards, ignored traditional ecclesiastical boundaries in setting out to win souls. While finding themselves successful in setting up new congregations, they also frequently found themselves prisoners or servants of the enthusiasts that composed the congregation and were their means of support.

Worship priorities changed with the Awakening. The opponents of the Awakening tended to accuse its leaders of substituting emotion for study and devotion. While many of the leaders of the early Awakening were scholars and not subject to emotive outbursts, subsequent leaders were much more enthusiastic. An emotive and far less scholarly focus was certainly discernible. Renewal of faith and commitment frequently expressed in a very emotional manner was the ticket to ride rather than the performance of an elegant but unchanging liturgy. The staid Anglicans and Calvinists were not involved on this new wave nor were they active on the

frontiers. The significance of this choice soon became apparent. In 1700, Anglicanism served roughly a quarter of the colonial population; in 1775, only about a ninth.

The emphasis on personal conversion led people to question the practice of infant baptism. Many Congregationalists and Presbyterians became Baptists during this time. Baptists and Methodists led the way out to the western frontier. They preached to the rough western settlers and organized their religious life and practice. This led to a typical American evangelical hope for the recurrence of "awakenings" throughout American church history.

***Voluntary vs establishment churches*—**The Awakening was something of an ecumenical revival that proved "voluntary" religious arrangements could work and thrive. It functioned as a catalyst for the freedom of religious expression. Many touched by the revival took up the concerns of religious liberty against state establishments.

This can be seen in the career of Isaac Backus (1724-1806). Backus was converted in the midst of the revival and joined the ranks of the revivalists. He became a Baptist and championed the position on church and state which ultimately prevailed throughout America. By 1769, he became a key member of a group of Baptists in New England advocating religious freedom. The imprisonment of family members and his own deep convictions made him a passionate opponent of the established system. He believed that the direct connection between the state and institutionalized religion must be broken for America to be a truly Christian country. He believed that God had appointed two different kinds of government in the world that are different in nature, one civil and one ecclesiastical. The civil authority must not function as representatives in religious affairs. He believed that religion is a voluntary obedience unto God which force cannot promote. If the kingdom of God would come to America, it would do so when the majority of people submitted voluntarily to God's laws. In the 1760s, that was more than an empty dream due to the tremendous harvest of the Great Awakening.

§4-338. Political and social consequences—The Great Awakening also had political consequences. It was the first movement that embraced all the colonies contributing to a sense of commonality that began to develop among the colonists. The experience of speaking out (in the open air) broke the very tiered and controlled colonial religious experience. The Awakening also heightened the social conscience of Americans which forged attitudes about human rights and the proper functioning of government.

***Common ground among "reason men" and "revival men"*—**The revivalists emphasized conversion but tended to neglect the Puritan concern for the political and social implications of the gospel. The "covenant of grace" soon focused on individuals and the idea subtly shifted from the church to the American people in general. The revivalists were not the only ones in favor of voluntarism. The people of the Enlightenment, Jefferson, Madison, Franklin and the like, held

that the individual could only be moved and guided by the weight of the evidence in his or her own mind. Coercion of opinion by the state in interest of uniformity could only serve, in Jefferson's words, "to make one half the world fools, and the other half hypocrites." Thus the "reasonable men" of the Enlightenment and the "revival men" of the Awakening could find common ground in the idea of individual freedom. The revivalists "did not have the heart" and the rationalists "did not have the head" to justify any longer the coerced uniformity of the established church. The emerging American view of church and state was rooted in the conception of the church as a spiritual body existing for spiritual purposes and moving along spiritual paths. It did not occur to typical Americans that there were any compelling reason for a state church to exist. Compulsion of any kind was contrary to the nature of the church and therefore the church should neither desire state help nor seek exclusive privileges.

Key ideas that fostered the emerging American identity and personality were forged in the Awakening:

- Freedom of speech and public address—Modern American ideas of popular assertiveness and free speech were not originally the setting of religious colonial affairs. Rigid rules governed who spoke at assembled meetings. Public speech was assigned to a college-educated speaking elite. When Whitefield was refused a platform in the churches of the day, he spoke to multitudes in open-air assembles (fields and towns). That was a revolutionary development. The established authorities could not do anything about it. The democratic lesson was not lost on ordinary Americans.
- Lay involvement in what had been a clergy preserve—Along with itinerant preaching came exhortation by lay people creating new concepts of authority and order. Existing authorities were left behind and alternative settings created based on the consent of the audience.
- Itinerancy vs. settled ministry—Puritans traditionally had insisted on ministers being settled in order to carry on the responsibility of ecclesiastical and social order. The proper social hierarchy demanded it. Itinerancy blew these qualms away.
- Voluntary association vs. controlled, structured church settings.
- Extemporaneous address in the people's idiom challenged the written, read, learned addresses from the pulpits which soared over the heads of the congregation. "If you consistently shoot above your target, you do not thereby prove the superiority of your ammunition. You prove that you cannot shoot."

All these changes had substantial democratic overtones. The Great Awakening has been called the first stage of the American Revolution.

Revolution—When war came, American evangelicals were divided. The Scottish-Irish groups, with their tradition of warfare against the English, articulated opposition to British colonial mismanagement and support for revolution. Baptists were more divided. The slogan "No taxation without representation" stung. They remembered New England's compulsory levies for

the Congregational Church as well as their own expulsion from the early Massachusetts Bay Colony for their concern to worship as they chose. The Quakers were harassed by revolutionaries for their pacifism and ugly incidents of vandalism and worse occurred. The Methodists, taking their cue from John Wesley's staunch Tory loyalism, opposed the Revolution as did many Anglicans. However, other Anglicans were supporters. By some counts fully two-thirds of the signers of the Declaration were Anglicans. Other signers were heavily influenced by the Enlightenment and were Deists. The tendency among this revolutionary elite was to make religion a private matter. After the War, there was a steady dismantling of state ecclesiastical establishments. Massachusetts Congregationalism, the first to be established, was the last to go, in 1833.

§4-339. Christianity's role in America's origins—The beliefs of the founding fathers were a synthesis between traditional private Christian piety and a common moral philosophy rooted in human reason and informed by Christian teaching. This moral philosophical mix was not preoccupied with private morality, but with a public moral philosophy oriented to the good of society. Life involved the moral duty to serve the whole—a species of American stoicism.

The former director of the Center for Public Justice, Jim Skillen, commented on America's origins:

> On the one hand, orthodox … Christians expressed a traditional private piety that included prayer, church attendance, bible reading, and testimony of personal faith in God. On the other hand, the quest for political order on the part of these same people was directed by the conviction that a common moral philosophy rooted simply in human reason could supply the foundation for public community. The religion of the founding fathers was a synthesis of these two faiths. Benjamin Franklin, for instance, valued the influence of Christian churches but had no use for a Philadelphia minister whose aim was "to make men good Presbyterians rather than good citizens". … God functioned in Jefferson's moral philosophy not as the historical God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, not as the father of Jesus Christ, Head of the church and Lord of the world, but as the benevolent Creator who preserves people in this life and judges them according to their moral worth and good deeds. Clearly for Jefferson, the existence and identity of God were only of secondary importance. The primary concern was for a person to find "incitements to virtue," to feel "comfort and pleasantness" in doing good deeds. God's existence and the divinity of Jesus were important for Jefferson only if they were useful for human virtue. Probably the most important consequence of this religion of public morality was its victorious power over orthodox evangelical Christianity in the public arena. It led to the establishing of a civil religion in the United States as both America and the public faith matured.

It was the combination of Christian faith, heavily influenced by Puritan Calvinism, sincere Pietism, and deistic rationalism and skepticism that formed the basis for the founding documents

of our nation. The upshot for today is that the religion clauses of our Constitution are in search of a social and cultural context. The language of the Constitution is the language of experience and political science. This sense of the science of politics was put to use in a social setting where the dominant assumptions about public virtue and morality were molded by Christian background. Today, we have the same language without those same assumptions.

V. Eastern Orthodoxy and Beyond

§4-341. Generally—Orthodoxy was on the defensive in the Age of the Enlightenment, except in Russia. The story is a mixture of stagnation and advance. The older churches centered around the ancient patriarchal sees of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, and Constantinople, whether Monophysite or Orthodox, continued to suffer from the political dominance of Moslem masters. In Russia, the Christianity of the East expanded with considerable vitality but not without conflict.

§4-3412. Eastern patriarchates—The capture of Constantinople in 1453 was not the high-water mark of the advance of the Ottoman Turks. In the 16th century, they took Syria and Egypt and extended northward to include the Balkans and into Hungary. Most nations within the Orthodox orbit were conquered by the Ottoman Turks and came under the sway of the crescent. Although Orthodoxy was allowed to survive under Muslim hegemony, it was stifled and heavily taxed. From time to time this "toleration" morphed into sustained attempts to compel conversions to Islam. Both clergy and lay church members converted from Christianity to Islam in the early years of the Ottoman advances. The Christian communities could at best hold their own, reproducing themselves by birth. But in some areas, there were significant losses by leakage to Islam.

The Turkish rulers treated the Christian churches as social and legal entities governing them through their patriarch and clergy. Those who held the ecclesiastical posts were subservient to their Turkish masters. Changes were frequent, intrigues were chronic, and the ecclesiastical occupants frequently came to violent ends. The Patriarchs and bishops were often monks who purchased their office.

The dubious character of the higher clergy had notable exceptions. Cyril Lucar (1572-1637) was one. As a young man, he had traveled through Western Europe and came into contact with the Protestant Reformation. In 1602, he was elected patriarch of Alexandria. The Turks deemed the Christian communities in Egypt to be too small to warrant much attention and therefore did not interfere with customary practices of ecclesiastical succession there. In 1621, he became Patriarch of Constantinople. In these high offices, he worked for the moral and spiritual improvement of Orthodoxy. He had the Jesuits as implacable foes because of his Protestant

leanings and was deposed and restored as Patriarch in Constantinople many times. Finally in1638, he was strangled at the order of the Sultan.

§4-343. Uniate Church—A constant feature for Orthodoxy during this period was the zealous attempts by Catholic missionaries to bring the Christians of the East into submission to the Pope. For example, in Poland the Uniate Church blending Catholicism and Orthodoxy was established at the Council of Brest-Litovsk in 1596. These Uniate churches were allowed to maintain their ecclesiastical rituals and languages in exchange for acknowledging the Pope's authority and bringing their creeds into conformity with Rome. Catholic missionaries ranged throughout much of the East seeking to strengthen Uniate churches and seeking full reunion of Eastern church with Rome.

§4-344. Advance and conflict in the third Rome

Orthodoxy in Russia—The Russian church was easily the largest in the Orthodox fold. The Russian tsars claimed that Moscow was the Third Rome. Orthodoxy in Russia was closely associated with national pride and was dominated by the nation-state. This was increasingly the case from the time of Ivan the Terrible in the 16th century. There were brave demonstrations of conscience by church leaders which were brutally crushed. After Ivan's son, Theodore I (1584-1598), died childless, Russia went through "the time of trouble". The Poles invaded and captured Moscow. They were eventually repulsed and a new line of tsars (the Romanovs) chosen in 1613. During this time, the Orthodox Church was the most visible source of Russian unity. The first half century of the Romanov ascendancy was a time of national and cultural renewal in Russia and in the Church. The liturgy was reformed and the morals of clergy and laity alike improved.

Patriarch Nikon—Around 1650, with the ascendancy of the Patriarch Nikon, Orthodoxy in Russia went through a crisis. Nikon admired Greek Orthodoxy and wanted to replace the Russian liturgy with the then contemporary Greek one. He also wanted to establish the Orthodox Church as supreme over the state. Nikon was inflexible and pitiless in his treatment of his opponents. Many Russian Orthodox members resisted Nikon's reforms and followed two of his opponents, Neronov and Petrovitch, and became known as the "Old Believers." Tsar Alexis (1645-1676) was initially an admirer of Nikon and delegated considerable authority to him. The tsar came to see Nikon's influence as too pervasive and started restricting the Patriarch. In protest, Nikon went into semi-retirement in 1658, while retaining his privileges and powers as Patriarch. For a decade, the Russian Church was without clear leadership. Finally in 1666-1667, a council was held in Moscow, presided over by the Patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria. The Council affirmed Nikon's liturgical reforms but condemned him personally and had him deposed and replaced as Patriarch.

The next tsar, Peter the Great (1672-1725), took vigorous action to neutralize the power of the

Patriarch so that another Nikon could not challenge the state's domination of the church. Under Peter the Great, the control of the state over the church grew and intensified. He brought all the state and society under the control of the throne, disregarding old traditions and precedents, insisting that the church be subordinate to the crown. He purposefully left the Patriarchate unfilled and the ecclesiastical courts in abeyance. Cases were taken from church and decided in state courts. He restricted the number of clergy, regulated the interior life of the monasteries, and made certain ecclesiastical minimums (annual confession and church attendance on Sundays and feast days) compulsory on the laity. After his reign, there was a reaction by religious conservatives against Peter's Westernizing reforms. However, many of Peter's changes persisted.

§4-345. Christians on the margins of Orthodoxy—Christian groups opposed to the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon were cast from Orthodoxy but survived in various areas of the East. Most of these areas were dominated by Islam. They underwent periodic persecution and persistent economic and social oppression. A succinct summary of their situation in this era is that they survived but did not thrive.

***Coptic and Ethiopian Churches*—**Coptics (mostly in Egypt) were moderate Monophysites who developed their own translations of sacred documents and liturgy and were in conflict with the Greeks (Melchites) in Alexandria. The sway of the crescent (Islam) isolated the Coptic and Ethiopian churches. They underwent periodic persecution and persistent economic and social oppression.

***Monophysites in Syria and Armenia*—**Known as the Jacobites, the Syrian Monophysites resisted all attempts to enforce the judgments of the Council of Chalcedon. They survived due to the persistent leadership of the bishops in Antioch, a strong monastic tradition, and an identity that grew up around Syrian translations of the Bible and sacred liturgy (the Syrian Peshitta). The Armenians followed a similar path, resisting conformity to Byzantine Orthodoxy and to Greek over-lordship.

***Nestorians to the East*—**The Nestorians trod a tough road under Muslim domination. They were intermittently under persecution or severe social restrictions. The few Nestorians who survive mostly reside in Syria, Iraq, and Iran.

VI. Summary

A. Reflections on an "Enlightened" Age

§4-351. Generally; questioning the foundations

***Questioning the foundations*—**During the 17th and 18th centuries, the place of the Church in society fundamentally changed. Religious conflict and its consequences caused people 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 emphasized the superiority of human reason over revelation in the search for truth. The Enlightenment bred a skepticism as to whether there could be definitive truth in specially privileged writings or whether any one religion had the last word as against any other. The movement regarded with revulsion the idea of human fallenness and original sin.

These forces contributed to a process of secularization and toppled the Church from its customary role in Christendom. The age was optimistically committed to progress in a steadily more material and secularized society. Philosophical speculation went further. The skepticism of Hume and Kant made clear that neither science nor reason could lead to absolute truth. Their speculations illumined a pathway to subjectivism (e.g. each person has his or her own standard of truth) and relativism (there are no truths that are absolute).

One secular author's jaded enthusiasm sees the following benefits/drawbacks to the Enlightenment:

- It dispelled the "fog of superstition".
- It helped break the shackles of political tyranny and to "weaken the power of conscienceless priests."
- Its ideal of religious freedom was the leading factor in the separation of church and state.
- It liberated the Jews from ancient restrictions.
- Its humanitarianism in opposition to oppression carried over into agitation for penal reform and the abolition of slavery.
- Its desire for a natural order in society contributed to the demand to overthrow feudalism and for the destruction of monopoly and unearned privilege.
- Downside was that it fostered the exaggerated development of individualism.

§4-352. The way of reasonable religion—Many people sought a "reasonable religion" where revelation had little or no place in the mix. They 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.

§4-353. Progressive de-Christianization of Europe—This era marked the beginning of a progressive de-Christianization of Europe. While the vast majority of intellectuals paid lip service (and sincerely more than lip service) to Christianity, the new learning, especially

in the physical sciences, seemed to conflict with essential tenets of the faith. 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. Malebranche elaborated a system of philosophy which had a place for God, but which was attacked by orthodox believers. 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 and stoutly 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 works, in downplaying traditional Christian belief, unintentionally led others to complete skepticism. Isaac Newton, while himself a Christian deeply interested in theology, made of scientific discoveries in astrology and natural science that were used by some as a means of disregarding or even denying Christianity. Christianity entered the 19th century with its persuasive authority in the world and he basis of its truth claims undercut by its own excess in the intolerant wars of religion and by new directions in science and philosophy.

Catholic Europe was not immune to the attractions of the Enlightenment. The research of the Jesuit educational network, then the largest in Europe, formed an important component of the Enlightenment. Indeed, it was the Catholic world rather than the Protestant which produced a form of the Enlightenment which set itself against Christianity, proclaiming itself the enemy of mystery and the liberator of humanity from the chains of revealed religion.

§4-354. Protestant revivalism as reaction—Some authors think that it is possible to understand the Protestant awakenings as a shocked reaction to the social and intellectual innovations of the early Enlightenment, radically opposed to all things enlightened. However, key Awakening figures respected the impulse to rationality which informed Enlightenment thought. Edwards saw reason as an essential ally in reaffirming the reformation's message of the bondage of the will. Methodism consistently encouraged self-education and self-improvement projects among its followers. In fact, in northern Europe, the Enlightenment was not usually led by those who hated traditional Christianity but by those who were troubled by its formulations.

§4-355. Gender roles in religion—Where once women were regarded as uncontrollable and lustful like fallen Eve, now they were increasingly regarded as naturally frail and passive, in need of male protection. Accompanying this attitude was a demographic reality that stretches into modern times: Christianity was becoming a faith in which more women than men participated. Disproportionate numbers of women joined evangelical voluntary associations because there was more room to serve and assert themselves than in the established churches. These changing demographics were observed and noted as early as the 17th century. In this era,

it was evangelical revival movements which benefitted most from women's spiritual gifts and their activist enthusiasm.

B. Ironies of the Enlightenment

§4-356. Generally; reason turning in on itself—The philosophical evolution of this period (1648-1789) brought into question, in the name of reason, the traditional view of Christianity as divinely revealed. Yet, toward the end of the period, that very reason began questioning its own presuppositions. It was turning in on itself. As one writer summarized: "Rationalism, like the French Revolution in its Terror, was devouring its own children." What upshot? How were people to understand the human situation and Christianity's relation to it? Is religion obsolete or does our mere humanity require it, regardless of our so-called progress and our sophisticated doubts about religious dogma and revelation?

§4-357. Collapse of Enlightenment optimism—In addition, the Enlightenment optimism collapsed of its own weakness. It had no explanation for evil and suffering. Its sweeping assault on organized religion was simplistic and ethically undermining. Because the philosophes saw the laws of nature as clear and unalterable, they assumed that people's moral choices drawn from nature were also simple and unchanging. Then why do people not always (or even usually) see moral truths clearly from nature? The irony of the return to nature brought Europe not to a new nobility but to a new savagery (witness the Reign of Terror of the French Revolution), not to an elevated moral climate but to a law of the jungle (or survival) that a later age will canonize as the basic law of nature controlling human destiny.

§4-358. 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 severed from its Christian influence and people made the deliberate attempt to organize a religiously neutral society which tried to relegate faith out of the public sphere. Christians in the modern era are faced with dilemmas: (1) how far can believers go in trying as citizens to enforce Christian standards of behavior? or (2) what should the norm for conduct as citizens be?

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